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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WITH GENEALOGICAL TABLES
AND TWENTY-FOUR MAPS

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A HISTORY OF EUROPE

A HISTORY OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

CONCERNING HISTORY IN GENERAL AND THIS HISTORY IN PARTICULAR

An indispensable preliminary measure for every present-day historian is to explain to his readers what he means by history. For it can not have escaped even superficial observation that history has become a very elastic word with wholly indeterminate boundaries. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there are today as many definitions of history as there are historians and that in fact every historian writes his own kind of history.

History a very elastic word

This extension of the bounds of history is a development of relatively recent date. The English historian, Edward Freeman, who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, was still able to proclaim narrowly and dogmatically that "history is past politics." Not content with a cool, objective statement, he rode into the lists against all adversaries and fought hotly for his definition on the double ground that it alone accorded with the honorable tradition of his craft and that its surrender would bring loss and confusion in its train. And indeed the facts were so indisputably on his side that no one dreamed of denying that the European predecessors of Freeman as far back as the revivers of historical studies in the Renaissance had accepted history as substantially concerned with politics. More impressive still, the ancient historians from Herodotus to Tacitus, whom the modern writers regarded as half-gods and whom they continued humbly to imitate, had proceeded on precisely the same theory. It was unchallengeable that an ancient tradition gave its sanction to a purely political interpretation of history and that in view of the numerous brilliant disciples of the historical muse through the ages every departure from the customary ritual of her worship might be decried as impertinent and blasphemous.

History traditionally concerned with politics

And yet neither Freeman nor the long line of historical writers stretching in a shadowy column behind him as far back as Herodotus, father and fountain-head of history, could stop the movement that broke down the old barriers. Like all strong revolutionary forces it had been quietly and secretly at work some generations before men became aware of its existence. Undeniably it was tied up with the whole modern complex, above all, it resulted from the observational and scientific influences that had given birth to the new physics and astronomy, the new critical philosophies, and the new naturalistic phase of art and literature. Beginning more particularly with the eighteenth century, man's various activities in society, not only his political institutions but also his courts of justice and legal practices, his life on the farm and in the city, his relation to his group and the relation of social groups to one another, together with a score of other matters shedding a novel and amazing light on the great issue of his destiny, had begun to receive a somewhat timid attention. By the middle of the nineteenth century this new material, all of it strikingly illustrative of humanity's prolonged and many-sided struggle to make itself at home on earth, had reached immense proportions and could no longer be ignored by scholars who, calling themselves historians, instinctively felt that nothing appertaining to the creature man might remain foreign to their sympathy. To be sure, the vigor inhering in the accepted practice of history was such that a conservative group continued to insist that only political data were relevant to the historian's business and that it was for economists, sociologists, and other new-fangled specialists but not for the honorable craft of the historians to utilize the new material. But with each new decade the membership of the conservative school fell off until we come to the memorable fight made by Freeman. In spite of its having the appearance of a vigorous offensive, it was, regarded in the perspective of nineteenth century development, no more than a last-ditch rally fought under that most irrational and pathetic of slogans: "The old guard dies but does not surrender."

The modern movement breaks through the barriers of the Old History

With the dawn of the twentieth century the New History had triumphed all along the line. And the immediate result was undeniably that confusion which the routed pundits had so confidently foretold. Amidst a rush of more or less sincere avowals that history transcended politics every historical writer adopted a practice dic-

ted by his individual attitude toward the world of today. While ne state very generally continued to hold the main attention, one istorian showed a disposition to take cognizance of data furnished y the geographer, another gave preference to economic aterial, and a third inclined to lend an ear to the voices manating from literature and the arts. Although in the udden levelling of the old restrictions every influence earing on man and every one of man's activities had become theoretically relevant to a record professing to be a istory, in practice each writer spread himself over as much territory s he was able to occupy and concocted under the name of history very personal product. Of this regrettable confusion the only onceivable cure would be an agreement as to the true and exact gredients of the New History, the relative importance of each ement to all the others, and the method and principles of their terpretation. But before such an agreement could even be initi-ted, the labors of the numerous auxiliary workers such as geog-phers, ethnologists, economists, and sociologists, would have to e coördinated and made conveniently accessible; and following is achievement, by the putting out of new hypotheses constantly necked and corrected in the light of the facts, the formula would ave to be worked out which would enable the New History com-etently to meet the obligation of a synthesis in conformity with ne requirements of modern thought.

The twentieth century sees the dawn of the New History

So comprehensive a program signified the coöperative enterprise f many hands which might not culminate in a new and satisfactory orld picture short of the labor of several generations. If an im-atient historian here and there, refusing to wait longer, hould rush to produce the synthesis demanded by the ew outlook, he might by his shortcomings prove that his ffort was premature, but he could hardly fail, provided e subjected his procedure to an honest self-criticism, to o useful pioneer work. It is in this light that we may regard cer-ain recent experiments, notably the *Outline of History* by H. G. Wells. lthough its sins both of omission and commission are considerable, has rendered a hardly-to-be-exaggerated service in focussing the ttention of historians and public alike on the desirability of a unified onception of the world which accords with the criteria of science and ne fullness of modern knowledge. Discounting its weaknesses, we ay, on the strength of its positive achievement, be reasonably sure

Premature historical syntheses. The case of H. G. Wells

that the path which it blazes will be followed until a history more adequately expressive of our present information and outlook will see the light. One advance will lead to another as step follows step until the staircase is completed which brings us to our goal.

Conceding that the New History is still in a fluid state, we may confidently assert that it will concern itself more and more vigorously with the total problem of man's earthly labors. The present writer is inclined to think that it will take the form of a history of civilization, but not as if there were just one unified history of civilization involving all men from the beginning of time regardless of climate, continent, and color. More conformable to the facts, it would seem to him, would be a whole series of histories of civilization constructed with reference to a contentious, plural world where peoples have repeatedly risen and disappeared after having produced a civilization so individual that we can not but regard it as unique. Thus the Chinese people built up through centuries a civilization which stands unmistakably on its own feet. So did the people of India. What good purpose is served by studying these two distinct creations other than for their own sakes and as highly individual expressions of a search for an adjustment to the specific conditions encountered on earth by Chinamen and Hindus? In the same way there is or has been a Persian, an Arab, a Greco-Roman and many another civilization besides. Admitting the claim on our attention of all these civilizations, we may none the less assert that preëminently interesting to us alive today in Europe or the United States of America is the European or Occidental civilization of which we are a passionate, struggling, and inseparable element.

The New History will be a history of civilization

But enough of the New History and of its eventual crystallization in a history or in a series of histories of civilization! Undoubtedly the time for producing such works has arrived, but since they will still for a long time to come bear an experimental character, a book which, like the present, is avowedly a book for beginners is ill-suited for this pioneer service. For a text-book is not a fit platform for those theoretical discussions among the adepts which, as already indicated, must be brought to a certain degree of conclusion before the New History can take shape. Instead of inviting controversy and taking an advanced and problematical position a text-book can by its nature aim at nothing other than the assembling of a fund

This book a text-book concerned with European civilization

more or less securely established results. It is frankly and overhelmingly pragmatic in the persuasion that prior to every effort interpretation of the facts are the facts themselves. For these asons this work is not a History of European Civilization; but it and desires to be looked upon as a portal to such a history. For hat is its proceeding, with what is it steadily concerned? It directs ie attention throughout on all of western Europe and on the Euroean man, the *homo Europaeus*, in his several variations; it recogizes that there was a steady, developmental movement involving any stages from the primitive homogeneity of sixth century bararism to the astonishing richness and heterogeneity of the twentieth entury; it deals with the social classes and political forms of the merging and evolving states; it takes account of new economic as ell as new intellectual enterprises and registers the changing exression of literature and the arts. Because it does all these things it substantially a history of European civilization; but as it is not conructed on the basis of a preceding theoretical discussion concerned ith determining the relation of the constituent elements of civiliation to one another it prefers, in view of this incompleteness, to all itself modestly a history and, more particularly, a History of urope from the Reformation to Our Own Day.

An additional reason why the title History of European Civilizaon has been avoided for this book may be found in the abovedicated chronological limits. By the view already expounded uropean or Occidental civilization is a separate and nique historical entity. That does not of course mean at it has not absorbed important features of other, articularly the earlier Mediterranean civilizations. In ie same way a people, which has made its appearance the stage of history as a distinct and separate folk, oes not necessarily lose its identity because it happens to incorporate itself in the course of time a certain percentage of other racial ocks. In the interest of organic unity a History of European Civiliation should therefore, ideally considered, begin with the beginning, at is, it should open with that earliest phase of its being which by unhappy accident has been misnamed the Middle Age. Let us ke note that every civilization necessarily has many phases because is the product of a long evolutionary process. Adopting a biological alogy, we may think of the main phases of any civilization cycle childhood, youth, young manhood and so on to the closing phase

This book a History of Modern Europe treated in four sections

of senility and death. But as it is only recently that civilization has been envisaged as a process, it has happened that labels, highly inappropriate from a modern evolutionary viewpoint, have got themselves attached to some of the stages of the European movement. The label Middle Age for the first or childhood phase is a case in point. The word Renaissance, customarily employed to designate the second phase, is hardly more relevant. However, these terms have become so thoroughly embedded in our consciousness that it would be foolish to attempt to dislodge them. They are therefore accepted in this book but the periods and experiences which they cover are only cursorily treated in an introductory section, numbered Section I. It is the phases following the Middle Age and the Renaissance, the phases collectively called the Modern Period, to which this work directs its effort. These modern phases are handled in three sections with chronological limits more or less clearly marked. They bear the following section numbers and titles; Section II, The Reformation and the Religious Wars from 1500 to 1648; Section III, The Absolute Monarchy from 1648 to 1789; Section IV, Revolution and Democracy from 1789 to Our Own Day. These, too, are commonly accepted periods and labels, and, like the designations Middle Age and Renaissance, are no longer wholly satisfactory. But as they indicate a succession of outstanding events and at least do not quarrel with the fundamental evolutionary concept, they may be permitted to stand. To the alert and inquiring student the text itself will suggest the possibility of divisions and designations different from the above and based on a more severely developmental analysis of the Modern Age.

The proper attitude with which to approach this history

If the writer may venture to offer a last counsel to the young student about to accept the guidance of this book, it is to put himself in a frame of mind hospitable to the idea that bigger than Europe is the concept European civilization, and that, a living influence enfolding him and all of us alive today, it must needs include the whole series of its earlier phases back to its first beginning in the feudal age. Our remote, medieval ancestor was of course a backward barbarian checked and repressed by a hundred shackles made up largely of such tenuous things as his fears, his superstitions, and his tribal customs. However, because he was naturally active and enterprising he refused to sit with folded hands and passively face the hostile forces which surrounded him. He ventured forth, albeit timidly; he experimented

until he broke one or another of his many bonds and gained a larger radius of action. Often, it is true, he straightway wove himself again a new shackle. None the less in the main he achieved from age to age a fuller liberty of movement and a more secure command of his environment. As soon as he had come upon a suitable legal device or had shaped a promising political institution, the probability was that he would tinker with his invention, constantly refitting it to meet his changing circumstances. Pursuing this restless course, the European man gradually developed innumerable activities and crowned his labors with immense creations in every field of mental and material endeavor. These in their successive unfolding are what we may call the evidences of European civilization and the true subject-matter of European history. Better were it not to have been born than not to feel the grandeur of these labors of our forebears and not to respond with heightened pulse-beat to the persistent heroism of their struggle with nature and with fate.

SECTION I

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST OR MEDIEVAL PHASE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

A history of Europe beginning with the Reformation labors under the disadvantage of an arbitrary starting-point. Plunging the reader without warning into a broad and agitated stream of human circumstance, it owes him at the least a few explanations which may enable him to discover where he is. If, holding fast to our announced purpose, we decline to ascend the human stream to its remote sources and content ourselves with a survey of that stretch which directly leads up to the Reformation, we shall find it advisable and even necessary to recede as far as the great bend in the stream marked by the fall of the Roman Empire and the incursion into Roman territory of the German and Slav tribes. Here undoubtedly is a towering mile-stone; here without question European, as distinct from Ancient or Mediterranean history, takes its start. From the fall of the Roman Empire to the Reformation is a stretch of a thousand years, during which enormous upheavals completely changed the face of western Europe and endowed it with a new civilization.

A review of the previous period necessary to the understanding of the Reformation

Of these thousand years an account, however brief, is indispensable if the reader would understand the situation confronting him in the Reformation. While it is not uncommon to consider the whole succession of ten centuries from 500 A.D. to 1500 A.D. as a single period, called the Middle Age, it is on the whole more advisable to break the ten centuries into two unequal parts and, while attributing the designation, Middle Age, to the eight centuries from 500 A.D. to 1300 A.D., to set off the period from 1300 to the Reformation as the Rebirth or the Renaissance. It hardly matters much if the Renaissance is regarded as an independent period or as a last, vanishing phase of the Middle

Middle Age and Renaissance chronologically determined

Age or even as the dawn of a new, the Modern Period. What alone really ever counts so far as chronological divisions of history are concerned is whether they serve a useful purpose; and that such is the case in regard to Middle Age and Renaissance admits of no dispute. Indeed the more we occupy ourselves with these two periods, the more we become aware that each is charged with its own distinctive characteristics. The outstanding differences between them, which will be developed fully later on, may be briefly anticipated here with the statement that the medieval epoch had a unique spiritual unity due to the unchallenged domination of religion and the Church, while the Renaissance cultivated a profusion of new activities and ideas sure in the long run to disperse the religious atmosphere which the Middle Age had cherished. In the slow manner characteristic of human movements and not without sharp setbacks the age ushered in about 1300 endowed man with a new attitude toward life. For this reason the Renaissance is, as the word signifies, a new birth or at least a new phase of west-European mankind.

In this chapter we shall undertake to define very briefly the Middle Age, while in the one that follows we shall deal in somewhat greater fullness with the characteristics of the Renaissance. The two chapters together may be thought of as a gateway leading to the period of our real concern, the Modern Age.

Among the decisive features which in a sweeping backward view stand out in the medieval landscape, none is more striking than the emergence with definite national characteristics of the great peoples of Europe, the Italians, the French, the Spaniards, the English, and the Germans. Not only do they emerge in the course of the Middle Age, but they emerge identified with certain geographic areas which have ever since been uninterruptedly their homes. Within these respective areas each was obliged to struggle with very much the same variety of political, social, economic, and religious problems. Undoubtedly it is these problems that give the measure of the Middle Age and communicate its peculiar temper. We shall best succeed in capturing that temper if we concentrate our attention on the three outstanding factors of medieval society, on feudalism, the towns, and the Church. These three features, above all the Church, give a particular character to the first phase of what we must regard as a new movement in civilization.

The Middle Age gave birth to the great peoples of Europe and to a special set of social and religious problems

A. FEUDALISM

If we agree that the Middle Age began at the close of the fifth century with the frightful chaos produced by the simultaneous decline of the Roman Empire and the invasion of the German tribes, and if we then reflect that in the course of the next seven or eight centuries Europe raised itself to a relatively stable order representing the early stages of a new and colorful civilization, we shall be cured of the unwarranted tendency of superficial thinkers to regard this extraordinary period with contempt. It was of course raw and youthful — a circumstance which can not be sufficiently stressed and as a result of which the political, social, and economic problems of medieval Europe bear invariably a markedly primitive stamp. In their essence these problems are all comprehended under the term feudalism. But what is feudalism? Feudalism may perhaps best be thought of as the sum of the economic, social, and political institutions representing the first effort of a young and aspiring society to rise above an unmitigated barbarism. Under feudalism European society, in spite of bewildering local variations, presents itself to view in rarely simple terms. Essentially there are but two classes: the rulers who own the soil and the ruled who till it. Land is the only form of wealth and land determines the structure of society. The rulers are of course armed and have the pride of an hereditary caste of warriors, while the ruled, disarmed, are attached to the soil as an hereditary caste of peasant-serfs. Governments of the modern type, maintaining a well regulated administration over a large area, do not exist. Substantially each petty lord, though theoretically subject to an over-lord and ultimately to the king, is master in his own possessions with the result that for all practical purposes Europe is made up of thousands of loosely associated little lordships. The social-economic unit of this backward society is the type of farmstead called the manor. The manor is worked coöperatively by the peasants who dwell together in the village and are governed either in person or by deputy by their military lord and master residing in the outskirts of the village in the manor-house or castle.

Feudalism a complex of rude institutions representing an effort to rise above barbarism

Carefully weighing these various data, we may think of the early Middle Age as effecting, owing to the influx of victorious German and Slav tribes of a nomad and semi-nomad type, the reagrariani-

zation of the Roman Empire. The notable Roman city culture, already in decline before the coming of the barbarians, broke down and suffered a complete eclipse. The agrarian settlement proceeded on the whole according to a simple formula: a select warrior class took over the ownership of the soil permitting the bulk of the population to work it in return for rent paid, in the absence of money, in personal services and natural products. The warriors ruled society as a privileged noble class, while the peasants, at the mercy of their masters, were depressed to the legal status of serfs, not very much above that of chattels. Feudalism is the comprehensive word which describes this complex situation, that is, feudalism sets forth the political, social, and economic conditions produced by the triumph throughout western Europe of a primitive agrarianism.

The Middle Age caused by the failure of urban civilization and a return to agrarianism

B. THE RISE OF THE TOWNS

During the first five centuries of the Middle Age this rude organization of society characterizes all western Europe until, around 1000 A.D., a new element made its appearance which not only complicated the structure but produced a mental ferment destined to undermine the spiritual foundations on which the Middle Age rested. I refer to the coming of the towns. Originating in a rebirth of trade and industry, the towns represented an agglomeration of men resolved to engage in new, non-agricultural activities, to multiply the conveniences of living, and to defend themselves against a baronage established on the soil and instinctively hostile to traders only too eager to free themselves from the political control of a tyrannical warrior caste.

Around 1000 A. D. urbanization again sets in

The springing up of towns all over the face of Europe completely changed the picture. Before long the lords in their scattered castles found themselves face to face with burgher groups which exceeded them in wealth, culture, and ultimately in military power. Not that, confronted with this phenomenon, the feudal warriors promptly disappeared from the scene or even noticeably reduced their pretentions; but relatively they lost ground, both socially and politically, in the face of the steady advance of the town-dwellers, themselves armed behind tall, battlemented walls and acquiring by their courageous enterprise increasing material resources and an ever expanding mental outlook.

Rapid material, political, and cultural advance of the towns

With the multiplication of towns and of the special activities by which town-folk lived medieval society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reached its climax. There are many people of our own day, especially philosophers and artists, who uphold the opinion that that climax represents such a balance and harmony of the forces of life and art as has been but rarely achieved in history. But impressive as the spiritual flowering of the Middle Age no doubt was, it is not the concern of this book. Confining our attention to the weighty phenomenon of the rising town, we shall be content to note what the town signified for European development in two directions, politically and culturally.

The addition of the urban element brings medieval civilization to its climax

On finding itself opposed by the existing feudal political order and obliged to fight for its life, the town boldly developed a political principle of its own, the principle of self-government. Wherever a town sprang up, there also, sooner or later, will be found a movement aiming at independence and self-help. By means of charters wrung from their lords, the towns gained their earliest liberties, which with the aid of additional grants they strove to enlarge whenever the occasion served. Some towns, notably those of Italy and Germany, succeeded finally in becoming free republics, detached or all but detached from the feudal state in the midst of which they had sprung up, while in countries like England and France the ever waxing urban centers consciously and unconsciously helped to build up the power of the king, because under the king the peace of the land so necessary to trade was more likely to be secured than under a turbulent nobility to whom war was hardly more than an intensification of their favorite sport, the hunt. Unmistakably the towns figure as the main historical agents in the gradual process of replacing the loose feudal régime with the royal centralized state. Although, exactly like the landlords with whom they locked horns, the vigorous townsmen, while engaged in their struggle for existence, thought only of themselves and of their selfish interests, they builded better than they knew for the simple reason that they represented economic forces which were bound in the end to effect a complete political reorganization of society. This reorganization, as we shall see, took the form of the centralized monarchy, which famous institution must therefore in last analysis be charged to the account of the towns.

Politically the towns promote self-government and ultimately the absolute monarchy

Culturally the town initiated a change no whit less significant. By living together within the narrow confines of the town wall, great numbers of men were brought into close contact, quarreled with one another over conflicting interests or worked out common plans, and extraordinarily stimulated their wits through the constant necessity of action in the face of new situations. Some townsmen, in the capacity of enterprising merchants, gained wealth and experience by seeking business and adventure in neighboring towns or distant countries, while others, engaged in weaving cloth, tanning leather, or forging weapons, effectively increased their mastery of life by the skillful practice of their respective crafts. Living experimentally and rewarded for their hardihood with constantly increasing possessions, these men tended to abandon the ruts of custom not only in matters affecting their material and political welfare but in mental and spiritual matters as well. How could it have been otherwise? When men acquire the habit of freely using their minds in the immediate concern of earning a living, will they not be moved to apply them also to the higher interests represented by philosophy and religion? Let us concede that philosophy and religion everywhere and always represent an attempt to give theoretical expression to the experiences accumulated by man on his earthly pilgrimage. This being so, it follows that if a primitive agricultural society, such as that which preceded the rise of the towns, develops a religion and philosophy which adequately expresses its intentions, a commercial and mobile society, like that produced by the urban movement, is sure to wax critical of its inheritance and to set about the formulation of ideas and theories of its own.

Culturally the towns prepare the ground for a new religious and philosophic outlook on life

However, before we can advantageously look into the new culture which the towns promoted, we must acquire some conception of the older culture by which the towns at their birth were surrounded and against which they reacted. The culture of the Middle Age is embedded in its religion and philosophy and can be crowded into a single word — Christianity. To secure Christianity's unchallenged domination there had grown up since Roman times a splendid and authoritative agency in the Christian Catholic Church. While the Christian *religion*, consisting of a body of firmly held beliefs, must be looked upon as the spiritual essence of the Middle Age, the *Church* may be conceived as an institution for the

The Middle Age an attempt to realize a Christian society through a dominant Church

inculcation and triumphant assertion of the spiritual values of Christianity. This institution is the keystone of the medieval arch, absolutely indispensable to an understanding of medieval Europe.

C. THE CHURCH

Rise of Christianity and the Church

The origin of Christianity is to be found in a new and deeply emotional attitude on the part of the people of the Greco-Roman world toward the great questions of life and death. Wearied and disappointed by the sad actualities of life on earth, men in ever increasing numbers turned for comfort to a hoped-for life beyond the grave. Finally, under the inspiration of Jesus of Nazareth, hailed as savior and the Christ, and under the direction of a group of devoted disciples, a body of beliefs took shape which taught that this world was a vale of tears and which promised compensation for the many human ills by final rest in union with the one and only God, our heavenly Father. The new faith, called Christianity, had a remarkable success in gaining converts, who, scattered over the extensive Mediterranean area and confronted with a hostile pagan majority, felt before long the need of a close association. The result was the Christian Church, which, though periodically persecuted by the dominant pagans, had, by the beginning of the fourth century, grown strong enough to convince a new ruler, the famous Emperor Constantine the Great, of the advisability of granting it the protection of the law (Edict of Milan, 313 A.D.). And now, become fairly irresistible, the vigorous new institution undertook to crowd out and destroy all rival beliefs and religious organizations, until in the course of a few generations following its recognition it had become enthroned in exclusive majesty throughout the Roman world.

Christianization of the barbarians and the establishment of two Christian Churches

When the northern barbarians, the Slavs and Germans, overwhelmed the Roman Empire, the Church, surviving the Empire, undertook to draw them into its fold, and by heroic missionary labors extending over many centuries succeeded in its purpose beyond its most extravagant dreams. As a result the European world, which gradually emerged from the medieval chaos was Christian, theoretically one in faith and Church. Actually, however, owing to ecclesiastical disputes which can not be examined here and which proved incapable of settlement, Europe witnessed the establishment of two Christian Churches, one of the east and the

her of the west. The eastern Church, organized under the pa-
arch of Constantinople, is usually referred to as the Greek Orthodox
urch, while the western Church, called Catholic, centered about
e pope of Rome and employed the Latin language as the medium
its thought and ritual. As the civilization with which we are
ncerned in this book grew up in the area dominated by the Latin
urch, it is this Church with which the present sketch is exclusively
ncerned.

The central purpose of the Church was to serve as the means of sav-
g men and women from the eternal damnation to which they were
omed by reason of the sin of their first parents, Adam and Eve.
rough the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the only be- **The Church the sole means of salvation**
tten son of God, the primal curse had been lifted and
vation first made a possibility. With the utilization of
e new opportunity the Church, according to universal
lief, had been entrusted by Christ himself, who was considered to
ve expressly named the apostle Peter as his successor in the govern-
nt of the communion of his followers. ("Thou art Peter and upon
s rock I will build my church." St. Matthew XVI, 18.) Not with-
t resistance a considerable number of organizations, also claiming
ristian inspiration, were gradually suppressed as unauthorized
d heretical and all Christians brought under that Church which
led itself Catholic, proclaimed Peter as its second founder, and
up its capital in the city of Rome. As the fundamental belief
all good Christians was that Jesus Christ, the son of God, had
ered himself as a sacrifice upon the Cross in order to appease the
ath of God, the Father, with the seed of Adam, it was easy and
tural to accept the Church, of which Christ was proclaimed the
nder, as the sole and divinely appointed means for bringing salva-
n to each needy individual sinner. One of the Christian Fathers
mpactly stated this position when he said: "Outside the Church
re is no salvation." It was this awe-inspiring power enabling the
urch to open and shut the gates of heaven and hell which in large
asure explains the tremendous hold it had on the minds of men.
In view of this towering eminence it behooved the Church to keep
members ever mindful of their sinful state by fairly enfolding
m with its solicitude and love. To this end it evolved a number
important measures: it drew up a creed containing the essentials
the Christian faith; it developed a body of uplifting prayers
table for all the varied circumstances of life; and it established

a noble succession of rites and services of which the most solemn and impressive was the mass. Above all, however, it provided as the necessary and effective means of that salvation which was the main concern of every man, woman, and child the Seven Sacraments. These, constituting what has been called the sacramental system, contain so much of the teaching and practice of the Church that an acquaintance with them illuminates not only the overshadowing importance of the institution throughout the medieval centuries but also the utter dependence of the individual on its divine authority. By means of the sacramental system the Church attended its subjects all the days of their life, from the cradle to the grave.

The kernel of the Church the sacramental system

In dealing with the Seven Sacraments we may begin with *ordination*. Ordination was reserved for the clergy and was administered by a bishop by the laying on of hands. It conferred upon the candidate for priesthood the sacerdotal character with the authority and power to administer the other sacraments except confirmation, also reserved to bishops. Ordination drew a sharp dividing line through the Christian body since it marked off the priesthood, specially called to the service of God, from the mass of common men. By the *sacrament of baptism* the new-born infant was received into the membership of the Church. The holy water on its brow signified that its share in the guilt of Adam's fall was washed away and that it had become a Christian and the child of God. When the boy and girl reached the age of about twelve years, they received, after due instruction in the creed and customs of the Church, *confirmation* from the bishop, who rubbed holy oil and balsam on their forehead. The significance of this act was to make them strong to resist temptation in the approaching battle of life. However, if a Christian yielded to temptation and sinned, he could receive pardon by the *sacrament of penance*. This consisted of four parts: (1) he must feel contrition or regret for the sin committed; (2) he must confess orally to a priest; (3) he must receive absolution from a priest; and (4) he must render satisfaction by performing the particular penance, e.g. a pilgrimage or almsgiving, which the priest might see fit to impose. At the hour of death the priest stood by the bedside and by anointing the dying man with holy oil strengthened his soul for the eternal journey. This rite was called the *sacrament of extreme unction*. The *sacrament of marriage* bound man and wife in lawful Christian wedlock, held to be indissoluble by hu-

The Seven Sacraments

n power. Only the Church which made the marriage could annul and even the Church could only do so in case a holy ordinance d been overlooked when the marriage was celebrated. Finally, ere was the *sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.* This developed from Lord's Supper as described in the gospels and involved the con- ration of bread and wine by the priest, its miraculous trans- mation into the body and blood of Christ, and its proffer in this nsecrated form to the Father in renewal of Christ's original sacrifice on the Cross. The change of substance effected at the altar is led in theological language transsubstantiation and is the central stery of Catholicism. It was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ich, dignified with an elaborate chanted ritual and made impressive h candles, incense, and gorgeous vestments, finally evolved into magnificent service called the mass.

Conceding that the spiritual guidance of mankind concentrated the sacramental system was the chief function of the clergy, we st not overlook other duties of a more mundane sort which de- ved on it. When we recall that to the clergy fell exclu- ely the government of the Church and that the Church its material side consisted of innumerable houses of rship, clerical residences, manorial estates, and property every conceivable kind, we are bound to admit that its rldly activities were neither few nor slight. To meet the various rical obligations, spiritual as well as administrative, an elaborate ganization had been worked out which extended from the parish est at the foot of the ladder to the pope at the top. The *parish* s the territorial unit of administration, a convenient number of ishes being bound together into a *diocese,* at the head of which od the *bishop.* A variable number of dioceses constituted a *prov- e,* over which one of the bishops enjoyed authority under the e *archbishop.* The succession priest, bishop, archbishop, cul- nated in the pope, the unchallenged head of the Church, residing his capital, in ancient and venerable Rome. Rome, as the hub a vast administrative wheel, harbored an almost endless variety officials, some attached to the papal chancellery, others to the -courts, and still others to the treasury. The most distinguished up of these central officials was the *college of cardinals.* Appointed the pope, the cardinals were associated with him in governing the urch, and upon them on the death of the ruling pope devolved grave responsibility of electing his successor.

Government and administration of the Church

At the side of the above-mentioned officials, whose shoulders bore the main burden of Church government, there had, in response to the ascetic spirit of the age, grown up another group of churchmen, whom we must accept as a very characteristic feature of medieval Christianity. I refer to the monks and nuns. The monks and nuns were organized in a great variety of orders, founded by men and women animated by an unquenchable religious fervor. Some of the more popular monastic orders spread rapidly over the face of Europe, reached a large membership, and achieved through the free offerings of the faithful an enviable position expressed in terms of lands and houses. The oldest and most famous of the orders was that of the Benedictines founded by a dedicated spirit, St. Benedict, as early as the sixth century (529 A.D.), while the Cistercians, Carthusians, and others, who sprang into being at a later time, hardly, if at all, lagged behind the Benedictines in riches, popularity, and power.

The monastic orders a characteristic expression of medieval piety

In the thirteenth century the two famous orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, came into being, fashioned in the heat of a great religious revival and pledged to ideals somewhat different from those of their predecessors. The older orders — all organized more or less on the Benedictine model — emphasized the life of studious contemplation of divine things in seclusion from the world and its temptations. The Franciscans and Dominicans, on the other hand, sought out the crowded centers to dispense among the poor and heavy-laden the offices of Christian charity. Dedicated to poverty, chastity, and obedience, their three obligatory vows, and seeking their living, at least at first, from door to door, they were distinguished from the older monks under the name of begging brothers or friars (from Latin *frater*, i.e., brother).

The begging friars

The heads of monasteries were called abbots or priors. They and their flocks were usually subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they resided, but occasionally individual abbots and, in the case of the begging friars, the orders themselves had sought and obtained from the pope the right to be responsible only to him. Naturally the pope profited by this arrangement, for he acquired an army of immediate adherents scattered throughout Christendom. But the pope's gain was the bishop's loss. As a result of this rivalry between the local and the central authority in the Church many a diocese became the scene of a bitter, though generally subterranean

Jurisdictional disputes between the pope and the bishops

flict between the bishop and his following of priests on the one
d and the abbot or prior supported by the monks and friars on
other.

The officials of the Church from pope to priest and including the
nastic orders constituted a sharply defined class or caste of medie-
society called the clergy. The respect felt for the clergy is
icated by the circumstance that everywhere in feudal
rope they took the highest rank and were called the
t estate. The remainder of the inhabitants of a feudal
te constituted the laity, which fell into two classes,
upper class embracing the nobility and called the
ond estate, and a lower class composed of the common people or
rd estate. Neither in practice nor theory did the laity have
thing to do with the government of the Church, which was
erved exclusively to the first estate, the clergy.

The clergy the highest medieval class or first estate

n the light of this brief review of the authority and government
he Church, we are thoroughly prepared to agree that its place
nedieval society was very different from what it is at present. In
, the Church was a state, so much greater than the
ious feudal states, at the side of which it played its
t, that it completely overshadowed them. In con-
uence of this preëminence the Church had achieved
at is known as immunity, that is, it had won from the civil author-
s exemption from taxation as well as the right for the clergy to
amenable only to the law-courts of the Church. In consequence
ember of the clergy, on being charged with an offense, was haled
ore an ecclesiastical tribunal and judged by ecclesiastical judges
accordance with the ecclesiastical law. This, commonly called
on law in distinction from the civil law of the secular courts, was
nposed of acts of Church councils and decisions of the popes, and
great was its importance in a world dominated by the clergy that
vas pursued as a professional study at the universities. More-
r, in certain important matters, such as marriage and divorce
the proving of wills, the ecclesiastical courts possessed authority
over the laity. From these dispositions it follows that through-
western Europe the individual clergyman by being answerable
ll respects to ecclesiastical authority was the unquestioned sub-
of the Church, while the individual layman owed obedience to
states, the Church and the civil state of his residence, each of
ch exercised authority over him in certain specified matters.

The Church functions as an independent state

Another important function of the Church by virtue of which it met the definition of a state was that it levied taxes. Since the Church owned immense manorial properties, for which it claimed immunity and paid no contribution to the civil powers, it enjoyed a considerable income. This income, of the nature of rent, constituted its basic revenue. However, it was not large enough to meet the great expenses of its far-flung organization. In consequence the Church had, in every country in which it was established, gained the right to levy a tax, called tithe, amounting in theory to one-tenth of the annual produce of the soil, although in practice it usually came to a good deal less. If we add that since the Church undertook to direct the steps of erring mankind, it very naturally assumed control of the education of its followers and conducted such schools as existed, we join another detail to the picture painting the influences by which the Church counted in the affairs and overwhelmed the imagination of the faithful. But let no one dream for a moment that law-courts, taxes, and education represented unlawful usurpations. In the confusion of the early Middle Age, when the young states of Europe were only just taking shape and were as weak as new-born babes, all the functions which the Church cared to assume fell to its lot without a struggle because it was the strongest and, in some extreme cases, the only institution of any kind that in the general dissolution of society continued to operate.

The Church levies the tithe and controls education

However, in measure as the civil states gained strength, and they tended to do so, as we have seen, with the rise of the towns, the extraordinary power of the Church would be felt to be excessive and a conflict was inevitable. In fact, the conflict started even before the towns had become an acknowledged power, the whole Middle Age resounding, as is well known, with this struggle. But undeniable as is the sharp medieval contest between Church and state, we should not fail to note that it ran counter to the accepted theory of the age. For the theory affirmed that Church and state were equally of God, who had created them for the service of his creatures, entrusting to one the rule of the souls of men and to the other the rule of their bodies. At the head of the two complementary institutions God had placed the pope and the emperor, endowing them respectively with the spiritual and material authority over mankind. But as, in point of fact, pope and emperor, instead of working in harmony, were

The Church claims equality and, later, superiority over the state

olved in a struggle as constant as it was vehement, certain aggres-
e popes, like Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII, had
en moved to brush the older equalitarian theory aside in favor of
e view of the dependence of the emperor and all civil governors
atever on the pope, conceived as the only true spokesman and
resentative of God. Thus the later papal theory, formulated at
e time of the greatest power of the Church, came to be that since
il as well as ecclesiastical authority had been divinely committed
the pope, the emperor and, of course, the other civil rulers as well
d their thrones subject to the pope's pleasure. That the Renais-
ce with its powerful secular tendencies would challenge this
reme position and vindicate the independence of the civil sovereign
s without saying.

Since the clergy were the most exalted and richest class in Europe
the first estate — they paid the usual price of power by more than
linary exposure to temptation. All through the Middle Age
ious charges of corruption were preferred against them. **Clerical abuses**
casionally popes and prelates inaugurated a reform, but
spite of these praiseworthy efforts the abuses persisted or cropped
again. Human nature is weak and frail even under surplice and
l. The chief abuse was perhaps simony, which is the buying
l selling of Church offices. The Church officially recognized
ony as a sin, but many clergymen and even popes were none the
guilty of it. So long as abbacies and bishoprics produced huge
enues, it is easy to see how ambitious men should crave their
session even at the price of bribery. Another charge against the
er clergy was that they lived in a state of pride and worldliness
te out of keeping with humble followers of Christ and the apostles.
ny rode to hunt and even to war and lived in splendid palaces
d an unbroken round of festivals. The lower clergy were accused
squeezing excessive fees out of their parishioners for marriage,
ial, and other necessary services, and there is irrefutable evidence
t many ecclesiastics of all ranks were guilty of gross carnal vices.
s latter charge was more particularly levelled at the monks and
rs, tending to become ever more shrill and vehement as we
roach the Reformation.

The shortcomings of the clergy were scourged by ardent and up-
t priests all through the Middle Age, sometimes even by incum-
ts of the highest ecclesiastical positions. It did not derogate
n the Church to make public recognition of the fact that

some of its ministers were unworthy. The personal conduct of clerics was conceded to be a field of permissible criticism. But it was different with criticism which gnawed at the organization and doctrine of the Church, because these represented God's own handiwork stamped with a holy and unalterable character. Such critics were blasphemers and against them the Church was armed with formidable weapons. She branded them as heretics and launched her excommunication against them, excluding them from her fellowship and the association of the living. There she left them, for an ancient scruple forbade her to shed blood; but at this juncture, her partner and more often her subordinate rather than partner, the state, stepped in to seize the heretic as a public enemy and put him to death, usually by fire.

Criticism of doctrine and organization defined as heresy

In spite of this rigorous repression heresy and heretics were not uncommon in the Middle Age. Even in that period of Church omnipotence an occasional hardy spirit was moved to assert his individual convictions. Of these isolated heretics, who were perpetually cropping up at odd corners of Europe, there is here no need to speak, although they hold a not unhonored place in the intellectual history of the age. But in addition there were concerted heretical movements affecting a wide area and really jeopardizing the existence of the Church. Of these collective heresies, that of the Albigensians, belonging to the beginning of the thirteenth century, spread over much of southern France. The Albigensians went the length of attacking the sacramental system, and when excommunication proved ineffective, Pope Innocent III, in 1208, preached a crusade against the offenders and crowned his victory, won only after a furious struggle, by setting up a special tribunal called the Inquisition. This was charged with inquiring into the opinions of the suspects and with punishing every slightest departure from orthodoxy. Having drowned the Albigensian heresy literally in blood, the Inquisition persisted as a convenient tool of ecclesiastical repression and was destined to acquire an unenviable reputation for cruelty and bigotry, especially in Spain. However, in spite of the severity with which the Albigensian rebellion was punished, other movements of protest raised their heads from time to time. In the fourteenth century John Wyclif inaugurated a heretical agitation in England which taught that the individual needed no mediator between himself and God and which it took

The Middle Age witnesses the rise of numerous individual and collective heresies

everal decades to stamp out; and, shortly after, John Hus began similar movement of criticism against priestly domination in Bohemia. Although Hus; in 1415, paid for his audacity by being urned at the stake, the heresy which he started continued to agitate is country for several generations after his disappearance.

By such movements of concerted revolt and by many other signs s well it was in the course of the later Middle Age becoming clear ot only that the Church no longer enjoyed its old unquestioned uthority but that new ideas and forces were coming to the fore sure to alter the whole medieval inheri- ance and outlook. What these agencies were and what articular conditions were bringing them to the front must ow engage our attention. Let us turn to examine the new or second hase of western civilization, commonly called the Renaissance.

New ideas and forces presage a new age

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CHAPTER III

THE SECOND OR RENAISSANCE PHASE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

We have agreed that it does not matter much whether we regard the Renaissance as a last phase of the dying Middle Age or as an independent epoch ushering in the Modern Period. Beyond all question it is an era of transition, during which the peculiar social and political features of the Middle Age and, above all, the ideas in which these features had their roots, were undermined and new ideas saw the light which tended to embody themselves in novel forms and institutions.

The Renaissance an era of transition

It has been pointed out that the towns were the natural centers of the forces of transition because their peculiar activities were bound, in the long run, to prove disruptive of everything the medieval heart held dear. However, the towns developed slowly through long centuries and their inherent hostility to the medieval system did not at once appear, although the baronial class, threatened in its political domination, may be said to have scented the enemy instinctively and with very little delay. Following the natural tendency of youthful organisms, whose future is not yet assured, the towns were in their first phase driven to seek a compromise with the ruling powers, a sort of working arrangement. In this they succeeded to such a degree that they fitted themselves into the prevailing feudal system with sufficient grace and ease to produce a rather unusual balance of the forces and classes constituting society. The evidence of this accommodation is furnished by the fact that it was only after the coming of the towns, in the course of the thirteenth century, that the Middle Age came to a climax.

The towns in their first phase absorbed into the medieval political system

However, if the thirteenth century marks the flowering and culmination of the Middle Age, with the fourteenth century, owing to the continuous growth of the towns and the progressive social disequilibrium which that expansion entailed, the decay of the medieval world became open and palpable. The manifold changes soon

gistered in every field of human thought and action give e measure of the new stage of civilization and constitute e subject matter of every study concerned with the enaissance. In an effort to get as close as possible to is great movement let us consider it under eight aspects.

In their second phase the towns disrupt the medieval system

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The earliest medieval trade had necessarily been determined by e political-economic conditions prevailing under feudalism. We ust think of the long centuries of the Germanic settlement as bstantially without security, without roads, without nveniences of living of even the humblest sort. Society tisfied at best an irreducible minimum of human wants d was simpler, ruder, and more impecunious than we n easily imagine. Therefore, when about 1000 A.D. trade gan to revive, it crept slowly and cautiously along what a socially chaotic world stood out as the safest routes travel. These were the shore-lines of the Mediternean, the North, and the Baltic seas, as well as the courses of the ading navigable rivers, such as the Po, the Seine, the Rhone, the anube, the Rhine, and the Thames. Along these sea and river utes the first thriving towns came to life, though with the spread the movement the interior, in its turn, became gradually dotted ith settlements planted at bridges or crossroads or nestling under e protecting shadow of some castle or monastery.

The towns arise in response to new human needs and are distributed according to convenience and security

We have already seen that no sooner was a town formed than it pired to self-government and gained, in spite of the opposition of e neighboring feudal lords, a measure of freedom which it was at ins constantly to increase. The greatest success in this deavor was achieved by the towns of Italy, first, beuse the feudal opposition was weakest there, and second, cause, owing to the geographical factors involved, the alian towns enjoyed much greater opportunities for wealth and wer than those of any other country. And exactly because the alian towns assumed the unquestioned leadership of the town movent, the Renaissance, considered as a cultural process, is primarily creation of Italy, from which, as a center, it radiated over the rest Europe.

Preëminence of the Italian towns

To clinch the argument of Italian preëminence let us consider

the location of the Italian towns with regard to the medieval world. In the days of the Roman Empire Italy had, as is well known, been a country of immense and busy towns, which, though fallen into sad decay during the seizure of power by the Germanic tribes, had but to pick up the threads of their past to put themselves once more on the road to recovery. Their ancient greatness had been largely due to the fact that Italy lay in the center of the Mediterranean basin, from gray antiquity the most populous and civilized area of the world. At the time of the town revival, around 1000 A.D., this situation had changed, if at all, to the further advantage of the ancient peninsula. To its west and north lay the crude and backward but aspiring societies of Spain, France, England, and Germany, while to the east there loomed, first, the Byzantine empire, still, though in patent decline, a highly civilized state, and second, the Arab dominion, a once powerful organism, now threatened with internal disruption and, since the eleventh century, exposed besides to the attack of wild Turkish tribes from the central plateau of Asia. As the Arabs had taken over much of the culture of the Greeks, they dwelt on as high a plane of civilization as their Byzantine neighbors, and, like them, were industrious and skillful artisans as well as busy traders who spun the threads of an ambitious commerce all the way to the remote regions of India and China. Within the compass of both the Byzantine and the Arab empires conveniences and luxuries were to be found of which backward and impoverished Europe had lost the very knowledge. The eastern nobility wore garments of silk and brocade, their ladies bedecked themselves with ropes of pearls and many-colored jewels, while the houses of the enterprising Moslem merchants of Syria and Egypt and the Christian churches and palaces of Constantinople were hung with glowing tapestries and enriched with ornaments of gold and ivory expressive of a cultivated society and a refined taste. Although, as the crusades amply proved, the east loomed vaguely as a region of fabulous riches to the whole backward body of western Christendom, it appealed particularly to the Italians. For not only did the peninsula lie in the close outskirts of Arab and Byzantine power, but its southern tip together with the island of Sicily had served for generations as an Arab-Byzantine battle-ground, thus bringing to the Italians an immediate knowledge of eastern politics as well as an acquaintance with eastern arts and wares. To the Italian folk the east was the Levant, Land

Significance of the Mediterranean position of Italy, particularly of its proximity to the Levant

the Rising Sun, and they turned to it with longing and admiration their eyes.

Under these circumstances the Italian merchants became the atural middlemen between east and west. In the great coastal ties, such as Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, enterprising individuals formed companies of merchant adventurers who iled their galleys to Alexandria, Jaffa, Acre, and Constantinople to fetch back the silks, the jewels, the gold ains, the carved ivory, and, above all, the dyes, spices, nd slaves obtainable in the markets of the Levant. That aves were for a long time one of the most profitable commodities andled by the medieval traders throws a penetrating light on the imitive and predatory character of the age. The other eastern ares, however, were without exception luxuries of small bulk, and ould, on being landed on the Italian wharves, be loaded on horse-ack to be carried to the Italian inland and thence over the Alpine asses to France and Germany. Later on, when the galleys became rger and the skill of the sailors greater, the oriental goods could e transported by an unbroken water-route past the straits of ibraltar to the cities of the English channel and the North sea. the long run, the shrewd Italians took advantage of every available nd and sea path and, as their caravans radiated over Europe, they ould stop at one settlement after another, displaying their eastern ares and causing the rude natives to gape with wonder over the arvels spread before their eyes. Desires before undreamed of were xcited in their breasts, desires to satisfy which they were obliged offer in exchange their crude gold and silver coins and such raw oducts, native to the north, as linen, wool, leather, and furs. These, rried back to Italy and refined by Italian industrial skill, would en make up the cargo with which the galleys returned to the evant to complete the circle of exchange.

The Italians become the middlemen between east and west

This system, once inaugurated, stimulated an increasing intensity intercourse, and while transforming the economic life, altered adually even the superficial physical aspect of Europe by the rowing of bridges over streams and the reconstruction the neglected Roman roads as well as the tracing of ew highways. At the same time a tentative code of ternational law came into being by means of treaties nceding to merchants protection of life and goods at ne hands of the authorities of the city or country in which they

Social, legal, and technical advances made by commerce

chanced to sojourn. Of course we must guard against exaggerating the advance made, since it is undeniable that feudal lawlessness was a long-lived and many-headed hydra. But the fact of progress remains, as appears also from the circumstance that the traders, profiting by their experience, uninterruptedly improved the technical devices of their profession. Learning to coöperate, they formed partnerships based on written contract; they set up banks as aids and stimulants of commerce; they invented bills of exchange to facilitate the transfer of credits between places geographically separated; and they did what they could to replace the debased and unreliable medieval coinage with a sound and stable currency.

Trade fosters industry and both adopt the gild organization

A further important effect of an expanding trade was that it powerfully stimulated the industrial arts. If the west felt an irresistible longing for the precious eastern luxuries, it would imperatively have to give to the east equivalent goods of its own, and these, owing to the difficulties and expense of transportation, could not, to any large extent, be raw products. Soon, therefore, the original merchant organizations or merchant gilds, as they were called, were everywhere supplemented by the manufacturing associations or craft gilds of the woolen and linen weavers, the armorers, the leather-workers, the furriers and the rest, whose mounting success steadily increased the population of the medieval town as well as its general productivity and wealth. In this way every town came to be economically dominated by the gilds, which in their two fundamental types of merchant and craft gilds monopolized its entire business. Let us not fail to note, however, that the gild was more than an economic unit, for it served religious, social, and even political ends as well. Indeed some gilds, wholly non-economic, satisfied purely social and religious purposes, somewhat in the fashion of our modern fraternal orders. None the less the powerful gilds were doubtless the economic ones and their power was great enough to enable them or a combination of the wealthiest units among them to take over in most cases the town government. Gild membership implied individual political power collectively exercised. Thus the gilds fostered a justified pride, of which the most conspicuous outward sign were the meeting-places or gild halls. These together with the municipal center or town hall constituted the most expressive physical feature of each rising community, furnishing by their size, harmony of parts, and beauty of detail an accurate measure of its importance. In short, who would

how well the town of this period must occupy himself with its ganic cell, the gild.

A final word on the leading town areas during the Renaissance. hey become intelligible on the basis of the general conditions of change just sketched. In Italy the northern half of the peninsula, ecause of the proximity of the Alpine passes behind which y the markets capable of absorbing eastern wares, far itstripped the south in the development of town life; nd in northern Italy two towns gradually took the lead er all the others. They were Venice and Florence. y building up a prosperous colonial empire in the eastern Mediterranean Venice largely succeeded in driving all the rival alian cities from this scene of opportunity and of becoming the hief distributor of spices and other eastern articles through the estern world, while Florence, by carrying the manufacture of tex- les, both of wool and silk, to an unexampled proficiency, achieved oth the industrial and the banking primacy of Europe. In southern rance the valley of the Rhone became an important city area, hich, however, gradually yielded ground to the Marne-Seine system cities in the French north, among which Paris gained an early reëminence. The town movement was still young when the Rhine ties all the way from Strassburg to Cologne came to the front, eir increasing commerce being favored by one of the most fruitful lleys of Europe as well as by a fairly easy connection *via* the Alpine sses with the Italian cities. In their favorable situation lay also e explanation of the rise of the Flemish towns, which served as the a-ports of the rich Rhine hinterland. A further advantage accrued this group from the proximity of England, one of the main sources the Middle Age of the supply of that invaluable staple, wool. On e basis of this importation the Flemish cities, such as Ghent, pres, and Bruges, developed a textile industry which presents an teresting northern counterpart to that of Florence. The English ties across the channel from Flanders developed no equivalent dustry and long remained industrially inferior, but being favorably cated for commerce, several of them, and more particularly London the broad-backed Thames, became flourishing emporiums.

Enumeration of the great town areas in Italy, France, and Flanders

A last town area to consider embraced the German settlements ong the coast of the North and Baltic seas. In addition to exploit- g the profitable herring fisheries of their waters, they acted as iddlemen conducting the native products of Russia, such as leather,

wax, and furs, and of Scandinavia, such as iron and tar, into the stream of world trade. Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen stood forth as leaders in this area. For the purpose of completely overawing the opposition of the neighboring feudal lords they had united several score of seaboard and inland cities with themselves in a mighty federation called the Hanse. During the fifteenth century, when the Hanse was at its height, it dominated politically and economically the basin of the North and particularly of the Baltic sea all the way from Novgorod in Russia to London and Bruges. At Bruges in Flanders the two greatest streams of European commerce, coming respectively from the Mediterranean and the Baltic, coalesced, making Bruges the leading world emporium until supplanted in the sixteenth century by Antwerp.

The German towns united in the Hanseatic League or Hanse

B. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

With the townsmen engaging in ever expanding trade and industry, journeying into far countries to make acquaintance with strange climes and peoples, struggling to dominate the chaotic social and political conditions of the feudal era, and courageously trying their hand at self-government, the world in which they lived began to assume a new form, making it indispensable for them to bring their inherited ideas into conformity with the reality about them.

A new experience gives rise to new ideas

We have already seen that medieval Europe lived its life in the great shadow cast by religion and the Church. And this shadow is by no means a figure of speech, for the substance of the religious teaching of the age was that the body of man, as well as the earth of which it was a part, was under the curse of Adam and invited the scorn of the true Christian. The only thing of value was the soul, which, having come from God, would be restless here below until it had been reunited with the Father. Houses, lands, feasts, and finery, as empty possessions, as things seen, counted less than the dust of the fields against the unseen treasures of the spirit. If this is an extreme, ascetic statement of the Church's teaching, it may yet be said to communicate the essential attitude toward the problem of living which the Church drove home to the faithful. Man was in tune with the divine will if he resolutely rejected this

The medieval Church upholds as its highest aim the contemplation of divine things

rld for the better world to come. His best hope of salvation was be other-worldly.

At a relatively early time the townsmen, engaging in activities ich conferred pleasure in themselves as well as highly welcome terial benefits, began to entertain doubts touching the invable applicability to them and their affairs of the purely ealist doctrine of the Church. They were glad to be ve, they frankly enjoyed the sensuous and colored rment of the earth, and they delighted in the improved terial position resulting from their increased resources. nce the Church was an elastic institution, extremely ponsive to the society which it served, an immediate sh was avoided, although we can not fail to see that e development of town mentality took from the outset a direction horrent to fundamental ecclesiastical principle.

The earth-bound activities of the townsmen in contradiction with the main ecclesiastical trend

It was not so much the indulgent Church as one of its dependent titutions which gradually brought this secret inner conflict to the nsciousness of the intellectual leaders of the cities. In the eleventh d twelfth centuries the Church had greatly enlarged educational system by multiplying the monastery and thedral schools and endowing them with a curriculum ich inculcated the so-called Seven Liberal Arts — gramr, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music — t which in reality turned largely about Latin, the one wholly lispensable feature of an education aiming to fit a young cleric his future work. In the twelfth century this system had flowered a promising and ambitious institution, the university. Before g universities dotted the leading countries of Europe, but both the renown of its teachers and in the number of its students the iversity of Paris outshone all the others.

The medieval school and university system

The university movement signified a meager but genuine intetual revival based on such scraps of Greek and, more particularly, Aristotelian philosophy as had survived the long neglect the last phase of the ancient and the first phase of the v European civilization. Admittedly slight, the Aristotel- remains none the less furnished evidence touching e of the notable achievements of the Greek mind. e basic feature of Aristotelianism was a system of logic ich had been elaborated by the famous Athenian as a ans for testing truth. This logic had by a stroke of chance

The medieval intellectual movement aims at the reconciliation of faith and reason

been preserved; and enraptured by its rediscovery and by the excitements inherent in the dialectic game, the university professors undertook the task of bringing the Christian doctrines, owing their origin to faith alone, into harmony with the Aristotelian norms of reason. This labor, enthusiastically embarked on, produced a philosophy which from its university champions, the *doctores scholastici* or schoolmen, has been called scholasticism. The acknowledged prince of the scholastics was St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) who, coming at the end of a cumulative movement, solved in his famous *Summa* the philosophic problem of his age to the general satisfaction. The achievement of Aquinas consisted in adjusting the conflicting demands of faith and reason in so subtle and delicate a way that each came into its own without infringing on the rights of the other. With that success scholasticism had reached its goal and spent its energy; but, instead of dying, it unhappily lingered on, as movements ensconced in powerful institutions will, until, eternally chewing its ancient cud, it invited the irritated attention of the alert and mobile townsmen. What struck them was that the education served up in the schools and universities by the dull and dessicated schoolmen was wholly out of touch with the needs and problems of an urban group. They wanted, although they were perhaps only dimly aware of the fact, intellectual sanctions for their novel, mundane ways of living; and when they could not get them from the university professors, they took them from the only other authority available, the ancients.

There followed the intellectual revolt called the Revival of Learning; and it is notable that it took place, at least to a large extent, outside and even against the universities. It is in fact a town, not a university movement, and the best proof thereof is that it had its start in the great towns of Italy, more particularly in Florence. Its forerunners begin to put in an appearance as early as the thirteenth century, as may be illustrated by the case of St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). An extraordinarily pure and simple soul, he gave his life whole-heartedly to Christ and founded one of the great orders of begging friars, the Brothers Minor or Franciscans. In these respects he moved within the frame of the ascetic concepts of the Middle Age; but because he sent his friars not into monastic solitude but out into the world to serve their suffering fellow-men, and further, because he rejoiced with the simple pleasure of a child

The new feeling for life and nature illustrated by St. Francis of Assisi

poet in the countless fair forms of nature, calling the beasts his
›thers and the birds his sisters, he is on the way toward an affir-
tion of existence that is essentially modern.

)ne hundred years after St. Francis we come across the first
›n champion of a revival of classical studies, Francesco Petrarca
Petrarch (1304–1374). Of Florentine ancestry Petrarch, owing
the banishment of his father from the Arno city the result of a political defeat, was born in upper scany at Arezzo and brought up beyond the Alps at ignon on the Rhone, whither the papal court had ently transferred its seat. Having returned to Italy to rsue the study of law in the renowned legal university of Bologna, young Petrarch ended by rejecting a profession which was ugnant to his nature and courageously resolved to live his life cariously as a wandering scholar. To later ages he was chiefly own as a poet who poured out his troubled love for Laura in scores musical sonnets. By adopting the vernacular for these expressions a mercurial emotion he became one of the founders of Italian rature. However, among the men of his own time, Petrarch, the et, counted less, much less, than Petrarch, the intellectual giant. r them the notable thing about him was that he inaugurated a iscious rebellion against the hide-bound university professors and t he proposed to replace their educational pabulum, which he isidered as no better than thrashed straw, with the nourishment l abundantly stored in the literature of the classical period. What de that literature, produced more than a thousand years before, peal as still vital to the fourteenth century was an important but iple circumstance. It was the self-expression of an active people gaged in wrestling with the very human problems born of contact h this earth. Naturally enough its frank but refined worldliness de a strong appeal to the new Italian urban class involved in entially the same struggle.

The first great champion of the new learning is Petrarch

The spirit of Petrarch's championship of classical literature should clearly understood. Although the Greek language had been for-
ten in the European west and its inestimable trea-
es had become inaccessible, let no one dream that the at Latin authors had similarly sunk from view during Middle Age. Not only had the Latin language been de, as we already know, the corner-stone of the medie-
school curriculum, but the Latin authors, more particularly Virgil,

Petrarch champions the humanistic content of classical literature

were freely utilized as a convenient text for mastering a strange and difficult tongue. But these Latin studies, prescribed by the dogmatic system of the Seven Liberal Arts under the names of grammar and rhetoric, were at best hardly more than dry philological exercises. Wholly taken up with its peculiar theological preoccupations, the Middle Age made no effort to penetrate to the spirit of the classical authors, who with their glad acceptance of this earth dwelt in a realm incomprehensible and even hateful to ascetically minded men. Petrarch, therefore, did not so much recover the ancient books as he unsealed his mind to their vital contents, and, arising in his place, preached that content to all the seekers of life in his day. According to his reform program, the curriculum of the schools was still to be based exactly as before on Latin; only henceforth the young men were to receive the living message of the text in order to be guided by its light. Not Latin for the sake of a dead language and the dusty theological disputes conducted in it, but Latin as an avenue to a genial outlook on life became Petrarch's watchword. As this prized geniality of spirit was admirably expressed by the word *humanitas*, the Revival of Learning has often been indentified with humanism and Petrarch has been called the first humanist. In the same effort to emphasize his resolute departure from the austere ideals of a medievalism still widely prevalent in his age, he has, not without a certain exaggeration, been acclaimed the first modern man.

On the purely practical side Petrarch set himself as his main object the task of improving the manuscripts of Virgil, Horace, Livy, Cicero, and the other Latin poets, historians, and philosophers, whose texts, owing to the carelessness of many generations of scribes, had become exceedingly corrupt. In addition he aimed to establish libraries, by which the precious manuscripts could be made more accessible to the studious, and to discover valuable lost works among the dusty shelves of forgotten monasteries. In support of these labors he collected an enthusiastic following of scholars who devoted a vast energy to the recovery, correction, and popularization of the classical remains.

Petrarch inaugurates a new era in classical scholarship

Although Petrarch did not know Greek, he fully recognized its importance. Within a generation after his death a number of native scholars from the Greek east had been drawn to Italy as teachers, and in the first half of the fifteenth century these scattered forerunners were followed by a voluntary influx due to the gradual conquest of

Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman Turks. When, in 1453, nstantinople, the Greek capital, itself fell before the Asiatic on-ught, still greater numbers of scholars turned their footsteps to-rd Italy, taking with them as their most precious pos-sion whatever manuscripts they managed to save from wreck of their world. In this way the treasure-house Greek literature, immeasurably richer than that of me, was made accessible to the western student, and scholarly group of humanists, hopefully reaping the n fields of classical philology, history, and philosophy, might be ountered in every great center of Italy. While some of these n were no better than bat-eyed pedants, who gave their days to h trifles as the enclitic particle or the aorist tense, others again eped themselves so thoroughly in the issues of life which domi-ed Athens and Rome that they impress us in some of their mani-tations as belated Greeks and Romans, more comfortably at home a dead and buried age than in their own.

The conquest of Greek and the recovery of the classical viewpoint

By the middle of the fifteenth century the vision of a new intel-tual culture, based on antiquity, had seduced the whole educated rld of Italy. Not only leading laymen associated with govern-nt or trade, but numerous churchmen, especially men he highest rank, shared in the general enthusiasm. In ny instances when the great Church dignitaries did themselves become scholars, they assumed the role patrons and dilettanti and tolerantly discussed Stoi-n, Platonism, and the other philosophic speculations he Greeks as if they had been interesting early phases Christianity. Thus by subtle and imperceptible stages the other-rldliness of the Middle Age made way for the avowed worldliness the Renaissance, and a glad affirmation of this life, the precious of which we have an immediate consciousness, came to expres-n in all classes of society.

The new learning seduces the great churchmen and penetrates all classes

Of the peculiarly joyous temper of the period and of its happy ression in the arts we shall presently learn more; but one sinister comitant of the mental liberation belongs here and must not es-e our attention. It will cause no surprise to learn that continued occupation of the humanists with the pagan rld threatened in the long run to estrange them from ristianity. To be sure this had not been the case with Petrarch, the reason that he was still too close to the Middle Age to lose

The spread of pagan sentiments

his sincere awe of the faith of his fathers. But after a hundred years of Cicero and Seneca, of Plato and Plotinus, this faith no longer loomed so large as formerly and as a result the mass of the humanists became infected with religious scepticism. And yet, if they broke inwardly with their inheritance, if they became more or less pagan in their outlook on life, they made no clamorous and inconvenient stir about it. The Church, governed by prelates themselves steeped in the new learning and cut adrift from the traditional moorings, practised an extreme toleration and carefully avoided bringing the humanists into open opposition with itself.

Danger for the Church in the paganization of the Italian prelates

Judged from a purely religious standpoint the resulting situation in Italy was hollow and, in the long run, dangerous. For granting that under the popes of the fifteenth century, who, frankly attached to the pleasures and splendors of this world, may be classified as a distinct group of Renaissance popes, the Church appeared as a house magnificent, costly, and outwardly no less impressive than of yore, it was never the less permissible to suspect that that house no longer sheltered the Christ in whose divine name it claimed the respect and obedience of the Christian world. And though the Italians, absorbed by their pagan enthusiasms, might not be shocked by this contradictory situation, it was not improbable that some other people, not yet paganized by the new learning, would rise to protest against what struck it as an intolerable scandal in the Christian family.

C. LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS

The Renaissance stimulates the vernacular literatures

Since, during the Renaissance, men developed a new attitude toward the problems of living, literature and the Fine Arts, which serve as an outlet for whatever stirs the human heart, promptly came to the front. Let us first briefly consider the movement of literature. In Italy and in every other country as well writers arose who, moved in the depth of their souls by the freshening stream of life, felt that they had something of value to communicate; and although some writers continued to use Latin, so long the authoritative medium of the learned classes of the world, others, especially poets, became convinced that their emotions could be adequately expressed only in the familiar mother-tongue. In this way the European vernaculars, the French, Italian, Spanish, English, and German languages

uired an incontestable literary standing, while at the same time literatures in these languages, although they had begun to flourish the Middle Age in connection with the epic poetry cultivated the nobility, came into continuous being. Considered in their naissance phase, which alone concerns us here, these native ratures still possess a somewhat tentative character. They e come to stay but are not yet quite sure of the fact. Thus ian literature, after introducing itself to the world, as to the nd of silver trumpets, with the three immortal Florentines, Dante, rarch, and Boccaccio, all of the fourteenth century, in the fifteenth tury again dropped into comparative insignificance. In the same tury which gave Italy its great Florentine constellation England e birth to Chaucer (1340–1400), who produced the delightful *terbury Tales* but, like the Italian triumvirate, left no successor. ntemporary France was graced by Froissart (1337–1410), one of most picturesque prose chroniclers of all time, and, shortly after, rd the natural, moving voice of the poet Villon (1431–1484), child he city and its slums. Great names all these, but names whose inctly sporadic performances leave the impression that the liter- movement in the European vernaculars was not yet full-fledged. Everything considered, the temper of the Renaissance in the period ore the Reformation expressed itself much less fully in literature n in the Fine Arts. And in this field Italy so decisively led the er countries that we may be pardoned if, owing to of space, we confine ourselves to the artistic move- nt among the Italians. The several Fine Arts serve function of expressing within the limits of their re- ctive means and under the stimulus of the creative gination the longings and ideals of a particular society. In other ds, while architecture, sculpture, and painting always have specific ts which they must satisfy each in its own material of stone, d, or color, they will be found expressive and beautiful in a partic- case in exact measure as they give convincing form to the aspira- s of their time or of all times. No sooner had the townsmen, as y as the eleventh century, set themselves the task of building new thing, a town, than they perforce called architecture into g; and architecture in its turn quite naturally wakened to life pture and painting. But as all this early activity had taken e while the Church still enjoyed an unquestioned authority, the e Arts in their purely medieval phase were steeped in the Christian

The Fine Arts in the Middle Age created the Gothic style

spirit. By historians of art the medieval phase of the Fine Arts is universally called Gothic, a name rather ill-chosen (for what had the Goths to do with medieval art?), but fully serving a purpose if we agree that it means no more than that medieval churches, statues, and paintings were conceived in a particular spirit and sound an identical religious note. Gothic, in short, is a purely conventional name for the self-expression, the *style* of the Christian Middle Age.

When, with the coming of the Renaissance, the town began to break away from the moorings of the Church, when it devoted itself to worldly ends and in this pursuit reëstablished the broken connection with antiquity, the Gothic style was gradually abandoned and a new manner of expression developed appropriate to the new age. Of course, this style too was, no more than Gothic, fixed and unchanged through successive generations; and connoisseurs distinguish at least three phases, early Renaissance, middle Renaissance, and late Renaissance, covering together the period from about 1400 to 1550 and even 1600. Concerned here with but the merest sketch, we shall be satisfied first, to characterize the Renaissance art as a whole, and second, to point to a few of the great artists who distinguished themselves in the respective fields of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

The Renaissance style rules from 1400 to 1600

If we agree that Gothic feeling continued to rule the practice of the Italian artists till toward the year 1400, we are prepared to understand the conditions that helped mold the new style. Shortly after 1400 the artists, having had their attention called by the humanists to Greece and Rome, turned with the same fervor to the artistic monuments of the past as the scholars had already shown for its literature. With a sudden fiery enthusiasm for the new they coupled a wholly undeserved contempt for the forms which had enjoyed authority for so long a time. Gothic became positively taboo as they threw themselves with the passion of proselytes on the Corinthian columns, the decorative motifs, and the marble statuary of antiquity. Innumerable architectural and sculptural remains in a more or less complete state of preservation were still to be found in all the cities of Italy. If we consider more particularly the architects, in whose eyes the long neglected ruins suddenly again became beautiful, the practical issue for them came to be how the essential forms of the ancient monuments might be successfully adapted to the existing needs of society. The Renaissance town did not, like ancient Rome, call

The Renaissance style defined by its elements

amphitheaters, baths, and temples. It would normally require hedrals, town halls, and gild houses, in so far as the need for se had not already been met in the Gothic period; and with the reasing wealth of the community and of its individual members omewhat novel demand would make itself felt for parish churches, vate chapels, and, above all, for palaces and villas. Add that the ists, more particularly the sculptors and painters, refusing to intain the obligatory medieval attitude toward nature as the lm of Satan, knocked at her door with the request to be admitted her kindly confidences, and we have the situation out of which the w style was born. Defining that style by its elements, we may erefore summarily say first, that it represented a revival of classical ms; second, that it was inspired with the freshness of nature; and, rd that, while by no means wholly emancipated from religion d the Church, it served the interest and outlook of energetic oups which had risen to influence through the opportunities of de and industry.

Turning first to architecture, we greet in Brunellesco (1377–1446) e harbinger of the Renaissance spirit. His great work, by which illustrated the classical principle of spaciousness coupled with nplicity, is the dome with which he crowned the cathe- al of his native town of Florence. Such a church as n Lorenzo, also in Florence, announces his decision to rn from the massive piers which featured Gothic church nstruction to the lighter and more graceful columnar v of the Roman builders. These suggestions of Brunellesco, taken er and elaborated by several generations of innovators, studded e Italian towns with that profusion of handsome edifices in the naissance style which still arouses the admiration of the visitor. e culminating structure, both historically and stylistically, is rhaps St. Peter's at Rome. Many of the greatest architects of e peninsula were at one time or another entrusted with its nstruction which continued throughout the sixteenth century; t the most famous name connected with the enterprise is that the Florentine, Michael Angelo (1475–1564). In the far-seen me, in which Michael Angelo outdid the lofty cupola of his fellow- izen, Brunellesco, we hail one of the monumental achievements of time.

Architecture—Brunellesco and Michael Angelo

In many ways, however, the private structures of the period were re interesting and more varied than the religious edifices. It was

an age when military despots and merchant princes came to the front, desirous to commemorate themselves and their families with an enduring monument. In Florence successful bankers, like the Medici, the Strozzi, and the Pitti, erected heavy piles of masonry whose frowning, fortress-like, and medieval character, was only slightly modified by the urbanity of the new feeling, while in Venice, the sea city, where an unthreatened security reigned and the idea of a fortress as a family home had become a complete anachronism, the merchant residences rose in open, graceful, superimposed arcades, whose many-colored marbles softly mirrored themselves in the slow-moving canals. But if Venice and Florence stand out in the front of the Italian cities, Rome, Padua, Bologna, Siena, and a score of others did not lag far behind. They too were architecturally transformed; and since each town boasted a distinct town personality, its structures of this period sound a very individual note in the richly modulated Italian architectural chorus.

The profusion of private palaces and country villas

In the Florentine Donatello (1383–1466), the contemporary and friend of Brunellesco, we encounter the artist who inaugurated the Renaissance movement in sculpture. While an occasional, religiously conceived figure, like that of his well-known St. George, would show that he still cherished the memories of the Middle Age, his work, considered as a whole, is, though not untouched with the spirit of antiquity, the frank expression of a whole-hearted realism. As his numerous charming portrayals of childhood eloquently confess, Donatello was essentially a follower of nature. His contemporary, Ghiberti (1378–1455), is the author of the two celebrated bronze gates of the Florentine baptistery. They set forth in many scenes in high relief certain significant events, selected in one case from the life of Christ, in the other from the Old Testament. How be just to Luca della Robbia, Desiderio da Settignano, and a score of others? Enough that this Florentine school of sculpture culminated in Michael Angelo (1475–1564), who, by preference a wielder of the chisel, by no means confined himself to one art but practised also architecture, painting, and poetry. He is one of the myriad-minded men, the universal geniuses, who are a distinguished and distinguishing feature of the age. Abandoning the simple-hearted naturalism of Donatello which contented itself naïvely with the immediate aspect of the visible universe, he searched with persistence

Sculpture—Donatello and Michael Angelo

d austerity for the reality behind appearances, and in his Moses
Rome) and in his figures for the Medicean tombs in Florence
eated an almost terrifying world of supermen, confronted with
om every living generation since has felt itself reduced to a race
pigmies.

Significant as were the achievements of architecture and sculpture,
was, however, the art of painting which the Renaissance chiefly
ilized to voice its hopes and fears. That was perhaps because
int is a more fluid and expressive medium than stone or
arble and because the restless spirit of the age felt itself
ore completely at home in the sensitive and fugitive
ects of line and color. So much did painting become
e chosen Italian art that every town of any importance
veloped its own painters, who constituted a local group or school
th a style peculiarly their own. The inexhaustible richness and
riety of Italian painting is due to these schools, to which to do
stice here is entirely out of the question. Let us content ourselves
th glancing at the schools of the two greatest centers, Florence
d Venice.

Painting the outstanding art of the Renaissance

The Florentine school of painting was founded by Giotto (1266–
37) in a period still dominated by Gothic emotions. Though Giotto
rightly considered one of the greatest artists of all times, his work,
eeped in medieval feeling, ceased to appeal to the gener-
ion that took delight in Brunellesco and Donatello and
hieved the Renaissance civilization. Early in the fif-
enth century, therefore, the art of painting was invaded
the same spirit which had already moved architecture
d sculpture to fresh expression. The first painter to sound the
w note was Masaccio (1401–1428?), a sturdy, convincing realist, as
frescos in the Brancacci chapel, still extant, amply prove. Paolo
cello, Fra Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, and many others caught the
list note from him, delicately varying it according to their indi-
dual temper. In Botticelli the world still recognizes a personal
erance so rare, so puzzling that its mystic implications have never
ite been plumbed.

Florentine painting from Masaccio to Botticelli

The Florentine school came to its final fruition in Michael Angelo
475–1564) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). Of Michael Angelo
may be said that, though he became a painter against his will
the imperious bidding of a pope, he achieved in his scenes of
e creation, depicted on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel at Rome,

a masterpiece which has quickened the pulse of every generation of men since his time. Leonardo, like Michael Angelo, was a universal genius, who, in addition to painting, practised sculpture, interested himself in scientific experiment, and was an engineer and inventor. However, just as Michael Angelo was by preference a sculptor, Leonardo was first of all and preëminently a painter. Unfortunately some of his greatest works, like the Last Supper at Milan and the portrait of a lady, called Mona Lisa, at Paris, have been almost ruined by the tooth of time, owing, it would seem, to his over-hasty adoption of certain technical innovations.

Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci

At this juncture a word about the technical processes connected with painting may not prove amiss. At the time of Giotto and for several generations afterwards the Florentines commonly and preferably used what is known as the fresco method. By this, a convenient style of large-scale wall-painting, the artist applies his color to the wet plaster, permitting plaster and paint to fuse into an indistinguishable mass in the process of drying. Largely because of its discouraging lack of permanence, fresco work was gradually abandoned for painting on specially prepared boards or canvas in substantial colors which owe their peculiar body to the circumstance of their being carried in a solution of oil. This extraordinarily solid technic, commonly called painting in oil, gradually gained the upper hand and was employed also by Leonardo; only, given as he was to scientific experimentation, he tried other media, besides oil, with the disastrous result above mentioned.

Fresco and oil painting

One of the last artists to use the fresco technic with outstanding success was Raphael (1483–1520), whose great allegorical presentations of theology, philosophy, and poetry in the private chambers of the pope's palace of the Vatican, as well as whose numerous altar-pieces and portraits in oil, place him on the summit of the Renaissance movement. A certain grace achieved by Raphael, a sensuous harmony, too facile, it may be, but rarely winning, have made him the most beloved artist of all time. A native of the mountain town, Urbino, he is, let us not fail to note, a product not of the Florentine, but of the Umbrian school. To accord him a merited place in our brief record may serve to confirm us in the view that the great centers of Florence and Venice by no means enjoyed a monopoly of artistic genius.

Raphael of Urbino

Not only was the city of Venice remarkably secure in its day and

government unusually stable, but set in a silver sea under a blue d radiant sky, it was and has remained one of the fairest and ost stirring sights on earth. Inevitably these happy social and ysical conditions were reflected in the school of paint- g, which, springing from the fresh vigor of the Renais- nce, revelled in a liveliness and charm of color never fore or afterwards achieved. Since it is futile simply to call off the ster of illustrious Venetian names, let us rest content with the artists o stand on the summit of accomplishment. They are Giorgione, tian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese; but Titian (1477–1576) ps them all as the embodiment of peculiarly Venetian purposes. hether he produced portraits — and he produced many, since all e prominent people of his time desired to be limned by him — or ether he painted altar-pieces for the gorgeous churches lining the nals, his work no longer bears a trace of medieval provincialism piety. Let us for a moment transport ourselves into the pres- ce of that gorgeous panel in the Venetian Academy called the esentation of the Virgin. Instead of any act or gesture specifically ristian, we have a magnificent procession of gentlefolk moving th a dignity and arrayed with a sumptuousness which suggest not e Holy Family but the merchant princes under whose patronage tian and his school developed their refined, aristocratic, and frankly rldly art.

Venetian painting — Titian

D. NATURAL SCIENCE AND INVENTION

That the Middle Age neglected the natural sciences was no more an might be expected of a period which looked askance at this rth as a vale of tears and taught that the happiest hour of life was e hour on which one left it. The common people held at nature was inhabited by sprites, elves, and devils, om it was the part of wisdom to propitiate, and even e upper classes were very generally dominated by similar perstitions. Under these circumstances anything like sane or systematic study of man's physical environment was out the question and the closest medieval approach to scientific quiry, as we understand the term, is represented by the quack ences of astrology and alchemy. Astrology, which did indeed clude some slight observation of the heavens, owed its amazing pop- rity to the specious belief that the individual human destiny is termined by the stars, while alchemy, which undoubtedly encour-

Medieval science limited to astrology and alchemy

aged a small measure of laboratory experimentation, was practised in the illusive hope of fabulous riches to be achieved by converting the baser metals into gold. Conceding that astrology and alchemy served as forerunners of the genuine sciences of astronomy and chemistry, owing to the absurd hypotheses on which they were based, as well as because of the total absence of a critical method, we can not agree that they contributed greatly to a truly helpful and exact knowledge of man and his world.

Slow improvement of observational methods: medicine

With the advent of the Renaissance the negative attitude toward the earth popularized by medieval Christianity gradually made way for a happy affirmation, which imperceptibly led to a closer observation of natural forms and processes. The intellectual stimulus supplied by humanism contributed to the same end, for with the uncovering of classical literature there was uncovered also the remarkable science of the Greeks, more particularly in the fields of physics, astronomy, medicine, and mathematics. The result was that at some universities, notably at Padua, by slow, indeed, very slow degrees a new scientific spirit began to prevail. Not till the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, did it celebrate any considerable triumphs, and these, moreover, were long limited to medicine. It was a notable advance when such studies as anatomy and physiology were put on a frankly experimental basis by the dissection of dead bodies. The greatest Paduan name is that of a native Fleming, Dr. Vesalius. In 1543 he published his anatomical treatise, *Fabrica Corporis Humani*, wherein he took the bold position that it was necessary to challenge every past authority, even the awe-inspiring Greeks, and to be guided exclusively by an examination of the facts. The facts — that was the sign in which science was destined to win its imposing modern victories.

The solid advances of geography

But since, after all, it was only toward the year 1500 that medicine took a distinctly original turn, we are justified in putting at the head of the studies that first yielded novel results the related sciences of geography and astronomy. In fact, investigation will make perfectly clear that the medieval scientific petrifaction was first shaken by the introduction of new geographical knowledge. This originated in the simplest possible way as a by-product of the journeys undertaken by merchants over land and sea in search of markets. As soon as the Mediterranean area had become fairly familiar, men took to travel, very often as

much in the spirit of adventure as from the lust of gain. As early as the second half of the thirteenth century the celebrated Venetian, Marco Polo, penetrated overland all the way to China and left a record of his hazards which still inflames the imagination of the reader. Before long the scattered new information was incorporated in maps, made by cartographers who addressed themselves quite as much to man's mounting passion for knowledge as to the practical needs of traders and sea-captains. Then, in the fifteenth century, through the developments of humanism, the geography and astronomy of the ancient Greeks was made accessible. The last of the great Alexandrian astronomers was Ptolemy, who had lived in the second century after Christ and who had taught not only that the earth was round but also had calculated its circumference at an astonishingly close approximation to the true figure. Eager to pick up every crumb from the Greek table, the humanists were not slow to give up the common medieval view that the earth was flat in favor of the more authoritative Ptolemaic teaching. By the fifteenth century, therefore, the geography of the world had taken on a changed aspect: to abundant new data touching Europe, Africa, and Asia was added the advantage of fuller maps and charts and of the Ptolemaic hypothesis with its thought-provoking implications. If, in connection with these facts, we now consider the alluring profits of the oriental trade, we shall easily understand how men fell victim to that strange fever compounded of romance, love of knowledge, and low greed, which we call the voyages of discovery and which did not exhaust itself till man had entered into complete possession of the earth.

Of the voyages of discovery more will be said later on. At this juncture it behooves us to point out that the new geography led with unescapable logic to the new astronomy, connected with the famous name of Copernicus (1473–1543). This native of the city of Thorn on the Vistula river passed ten formative years of his life in Italy, where he absorbed in eager draughts the new ideas so generally diffused through the peninsula. Impressed by the Ptolemaic astronomy, which placed a round, stationary earth at the center of the universe with all the other celestial bodies revolving around it, he was none the less led to question some of its dicta and formulated, after years of study, his own hypothesis. This upheld the view that the earth with the other planets revolved around the sun, and that, in addition to this motion, it spun every twenty-four hours around its axis.

The new astronomy — Copernicus

Owing to the general currency of the Ptolemaic or geocentric theory, a currency made practically obligatory because of its endorsement by the Church, Copernicus hesitated so long to announce his heliocentric views that it was not till the year of his death that his epoch-making astronomical treatise issued from the press (1543). Not greatly noticed at first, its teachings filtered very slowly into the European consciousness. However, in measure as the new hypothesis captured the thinking minds, not only did it revolutionize the whole picture of the universe, but it helped decisively to put the natural sciences on a solid foundation by spreading the conviction that the modern, as distinct from the medieval, knowledge would have to begin with the challenge of tradition and pass on thence to new data accumulated through fresh, individual observation.

General stimulus to science of the Copernican astronomy

Because the Middle Age was conspicuously indifferent to natural science it must not be thought to have been wholly without distinction in the field of invention. While, as our own age would abundantly prove, invention is greatly stimulated by scientific discovery, it is not entirely dependent on it, since some of the most important inventions ever made by man have resulted from nothing more than from his inborn ingenuity. Even in the relatively slothful Middle Age men, on being confronted in the field of their immediate interests with perplexing problems, brought or tried to bring them to a satisfactory solution. Thus, since the liturgical service of the Church stimulated a love of music, the singers invented a system of notation, which, with additions imposed by later phases of development, is the system we still use. Again, the sailors of the Mediterranean, finding it difficult to steer their course as soon as they lost sight of land, either invented the mariners' compass or, what comes to much the same thing, took it over from the Arabs, who in their turn had borrowed it from the Chinese. As for the medieval painters, they first solved their particular difficulty, as we have seen, with the fresco method and, when that proved unsatisfactory, turned to oil and canvas.

The Middle Age not undistinguished by invention

When, with the quickening of intercourse in the Renaissance, problems of a technical kind rapidly multiplied, inventions, representing more or less complete solutions of the new problems, multiplied also. Two in particular had such far-reaching consequences that we must single them out for attention. In the course of the second half of the fourteenth century gun-powder came into use and gradually,

very gradually, revolutionized the European methods of warfare, since gun-powder led to the invention of artillery and muskets, at first of exceedingly rude construction but destined relentlessly to supplant the earlier weapons. In the wake of these technical improvements, certain social and political changes were not slow to announce themselves. A little reflection will show that the ascendancy of the feudal baron was to a considerable extent dependent on his exclusive possession of an expensive equipment of horse, lance, and armor. Since the new weapons, even though they long remained almost ludicrously clumsy, were far more effective, when it came to the business of killing, than pike and sword, they tipped the balance in favor of the military rivals of the baronage, the low-born mercenaries, who, equipped at the king's expense and employing a tactics appropriate to the new instruments, were able, on the one hand, to break the attack of the noble cavalry and, on the other, to batter a breach into the hitherto impregnable walls of the feudal castle. The strong monarchy, of which we shall presently hear more, made its advent with the fifteenth century; it owed its replacement of the feudal system substantially to the rise of the towns, but there is no room to doubt that the feudal decline was greatly accelerated by the military revolution signified by gun-powder and the new weapons.

Gun-powder destroys the military advantage enjoyed by the nobility

A still more significant invention, doubtless one of the most far-reaching in the annals of the human race, was printing. So long as books were written laboriously by hand, they were necessarily few in number and expensive, a prerogative of kings and princes, lay and ecclesiastical. With the rise of the towns the problem of a simpler and cheaper method of communicating ideas became pressing, and was met, as is usually the case, not with a single invention but with a whole interlocking series of them. The situation becomes reasonably clear if we remember that in the Middle Age the scribes wrote chiefly on parchment, prepared from the skins of animals, preferably of sheep. To supersede the costly handwritten parchment a long succession of steps would be necessary, of which the invention of *paper* and *movable type* were the most important. Toward the middle of the fifteenth century an excellent linen paper, made of the fiber of flax, had come into use as a substitute for parchment; and shortly after, in 1454, the first book printed from movable type dropped from the press. Char-

Printing involves a series of inventions

acteristically for an age still predominantly ecclesiastical the first creation of the new labor-saving device was a version of the Bible. That Bible, one would be inclined to say after weighing all the facts, was more than the work of its immediate printer: it was the composite achievement of a great number of men, each of whom, nameless though he has remained, contributed an invaluable fraction to the final product. However, as they apparently all resided in the flourishing cities dotting the course of the Rhine, printing may not improperly be represented as the collective offering to mankind of the Rhenish towns. The crowning invention, that of the movable type, is usually ascribed to John Gutenberg of the city of Mainz.

Within a few decades printing had spread from the Rhine to all the countries of Europe. Books, once a rarity, were multiplied as though by magic, and, sold for a small price, carried the old and the new knowledge far afield. Not only was learning, the proud and barricaded learning of the schools, henceforth made more generally accessible, but an enormously potent engine for the promotion of his program was put into the hands of every innovator and reformer. Though it would be a mistake to think of the broad masses of men as now taking to reading and lifting themselves without more ado to a new level of understanding, it is certain that the middle classes, the true carriers of the Renaissance, still further clinched the triumph which was already theirs. Printing, even more than gun-powder, heralded their advent to power; and it is clear evidence of their rise that before many decades had passed, the books printed in Latin, the vehicle of a limited group of scholars, were greatly outnumbered by those published in the various European vernaculars. Plainly whoever wished to be widely read had to be content to circulate his ideas in the language of the street and home. But if the new invention helped the common tongues to win their final victory over Latin, it also tended to replace the many dialectic variations in each European country with a fixed language norm accepted as authoritative for literary purposes. In other words, the Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English languages substantially received their modern dress in the sixteenth century through the wide diffusion of printed books.

The immeasurable revolution wrought by printing

E. INDIVIDUALISM

It is difficult for a modern man to realize to what an extent the Middle Age was a period of classes and class discipline. Whether you were a knight, a merchant, a craftsman, or a peasant, you lived out your life in the spirit of class loyalty and in strict submission to the firmly established customs of your group. In case you were injured in your rights you appealed for justice to the court which functioned for your social level. That means that there were baronial, ecclesiastical, town, and peasant (manorial) courts, to which the individual was amenable according to his status. Above the various civil courts, it is true, was the court of the king, but it did not always function because the king was frequently without power. Each class had its own dress, its own art, its own literature, even its own amusements and table manners. In sum, so tyrannical was the class code that the individual was bound and dominated in every concern of life by a vast multitude of meticulous prescriptions.

The rigorous class system of the Middle Age

In the Renaissance, through the operation of the forces which we have been studying, the stout barriers of custom began to give way and men were prompted to modify their group allegiance in favor of the new and persuasive ideal of individual freedom. The great merchant of Venice or Florence chafed at the numerous restrictions imposed by his fellows of the gild of merchants regarding buying and selling, and nursed the smouldering conviction that if he were given a free hand, he would much more rapidly mount the golden ladder of success. With such ideas simmering in his head he favored an economic policy of untrammeled enterprise, just as his contemporary, the humanist, enamoured of classical literature and advocating a new educational program, desired to cut loose from the intellectual and moral restrictions of the Church and university. Whenever you draw close enough to a Renaissance situation to see what is really happening, you discover that the men who figure as leaders in the field under examination are liberating themselves from the fetters of the past and aiming at fuller self-expression. Philosophically stated the Renaissance is therefore an age of emerging individualism, the essence of which is freedom. Freedom — what a seductive battle-cry! It has rung sonorously through all the succeeding centuries and continues in our day to make itself heard with all its old per-

The individualist creed produces a galaxy of brilliant personalities

suasiveness. To the attempt to achieve the greatest possible measure of free self-expression is to be mainly attributed the amazing galaxy of fifteenth and sixteenth century personalities, more brilliant perhaps and more sharply defined than those of any other epoch of history.

If individualism with its demand that every man seek his own fullest development came to the front at this time to remain a characteristic spiritual ingredient of the whole Modern Age, it carried with it certain ethical consequences which must not be overlooked. By its policy of minute and vigorous control the medieval class régime taught men to find their happiness in service to the group, in humble self-suppression. The Renaissance, on the contrary, with its individualist creed tended to ignore and sacrifice the group in favor of its most energetic and highly endowed members and to set up a criterion by virtue of which the gifted and successful ones, regardless of the methods they employed, were accorded universal honor. Two types of conduct, or, to speak philosophically, two systems of ethics were thus brought into confrontation with each other; and if the pagan-individualist type irresistibly surged to the surface in the Renaissance, the older medieval, or, as we may term it, Christian-socialist type was by no means entirely driven from the scene. In fact it is plain to see that both have existed side by side, often enough in open discord, to the present generation. What further complicates the situation is the circumstance that the modern man, as the historical heir of two ethical codes, most often tries to combine them both in his single person. The result is in most cases like the meeting of fire and water. Certainly it will not do to make out that men and women in our day adopt and tenaciously cling to either one or the other ethical system, seeing that in practice they pay a disconcertingly sincere homage to both.

Individualism with its ideal of freedom fosters an appropriate ethics

Making all allowances for a situation varying from place to place and class to class, we are still forced to admit that the Renaissance ushered in a new moral code. Its main elements are a powerful individualist assertiveness, the proclamation of freedom from inherited trammels, and an ethical and, by implication, an aesthetic practice in harmony with the new libertarian attitude toward the problem of living.

The main elements of individualism

F. THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

If the constant interaction of the Renaissance forces, here artificially separated for purposes of analysis, has already been emphasized, it is borne in on us with renewed persuasiveness in taking up the voyages of discovery. Can the voyages of discovery be logically separated from the commercial expansion of the towns already treated? Certainly not, since following directly in the wake of that expansion they were preëminently a commercial movement. Are they intimately tied up with the Revival of Learning? Most decidedly, since it was the new scholarship that revived the Ptolemaic geography and popularized the idea that the earth was round. Without doubt too the discoveries owe much to the new passion for self-expression and adventure which during the Renaissance burned like fire in the hearts of men.

The voyages of discovery not an isolated event

It would be entirely proper to introduce this division of our Renaissance summary with the cautious voyages which, during and after the crusades, first familiarized the Italian merchants with the Mediterranean, since it was these early, modest enterprises which gave birth to the passion for the sea. However, as commonly understood, the voyages of discovery concern themselves with the open ocean and begin very definitely with Portugal. A fundamental feature in this little country's commercial position was that it did not participate in the benefits of the spice trade monopolized by the Italians. Moreover, geographically Portugal lay opposite Africa, to which continent it gave an enforced attention since northwestern Africa was inhabited by hostile Mohammedan Moors, whose favorite out-door amusement was to prey upon Portuguese trade.

The voyages of discovery inaugurated by Portugal

In the first half of the fifteenth century a prince of the Portuguese royal house, known to fame as Prince Henry the Navigator, championed the idea, more or less in the air by reason of the enlarged geographic vision connected with humanism, of sailing around Africa to the Indies, the fabulous region whence the precious spices came. A deep Christian religious feeling added its peculiar stimulus to his purpose by filling him with the hope of pleasing God by the conversion of the African infidels. Moved to fit out expeditions, he received his reward before long by the discovery of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. When he died

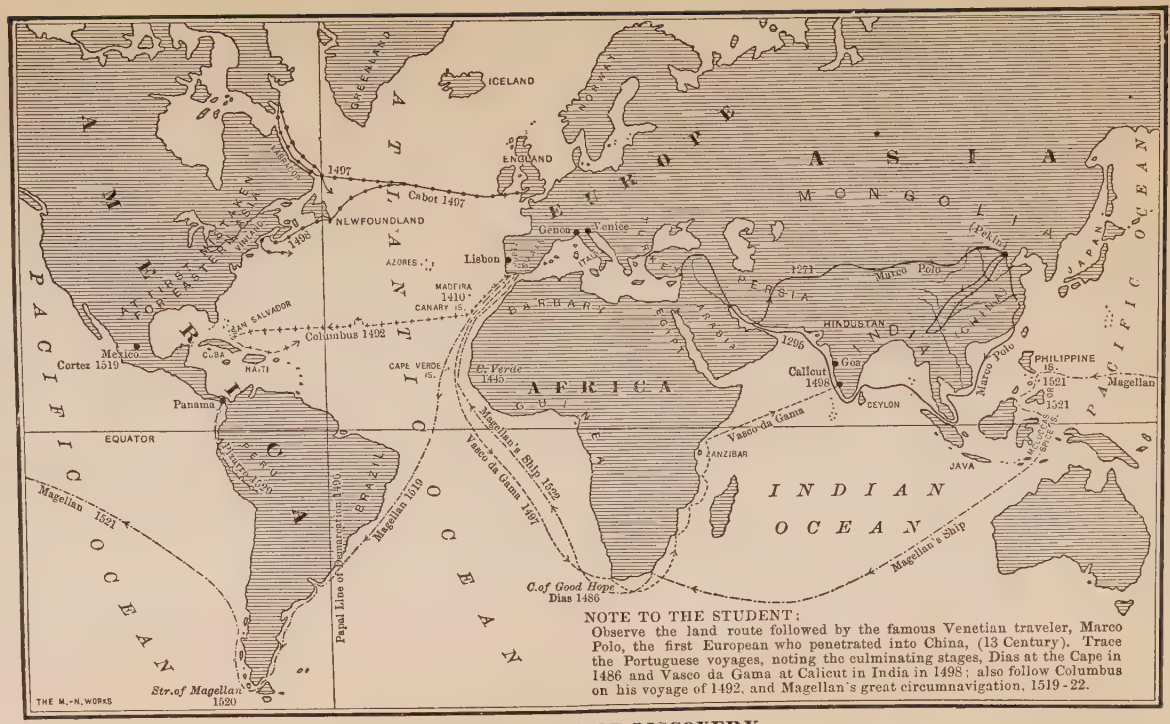
The Portuguese discoveries

in 1460, his bold mariners in their tiny ships had traced the coast of Africa almost to the equator. However, in spite of anxious prayers the land stubbornly refused to take the desired angle to the northeast which would show that the continent had been rounded. At last, in 1486, Diaz achieved this brilliant success and penetrated a few leagues beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and twelve years later, in 1498, Vasco da Gama crowned a century of heroic effort by sailing across the Indian ocean to Calicut in Hindustan. Since from now on the Portuguese could acquire the spices, silks, and other luxuries of the orient directly in the countries of their origin, the European trade in these commodities was put on a new foundation. The Italian cities, with Venice at their head, unable to compete with Portugal, suffered a mortal blow. Although the Adriatic metropolis might not immediately realize the fact, its heyday was over and its decline had set in.

The startling discoveries inaugurated by Prince Henry aroused the emulation of all the hardy spirits throughout the maritime world. Since the Portuguese had dedicated themselves to the task of reaching the Indies by rounding Africa, why should not the attempt be made to beat them to their goal by sailing west over the Atlantic? If the Ptolemaic theory, which had become the common property of scholars, was correct, it was impossible to miss the Indies by that route. A certain bold skipper, Christopher Columbus (1446–1506), a native of the Italian city of Genoa, pondered the idea until he became firmly convinced of its feasibility. Much derided by cautious stay-at-homes and long unable to find the necessary financial sponsors, he at last secured the support of a woman of vision, Queen Isabella of Castile. Supplied by her with three small caravels, on August 3, 1492, he set out from Palos, a port of western Spain. Over two months later, on October 12, when all his companions had already despaired of success, he touched land in the small island group of the Bahamas; and before turning his prow back to Europe he discovered also the large neighboring islands of Cuba and Haiti.

Christopher Columbus sails west for the Indies

Owing to his undercalculation of the earth's circumference, Columbus believed that he was on the fringe of the desired spice lands, the fabled Indies, and the name Indians, which he gave to the western aborigines, has clung to them to this day. On his return to Spain he was heartily acclaimed by court and people. Queen Isabella raised him to the rank of admiral, conferred a patent of



NOTE TO THE STUDENT:
Observe the land route followed by the famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, the first European who penetrated into China, (13 Century). Trace the Portuguese voyages, noting the culminating stages, Dias at the Cape in 1486 and Vasco da Gama at Calicut in India in 1498; also follow Columbus on his voyage of 1492, and Magellan's great circumnavigation, 1519-22.

THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

bility on him, and invested him with the viceroyalty of the new nds. In three subsequent voyages he learned nothing which led m to correct the impression that he had reached the outskirts of sia and the Indian spice lands. A choleric man by ture with a host of enemies, he experienced many range vicissitudes, of which perhaps the strangest is that was, on the occasion of one of his later visits to the nds he had discovered, arrested and sent back to Spain, a prisoner irons. On his death in 1506, near Valladolid, he was rapidly rgotten, and by a tragic mishap the world, which he had, so to eak, called out of the void,[1] was named, not after him, but after a latively unimportant traveler and geographer, the Florentine, merigo Vespucci.

Columbus's mistake about his discovery

In consequence of these startling successes discovery became a assion, especially among the Portuguese and Spaniards. Though e seas were wide and perilous, every adventurer's soul felt a per- nal summons to strike out into the unknown regions hence fame and riches beckoned. Voyage soon trod on the heel of voyage, each new enterprise contributing s mite to the completion of the world's geography. In 1497 John abot, a Venetian citizen in the employ of Henry VII of England, ached Cape Breton Island, off the coast of North America; and 1499 Pinzon, who had accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, irted the shore of Brazil. Thus the great continental mass behind e curtain of islands discovered by Columbus slowly hove in view d it became clear that this was neither India nor China. A fitting max of this multiplied endeavor was reached when Magellan, a ortuguese in the Spanish service, attempted in 1519 to reach Asia a passage to the south of the American continental barrier. aving successfully rounded Cape Horn, he was the first European furrow the Pacific, and in 1522, after a journey of three years, his ip, fittingly named Victory, reached its European starting-point. agellan himself did not live to see the end, for he was killed upon e Philippine Islands; but the honor of the first circumnavigation the globe is undeniably his.

Discovery becomes a passion

As the discoveries had their origin in man's commercial instincts,

[1] It may be noticed in passing that the Northmen, proceeding from Iceland, d discovered America in the tenth century and called it Vinland. But as their scovery was not followed up, it had no results for civilization and does not tract in the least from the well-earned fame of Columbus.

they were utilized at once for purposes of trade. But that was not all. Energized by their successful labors, the Portuguese and Spaniards undertook also to Christianize the new regions and to settle them with colonists from the home-lands. In other words they adopted a policy of thorough-going Europeanization. However, it became apparent before long that this ambitious program would be successful only in the savage and sparsely inhabited continents of North and South America. In the thickly settled regions of Asia, especially in India and China, where the natives boasted a civilization, which, if different, was by every objective standard equal to that of Europe, both Christianization and colonization encountered insurmountable obstacles. In consequence we note a difference: Asia remained, as it began, a field purely of commercial exploitation; the Americas, on the other hand, were gradually planted with settlers and Europeanized.

Different treatment of Asia and the Americas

In this work of colonial appropriation Portugal and Spain, as first upon the ground, had an advantage over the other European states. For a moment they even dreamed of excluding all third parties and sharing the immense booty between themselves. Appealing to the pope to serve as arbiter, after much haggling they agreed (1496) on a division of the New World based on the meridian which lay three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. All the new lands to the east of this meridian were to belong to Portugal, all to the west to Spain. But this arrangement, so immensely profitable for the partitioning powers, could not be maintained. In the long run, even as between Portugal and Spain, each power was likely to hold only what it could actually lay its hands on; and both together would find it impossible to shut out determined rivals. Sooner or later England, France, and, very likely, other countries would join in the scramble for the new possessions, and, in view of the resources at their disposal, were almost certain to effect a lodgment.

Attempt of Portugal and Spain to monopolize the new lands

The fierce colonial rivalry among the European powers is one of the most important interests of the Modern Period and will play no small part in this history. For the present, however, we shall merely associate the various European powers with the main regions to which in the first instance they directed their colonial enterprise. The Portuguese planted trading posts along the coast of Africa and the southern shore of Asia, and by means of an unbroken chain of

rtified establishments long dominated the trade of the Indian cean. They also settled Brazil, which lay to the east of the eridian agreed upon with Spain, with sufficient numbers of their vn people to make it gradually Portuguese in speech id manners. The Spaniards located their chief colonial nters at the following points: (1) The West Indies, hither Columbus himself had first directed the stream immigration; (2) Mexico, which was won for the paniards by the intrepid conqueror Cortez; (3) Peru, which was quired by the equally undaunted Pizarro; (4) the Philippine lands, secured by Magellan. With the West Indies, Mexico, and eru as outlying bases of action, Spain surrounded and soon occupied e whole region of Central and South America (except Brazil), while means of the Philippine Islands she acquired an important foot-old in Asiatic waters.

The main colonial objectives of Portugal and Spain

The northern countries of Europe entered late, and with only adually increasing vigor, into the struggle for the new continents. ne little which Henry VII of England did to secure a share for his tion in the great extension of the world is of importance ly by reason of consequences which he did not foresee. 1497 he fitted out John Cabot, a Venetian, who, as eady noted, reached the coast of North America. After enry's time English enterprise slumbered, to be directed its revival toward the discovery of still another passage, a passage the waters of the northwest, to that goal of all desires, the spice nds of Asia. By this route it was hoped to repeat the feat of the ortuguese and Spaniards, who had reached Asia by following respec-vely a southeasterly and a southwesterly course. Although, owing the far projection of North America into the Arctic sea, the nglish plan was doomed to failure, it had the effect of at least eping alive the English interest in the North American coast. ot till the early seventeenth century, however, did the English lly realize their opportunities and set about the systematic coloni-tion of the Atlantic seaboard.

England slowly turns to the American coast

The French proved even more lax than the English in colonial terprise and it was not till the reign of Henry IV 589–1610) that they seriously undertook to carve out a nquest for themselves. They then hastened to undo, far as possible, the consequences of their neglect by ttlements in Canada, and, later, in Louisiana, that is, in e great basins of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers.

France secures a lodgment in Canada and Louisiana

Colonial success was in every instance assured by the support of a strong home government. By mastering that fact we have the explanation why Germany, where the feudal lords had reduced the central sovereign to impotence, had no part in the voyages of discovery and in this matter of colonial increase came off with empty hands. In the case of Italy too, it was its unhappy political atomization which accounts for its failure to share in the Asiatic and American spoils. These vast potential benefits were reserved for the united and the strong.

Germany and Italy do not participate in the colonial movement

G. THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

A feature of the Renaissance which we can not afford to overlook is that it matured a new form of economic organization in which we recognize the germ of modern capitalism. In considering the growth of the town we noted that the expanding economic life centered around the gild. The gild was an admirable institution in its way and for its time. It supplied the town market, of which it was conceded a monopoly, but it also assumed proportionate obligations in that it guaranteed the town residents a sound article at a fair price. Although competition was not entirely eliminated among the members of the same gild, it failed to raise its head effectively against the prevailing equalitarian ideal of a living on a decent burgher level secured to the whole membership. A further purpose of the gild economy was to eliminate the middle man, the merchant trader, by requiring whoever produced an article to display and sell it in his shop.

Medieval economy is town economy and its unit is the gild

However, fashioned for local ends, the gild became ineffective the moment the question of a lively export trade arose. This called for foresight and initiative, that is, for the promoter and enterprise who was free to arrive at independent decisions and who was not hampered by the minute regulations concerning buying and selling which governed the gilds. As soon therefore as a foreign trade of considerable dimensions developed such, for instance, as the Italian trade with the Levant during and after the crusades, it eluded the control of the gild and was appropriated as his playground by the merchant endowed with a particular genius for business. Though the risk

Foreign trade appropriated by the merchant-adventurer

volved in these distant enterprises were enormous, the profits, rrespondingly large, produced riches undreamed of by the stay--home craftsman and shopkeeper and presently gave rise, first the towns of Italy and later, throughout the west, to a rela-vely small body of merchant princes and capitalists who towered ad and shoulders over the rest of the community.

While wealth might be and usually was individually owned, in cordance with the requirements of the age it was amassed by means the coöperative or company venture. Consider the case of an intel-gent Venetian who saw the chance of profit by importing a rgo of spices from Alexandria. He could not from his n resources supply the ships, the wages of a large num-r of seamen, and the articles of the out-bound voyage ich were to be sold on the Egyptian market. He would ve to find partners who would share in the prospective profits in oportion to their contribution to the enterprise. Formed in the st instance for a single voyage, the association, if successful, might ke on a permanent form. Because of the greater trust existing ong blood relations it is noticeable that most early partnerships ssessed a family character. Moreover, as the merchant companies re alert to utilize every opportunity, they engaged not only in trade t also in financial operations, without which, owing to the be-ldering coinage situation, no trade in goods was possible. All rly trading companies without exception did also the business of nks; and those of Florence, which with creditable intelligence veloped to the highest degree the possibilities of the banking field, quired for their city a financial preponderance like that of London New York in our day. That already by the fifteenth century oney had become king, more particularly of course in Italy, is ustrated by the company of the Medici. Substantially a family nk, which had accumulated its huge capital under the leadership several generations of eminent merchants, it engaged in the manner pical of early capitalism in trading and exchange operations in ery part of the known world. By the second half of the fifteenth ntury the Medici operated a subsidiary bank in every important nter of Europe. At the same time the family insinuated itself into e government of Florence with the result that the head of the stitution gradually emerged as the ruler of the city.

The merchant company and the rise of banking

A similar, if more tardy, development in the regions north of the ps, particularly in Flanders, prepared the way for the subjection

of the whole economic life of Europe to the power of money; for, while capitalism originated with the export trade, it was not long before it influenced the whole medieval gild economy. The exporter with connections in all markets and commanding ample resources could buy the raw products, such as wool or leather, much more cheaply than the local gild, and by giving out limited quantities from his store and further, by contracting for the total annual output of the individual master, could bring the gilds more or less under his control. As early as the fourteenth century the flourishing cloth manufacture of Florence was already so completely in the power of a handful of great promoters who merely bought up the cloth for export without themselves producing a single yard that the gild system no longer squared with its original principle. In the altered circumstances the masters of the wool gild leave the impression of having been reduced to a body of small shop-foremen while the journeymen and apprentices look for all the world like a proletariat of modern wage-earners.

Capitalism undermines the gild economy

The same movement may be noted somewhat later in Flanders and, somewhat later still, in England. It indicates an economic evolution which would end by crowding the socialistic gilds entirely from the scene and by establishing a competitive, capitalist order of society. Nor does it admit the least doubt that this was a fated development since it falls in perfectly with all the forces abroad in the Renaissance, with the enlargement of the world and of its opportunities, with the individualist philosophy inviting every man to make the most of his powers, and with the replacement of the town as the economico-political unit of society with the nation ruled by the "strong," the modern king. Monarchs like Louis XI of France and Henry VII of England or, in the following century, like King Francis I and Emperor Charles V, leaned heavily on the monied men, the bankers and capitalists, and never ceased to favor them as against the little men, the shopkeepers, who fought desperately to maintain the familiar but steadily slipping system of the gilds.

The rise of a capitalist society

H. THE STRONG MONARCHY

It remains to discuss the characteristic political movement belonging to the Renaissance. That already in the Middle Age the town had flung a challenge to the feudal baron we are aware; also that the town had become steadily more powerful, even though the feuda

ass had remained a factor, and a powerful factor, in the situation. nder the constitutional conceptions which ruled the Middle Age e monarch was himself a baron, though a baron-in-chief, to whom as conceded an honorary and strictly limited headship er his fellow-barons. He was *primus inter pares* (first nong equals). On account of his feudal origin and prej- lices he frequently failed to understand that the town ovement offered itself as a convenient means for engthening his position as against the nobility. In the long run e fact could hardly escape him, while, regardless of his far or ortsightedness, the cities would be only too eager to give him their pport against an overweening baronage whose lawless control of e countryside interfered with their freedom of trade. Throughout rope it comes to this: the towns and the monarch were natural litical allies.

The political alliance between towns and monarch

Owing to special circumstances belonging to medieval history, ermany and Italy constituted the Holy Roman Empire and had e same monarch, the Holy Roman emperor. Confronted in Ger- any with the great landed nobility and in Italy with the pe supported by the towns, the emperor was in the urse of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries so com- etely worsted that in both countries, but more partic- arly in Italy, he was reduced to impotence. In Italy e towns and other local agencies became substantially independent, hile in Germany the largest of the barons acquired a power tanta- ount to sovereignty. In the period of the Renaissance this medie- l decision against the emperor became irrevocable. In Italy he actically disappeared from the scene; in Germany, though he made belated effort to strengthen his hand by favoring the towns, he mained so feeble that he conveys the impression of being hardly ore than tolerated by the great dukes and archbishops, the real asters of the land.

Decline of the monarch's power in Italy and Germany

In Spain, France, and England, on the other hand, the feudal narchy in this same Renaissance period traveled the opposite ad and steadily waxed in strength. In these countries for reasons at belong to medieval history the king was not exposed to the com- nation of circumstances which sapped the vigor of the Holy Roman peror. Owing to this immunity he was enabled to profit to the l from the rise of that strong urban element which was opposed the barons and actively engaged in multiplying the wealth of the

country. When the king needed money, as he constantly did since the jealous nobles systematically kept him poor, he found that the easiest way to get it was to apply to the men with the moneybags, his doughty burghers. But as these naturally asked for a return favor, they received it, on the one hand, by enlarged municipal charters and, on the other, in the form of a constitutional concession: they were admitted to the feudal assembly of the realm. The feudal assembly or parliament was originally composed of clergy and nobles and constituted the national council of the king. When to clergy and nobles, who in feudal law were regarded respectively as the first and second estates, the representatives of the towns were added, these, having gained a foothold within the feudal frame, acquired the character and designation of a third estate. It was essentially in the Renaissance period that this advance in political status was secured by the towns of all three feudal states under discussion.

The monarchs of Spain, France, and England lean on the towns

To the bonds of a financial and constitutional order created between the townsmen and their king a powerful emotional element was presently added in the rise of nationalism. As one of the decisive influences in the history of modern Europe nationalism can not be too closely scanned by the student. Although not entirely lacking in the medieval period, it became clearly manifest as a political factor only in the Renaissance, from which time it has grown steadily until, like a slowly developing motif in an orchestral piece, it mounted to a thundering climax in the nineteenth century. Nationalism is a sentiment based on community of language and customs and is historically associated with the new social order inaugurated by the towns. Latent and unimportant in the period of unchallenged feudalism, it made its appearance in the Renaissance, most often under circumstances involving an attack by a foreign foe on the collective interests and ideas of the urban class. Thus Spanish nationalism developed as a reaction against the Mohammedan Moors, who had taken possession of the land in the eighth century; and it strengthened and consolidated itself in the long struggle with the alien invader. Similarly French nationalism, as the name of Joan of Arc eloquently attests, was the child of the English invasion and the Hundred Years' War. Again, the English largely achieved their own powerful group consciousness in the same struggle. We must guard against exaggerating the new national fervor of the western

Nationalist sentiment comes to the aid of the king

oples, since so long as the baronial class held aloof from the com-
on people, considering itself a special breed infinitely superior to
e vulgar herd, a harmonious sentiment, binding all classes, was
t of the question. However, it can not be denied that the towns,
ich in the first phase of their existence had been animated by
thing more than a very local type of patriotism, became the
ampions of the more inclusive sentiment and, in measure as they
ospered, spread among the people of the same speech a more gener-
s love of country. But as the head of the country was the king,
in fact, he was the visible embodiment of the nation, it followed
at every increase of patriotic sentiment redounded to his benefit.
Thus a powerful combination of circumstances connected with the
wns and their new civilization came to the aid of the king in his
uggle with the nobles. But to the nobles, as outstanding rivals of
e royal power, must be added the clergy, who in the

Growth of the royal power implied also a struggle with the Church

edieval period had acquired a body of rights and im-
unities amounting in their sum to substantial independ-
ce of the state. When we further recall that at the
ight of the Middle Age the pope, as chief representative
the clergy throughout Europe, had gone the length of
claring that kings held their states by his grace as papal benefices,
shall have to admit that the medieval monarch faced a difficult
uation. It was indisputable that if ever he was to become the
ective head of a united people, the vast clerical pretensions and
vileges would as imperatively have to be reduced as those of the
bility. In fact the only conceivable way by which a united nation
uld be created was by the subjection by all classes alike to a com-
on law embodied in the king. Wherever therefore the national
ification movement was inaugurated, a struggle with the Church
lowed as logically and inexorably as with the nobles.

It must now be clear that the cue for an active sovereign of the
e of the Renaissance was to enlarge in every way the monarchy cen-
ed about his person. This states substantially the royal program
rsued alike in Spain, France, and England; and though

Measures by which the king increased his power

execution exhibits considerable variation in each coun-
, there is noticeable a broad identity of result. With-
t necessarily disturbing the numerous judicial tribunals
nerited from the feudal régime, the king confirmed his
sition as court of final appeal and head of the national system
justice; he multiplied the officials who looked after the royal

interests in the provinces, thereby building up a royal administration; he increased his income by subsidies from the towns, which he was concerned to render fixed and regular; and with his enlarged means he laid the foundation of a permanent armed force dependent on no one but himself. All these measures partook in reality of a more tentative character than is indicated by the above over-definite statements. Often enough, as, for instance, in England during the War of the Roses, it seemed as if the monarchy, instead of winning its cause, was on the point of being engulfed in disaster; but, beneath the surface, the tendencies here sketched continued to operate and ended by producing that novel political phenomenon, the strong monarchy.

Spain, France, and England become strong monarchies

As a result of this political evolution Spain, France, and England, on the eve of the Reformation, present themselves to view with a new unity and vigor; and though they will long continue to be engaged in the process of extricating themselves from feudal bonds, it may be said of them around 1500 that they have become fairly provided with a modern centralized organization, enabling them to exercise a power undreamed of in their earlier history.

Summary

The eight heads under which we have attempted to familiarize ourselves with the Renaissance are so many paths by which the European man ventured into new fields. If we hold fast to the idea that he was carrying forward a movement of civilization the foundations of which had been laid in the Middle Age, his many activities during the new period become amazingly unified. For, viewed in this organic manner, the Renaissance signified in substance a breaking away from childhood with its innumerable bondages. Surely it is not merely fanciful to see in the man of the Middle Age essentially a child, a timid stay-at-home clinging to his familiar hearth and disinclined to look beyond the narrow limits of his home and parish. Besides, the Church, which led him like a mother by the hand, bade him not to make too much of this life of troubles but to feast his eyes on the vision of the life to come. There was in consequence something repressed and passive about the Middle Age. By the hundreds and the thousands men sought the seclusion of a monastic cell, voluntarily renouncing life before its natural close. Yet within other thousands and tens of thousands a spark gleamed and a sap stirred which would not be extinguished or denied. And when in due time the child became a youth, west-

10°
15°
45°
40°
35°
Belleva
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
Milan
Turin
Venice
VENETIA
Mantua
Modena
Ferrara
Genoa
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Pisa
FLORENCE
GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY 1557
Siena
SIENA
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
CORSICA (To Genoa)
Rome
Benevent
Naples
NAPLES
SARDINIA (To Aragon)
Palermo
SICILY (To Aragon)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ITALY IN THE RENAISSANCE
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
10
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

uropean civilization entered upon a new and higher stage. Here es the significance of the Renaissance, here is the reason why the ght aspects under which we have examined the movement exhibit ith the often wanton breaking of bonds the courageous testing of ew opportunities. The Renaissance triumphantly affirmed that the ecial characteristic of European civilization was to be experimen- tion and love of danger in a degree beyond that of any other civil- ation of which there is record; it declared that for better or orse European civilization was not to be held under the authorita- ve direction of the Church in a fixed and predetermined mold, ut that by combining curiosity with enterprise it was to impose n the European man the obligation of an unceasing self-renewal.

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SECTION II

THE REFORMATION AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS FROM 1500 TO 1648

CHAPTER IV

THE EUROPEAN STATES ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

The emergence among the peoples of western Europe of the strong monarchy, of which we have just heard, is in striking contrast with the increased disintegration among the peoples of central Europe. This contradictory phenomenon suggests the necessity of a detailed survey of the whole European political situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century. And as at that time Italy was in most essential respects the center of the western world it is proper to begin our survey with the Mediterranean peninsula.

Desirability of a detailed survey of Europe

ITALY

The central fact of Italian political history during the Middle Age is that the Holy Roman emperor lost his hold on the peninsula. He suffered defeat, in part because he represented feudalism and thwarted the growth of city life, but in still larger part because, as a German, he represented the idea of foreign domination. In consequence the towns, representative of a young and sturdy nationalism, joined forces with the pope, violently opposed to the emperor as the leading check on his political ambitions, and the combination proved too much for the imperial strength. With the death in 1250 of Frederick II of the house of Hohenstaufen the sun of the Empire may be said to have set in Italy. Nor did the occasional reappearance of an emperor in the fourteenth and even in the fifteenth century alter the situation: Italy had thrown off the imperial yoke.

Italy breaks away from the Empire

The casting off of the imperial yoke is part of the great outburst of energy which led to the Renaissance. Scores of towns of

northern and north-central Italy, chiefly in Lombardy and Tuscany, became free republics, and having no more to fear from the emperor, engaged in violent conflict with one another; in the mountain areas of the Alps and Apennines occasional feudal lords, more or less formidable, continued to maintain themselves; the central area, with Rome as capital, was claimed by the pope as his temporal dominion; and finally, the spacious south, including the island of Sicily, constituted the kingdom of Naples (officially called the kingdom of Sicily). The most novel and promising features in the complicated situation were the northern and north-central towns, which had gained political liberty and overflowed with bubbling vigor; but unfortunately, like the Greek cities of antiquity, neither could they keep the peace with one another nor preserve the necessary inner harmony among the citizens. As a result a double movement was soon manifest among them: the large towns swallowed up their small neighbors, and all towns, large and small, becoming a prey to domestic faction, tended to fall under the rule of some bold adventurer eager to assume despotic control. Before many decades had passed the city of Milan embraced all Lombardy, while Venice and Florence, equally aspiring and ambitious, achieved a position of corresponding eminence in the provinces respectively of Venetia and Tuscany. Around 1450 therefore the towns of Milan, Venice, and Florence exercised such power that only the state of the Church, dominated by the pope, and the kingdom of Naples could be compared with them. These five outstanding states ruled the politics of Italy and while there were still some feudal lords, such as the dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, who represented survivals of an older order, they brought little effective power to bear on the situation. Let us take a closer view of the five leading states.

The Italian chaos and the emergence of five dominant states

Milan. Even before Milan acquired the control of Lombardy by subjecting the neighbor-cities to her rule, her local government had suffered the typical transformation from free republic to despotism. It was the penalty the citizens paid for being unable to bring their local feuds to an amicable settlement. The first tyrant was of the native house of Visconti, which by its bold and unscrupulous conduct succeeded in making its power permanent. In sign thereof the Visconti despot presently took the title duke and converted the Milanese republic into a duchy. In 1447 the last Visconti died without male heirs. Thereupon the

The ruling houses of Visconti and Sforza

city reasserted its freedom, but lacking the energy to carry out its purpose, it was in 1450 obliged to accept a new despot, a military adventurer by the name of Francesco Sforza. Like the Visconti before him Sforza fastened his power on the state. The second ducal line set up a brilliant court at Milan and with the Milanese revenues at its disposal entered with zest into the political rivalries of the peninsula.

Venice. From early medieval times it was clear that the city of Venice was destined to play a large role not only in Italy but also in Europe. A sea-city, planted among the islands of the Adriatic lagoons, she was secure from attack by land, while her position at the very center of the contemporary world imposed upon her, as it were by decree of nature, the part of intermediary in the commerce between east and west. Alert to the opportunity, not only did her merchants succeed in gradually monopolizing the trade of the Levant, but in order to make their position impregnable they built up a colonial empire, which at its height included the Dalmatian coast as well as the islands of Corfu, Crete, and Cyprus together with a large number of smaller islands constituting an unbroken chain of posts stretching all the way across the waters of the eastern Mediterranean. When the poet Wordsworth, reviewing her medieval greatness, began an apostrophe to her with the words: "Once did she hold the gorgeous east in fee," he uttered no more than the bare truth.

Venice founds a maritime empire

But their colonial empire did not suffice the ambitious traders of the Queen of the Adriatic. Desiring to secure the passes of the Alps, necessary for their trade with Germany, they began an expansion movement on the continent; and at the very time when neighboring Milan was consolidating her rule in Lombardy the Venetians set up the banner of their patron saint, St. Mark, throughout the northeastern province of the peninsula, the province of Venetia. Already deeply involved in the engrossing politics of the eastern Mediterranean, the city of the lagoons was by this acquisition plunged also into the territorial problems of Italy.

Venice becomes an Italian land power

Venetian domestic government presents a very different face from that exhibited by the average Italian town. The main reason is that the enterprising merchants who had been particularly instrumental in building up the wealth and the greatness of the city were firmly resolved that the political control should never pass from their

ands. In this purpose they were aided by the circumstance that, reëminently commercial, Venice never developed a powerful indus-rial proletariat. In consequence of the weakness of the common eople the merchants succeeded not only in gradually elim-nating the democratic features originally embodied in ne Venetian constitution, but also in establishing them-elves as a full-fledged hereditary oligarchy. It was in 297 that they carried the decisive measure which declared nat the government inhered in perpetuity in the citizens who at that ate were members of the Grand Council and in their descendants. Naturally the limited number of families thus exalted above their ellow-citizens thenceforth designated themselves as noble and, in roof of their unusual intelligence and moderation, maintained them-elves in unchallenged control for many centuries. Although an ereditary Grand Council thus became the sovereign body over enice, the actual administration was placed in the hands of various ommissions elected by the Grand Council. The system culminated n the duke or doge, who was chosen for the term of his life but bound o a strictly constitutional and severely limited exercise of power. n view of her prosperity, political stability, and, last but not least, er brilliant contribution to the culture of the Renaissance, Venice nay be regarded as probably the most successful merchant oligarchy n European annals.

The Venetian government a merchant oligarchy

Florence. The only Italian city which matched and possibly xceeded Venice in wealth and culture was Florence. In political tability, on the other hand, the Tuscan town was decidedly inferior. The explanation lies in the circumstance that Florence, hough by no means eschewing over-sea trade, developed rimarily as an industrial and banking center and became ensely populated with workingmen engaged, above all, n the manufacture of woolen cloth. At a relatively arly time the gilds, twenty-one in number, around which the eco-omic life of the town revolved, took over the government of the ity. However, in point of fact the few large and powerful merchant ilds of bankers and wholesalers successfully kept the lesser or craft ilds in the background, while the common workers, forbidden to rganize gilds of their own, brooded over their wrongs in sullen dis-ontent. In spite of these inner rifts and because of a really genuine assion for political liberty, Florence retained a republican form of overnment longer than any city of Italy. In the long run, however,

The republic supplanted by the house of Medici

the class divisions, fanned by ambitious individuals for their own ends, proved disastrous to her. Early in the fifteenth century a local family of merchants and bankers of the name of Medici succeeded in organizing a political machine, which, while preserving the established forms, took over the government by underground manipulations. The Medici system was much like that of the average American city "boss," except that the Medici succeeded in making their control hereditary. As a result a Medici of the third generation, Lorenzo by name, ventured to set up his power in the open and both at home and abroad was honored as the head of the government. This Lorenzo (d. 1492), called the Magnificent, was an intelligent and gifted statesman, besides being a poet and a liberal patron of poets, philosophers, and artists; but even he so far continued to respect the republican tradition as to refrain from taking a title such as prince or duke.

The State of the Church. How the pope, spiritual head of western or Latin Christendom, slowly built up a temporal dominion around the city of Rome is an impressive chapter of medieval history. For us it will suffice to note that the gradual failure of the imperial power in Italy clinched the papal claim to a territory, which extended from the mouth of the Tiber in a northeasterly direction all the way across the peninsula to the Adriatic sea. Considerable in extent, the papal lands were for the most part a difficult mountain area of small hill-towns bent on independence, and of feudal lords securely ensconced in inaccessible castles. Even when, at the height of his power, the pope issued commands to all the monarchs of Europe, his control of his immediate dominion was very precarious; and when, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, he abandoned Rome for Avignon, entering on what is known as the Babylonian Captivity (1305–1377), his rule over the State of the Church broke down completely. On its return to Rome, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the papacy resolutely took up the plan of at last reducing its territory to submission but met with such resistance on the part of the hill-towns and the castle-lords that more than a hundred years passed before the battle was won.

Uncertain control by the popes of their temporal dominion

The long drawn out political struggle between the popes and their recalcitrant lieges so fully occupied the papal strength that this purely local conflict constitutes perhaps the main element in the fifteenth century story of the papacy. Nor need the frank papal bid

or temporal and worldly power surprise us. The Renaissance ad dawned over Italy and the Renaissance signified in essence a risk turning toward earth and earthly things. On the side of olitics it prompted state-building, that is, a more effective rganization of government; and with all the world intent pon this matter, how could the popes, themselves tem- oral sovereigns since the early Middle Age, remain un- ouched by so universal a development? In sum, the Renaissance ade the popes political-minded in the specifically Italian sense dicated by the movement toward despotism. But the Renaissance fluence did not stop there. Steeped in the atmosphere of their me and country, the pontiffs took up humanism, became admirers f pagan philosophy, and gloried in the patronage of literature and ne arts. Certainly from Nicholas V (d. 1455) to Leo X (d. 1521) we ncounter a succession of popes who reflect so much of the color of neir time that we may think of them as constituting a distinct enaissance group. Considered as a body they are decidedly worldly ndividuals, enjoying life on the same terms as any Renaissance espot; their chief political concern is to consolidate their Italian tate; and liberating themselves from medieval austerity to the point f losing all sense of the spiritual obligations of their office, they nultiply the financial burdens of Christendom in order to acquire bundant means wherewith to maintain a splendid court, to build alaces and churches, and to exercise a munificent patronage of cholars and artists.

Policy and character of the Renaissance popes

Although, owing to their close intimacy with humanists and ainters, the Renaissance popes often appear in an agreeable per- onal light, it is also true that some of them, mastered by their assion for fame and their dream of power, fell into ex- raordinary excesses. In fact, morally, some popes are in- istinguishable from the worst tyrants that forced their ay to the front in the city republics. Take, for example, lexander VI (1492–1503) of the house of Borgia. Without credit- g all the monstrous scandal which circulated concerning him in is own time, it is yet undeniable that he indulged himself in every ensual pleasure forbidden to his sacred office and that at the same me he abused his ecclesiastical power by employing it to advance ne fortunes of his many illegitimate children. The most famous f these was his son, Caesar Borgia, who, uniquely vicious and un- crupulous, was nevertheless a man of remarkable courage and

Alexander VI and Caesar Borgia

attainments. Caesar entertained the astounding dream of acquiring the State of the Church as his personal possession. Supported by the criminal connivance of his father, he might have succeeded but for Alexander's premature death, caused in all probability by his mistakenly swallowing the poison which he had planned to administer to one of his guests.

Julius II and Leo X

Like and yet very unlike Alexander were his successors, Julius II (1503–1513) and Leo X (1513–1521), the latter a son of the Florentine usurper, Lorenzo the Magnificent (Medici). Of Julius it may be said that he holds the honor of having at last completed the reduction of the State of the Church to papal obedience, while both he and Leo are memorable as lavish builders and patrons. Julius II, a dynamic character who brooked no opposition, laid the foundations of the famous church of St. Peter at Rome and, attaching Michael Angelo and Raphael to his person, assigned them the respective commissions of the Sistine chapel and the Vatican frescos in which they attained their greatest heights. Leo X, who lacks the large proportions of the forceful Julius, presents himself to view as a cultured, easy-going sybarite. He is sufficiently characterized by his cheery invitation to his intimates, on the occasion of his election, to join him in "enjoying the papacy." Such an attitude and the worldly spirit it implies, acceptable though it may have proved in an ordinary secular ruler, ran violently counter to the ancient traditions of the Christian Church. Besides — a by no means unimportant prudential consideration — it necessitated a huge outlay of money. No wonder that in certain countries of Europe a protest began to make itself heard inspired, on the one hand, by an immediate moral revulsion against the pagan splendors of Rome and, on the other, by indignation against the increasing taxes of all kinds laid upon the faithful in order to defray the papal program. Here is the seed of what in the very reign of the spendthrift Leo became a religious rebellion of world import.

A feudal survival

The Kingdom of Naples. The southernmost of the Italian states was structurally so different from the others that, except geographically, it hardly seemed to belong to the peninsula. It was a feudal state governed by a king set over a body of unruly barons and, besides Naples, the capital, hardly developed any city of note. In consequence the town movement, which inwardly and outwardly transformed the Italian north, left the southern kingdom essentially unaffected, permitting it to retain

s medieval social and political organization right through the enaissance. In fact the Renaissance hardly made itself felt even the field of art and letters.

But if the kingdom constituted a conservative, relatively unchanging society, its size gave it such power that it counted heavily in the orld of Italian politics. On the failure, in the twelfth century, of s original Norman dynasty the crown had passed to the erman house of Hohenstaufen, which, because of its vershadowing power in Italy, the popes pursued with a eadly hatred. As the Norman kings had acknowledged e pope as their suzerain, the Holy Father always had convenient pretext at hand for interfering in the affairs Naples. Finally, to rid himself once and for all of the ohenstaufen incubus, he offered the crown to the duke of Anjou, rother of the French king. The ensuing struggle, one of the most agic in the history of the thirteenth century, ended (1268) with e victory of the duke of Anjou, who took the title Charles I. But e new Angevin dynasty encountered grave difficulties in its turn. efore long (1282) Sicily revolted and, appealing for help to the king Aragon, committed itself to his hands; and when, in 1435, the st direct descendant of Charles I died, the Aragonese ruler of cily crossed the straits of Messina and took possession of Naples too. owever, as certain French relatives of the last Angevin sovereign d not fail to put forth a claim to Naples based on ties of blood, ere followed a tedious conflict between the houses of Anjou and ragon which did not however alter the fact of Aragonese possession. 1481 the last Anjou pretender died, leaving all his claims to the own of France. For over a decade the claim was permitted to umber, but in 1494 the youthful French king, Charles VIII, bethought himself of his shadowy Neapolitan rights and made them e basis of an invasion of Italy. That invasion, as we shall see ter on, changed the face of the peninsula and, to a not inconsiderable easure, of Europe.

The succession of foreign dynasties: Norman, German, French, and Spanish

GERMANY OR THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

What determined the history of Germany in the Middle Age ore than any other one thing was that through the coronation of e Frank king, Charles the Great, as emperor on Christmas day, 0 A.D., it became involved in the attempt to unite Europe by

reviving the Roman Empire. The restored Empire, because of its close association with the Christian Church, became known as the Holy Roman Empire; and without doubt the Holy Roman Empire did for some centuries occupy a preëminent position, although it never effected the union of all Europe but only of its middle area comprising chiefly Germany and Italy. When, in the thirteenth century, in the days following the defeat of the house of Hohenstaufen, Italy repudiated the imperial connection, the Holy Roman Empire became substantially restricted to Germany. Thenceforth the Holy Roman Empire and Germany became interchangeable terms.

The Holy Roman Empire reduced to Germany

The emperor had originally been a powerful sovereign of the feudal type. But his defeat in Italy reacted disastrously on his position in Germany. On finding him engaged to his full strength in Italy his leading German vassals, the great dukes, counts, and bishops, had raised their head against him, had forced him to make heavy political concessions whenever he asked for military help, and by slow degrees had reduced him to a puppet. By the middle of the fourteenth century the triumph of the great feudataries was so complete that they resolved to incorporate it in a constitutional enactment which from its official seal (*bulla*) has received the name of the Golden Bull (1356). The situation created by the Golden Bull is illuminating, especially in the matter of the emperor's dependence on the great lords. Elected in the past by the whole baronage, he was now made the nominee of a select body of the seven greatest princes of the realm. Of this number three, the archbishops of Mainz, Trier (Treves), and Cologne, were ecclesiastical princes, while four, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine, were lay lords. On the demise of an emperor these seven, who assumed the title electors (*Kurfuersten*), met and elected a new emperor. Thereupon the successful candidate was qualified to take the title German king and to exercise the authority still inhering in the Roman emperor, though, in theory at least, he was not supposed to be clothed with the full Roman rights until he had completed the process of his elevation to the purple by crossing the Alps to Italy to be crowned in Rome at the hands of the pope.

Decline of the emperor's power

Another feature connected with the Golden Bull was that the traditional legislative and administrative dependence of the emperor on the feudal assembly, called the *Reichstag* or diet, was confirmed

nd strengthened. The diet was composed of two houses, the upper f the seven electors and the lower of the lesser barons, lay and cclesiastical; but as, in the period after the Golden Bull, those ities, which, having won self-government, were known s the free imperial cities (*Freie Reichsstaedte*), were con- ituted as an additional house, the German diet in its nal form was composed of three houses. Under German constitu- onal practice the emperor was incapable of taking any action ithout the consent of all three houses; and as two of the houses ere made up of feudal magnates bent on playing the master in heir respective territories, it was clear that the emperor was likely o be kept in close bondage. He was in point of fact left without rmy, navy, administration, or taxes and became no better than a raven image draped for merely decorative purposes in the mantle f royalty. While the form of a united Germany was maintained, to l practical intents the rights of sovereignty had been taken over by he members of the three houses called the estates of the realm. hus Germany was broken up, or at least entered on a phase prelim- ary to being broken up, into several hundred little sovereignties.

The German diet

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, as a result of the breath f nationalism which stirred every country of Europe in connection ith the Renaissance, an attempt was made to revive the central ower of the emperor. The nationalist sentiment was rong enough to create a party of constitutional reform ithin the diet. Putting itself behind the young and ttractive Emperor Maximilian, who had mounted the hrone in 1493, it excited high hopes, which, owing to the ersistent separatist tendencies, came in the long run to othing. True, a few measures were adopted somewhat rengthening the decrepit German organization. The old feudal ght of private warfare was abolished by the proclamation of internal eace (*ewiger Landfrieden*); a national tribunal (*Reichskammerge- icht*) was established as a court of last resort; and a first move was ade toward a national administration by dividing the country into en districts to serve as a skeleton for military and financial action. ut as the emperor was endowed neither with an army nor taxes or officials of any kind, Germany remained, as before, impotent, nrespected, and disorganized to the point of chaos.

The German nationalist movement fails to unify the German government

The Emperor Maximilian (1493–1519) belonged to the house of Iapsburg established in the old east mark of Germany, called

Austria. Possessing a mobile mind and hospitably disposed to the new influences of the Renaissance, he was none the less so greatly under the sway of the colorful medieval dreams of chivalry that his contemporaries were well inspired to hail him as "the last knight." Driven by contradictory emotions, he steered an uncertain and quixotic course and by a long string of failures proved himself one of the poorest politicians that ever lived. However, his father, the Emperor Frederick, had evolved a matrimonial program which, extended by the son, succeeded in the course of two generations in raising the house of Hapsburg to a leading position in Europe. In 1477 Maximilian himself was joined in wedlock to Mary of Burgundy, heiress of the Netherlands, one of the busiest and wealthiest city areas of Europe. Then, in 1496, the son of this union, Philip, married another and even greater heiress, Joan, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The oldest-born of this match, Charles by name, represented the junction of three great reigning houses and in due course entered upon possession of Austria, the Netherlands, and Spain. In the eyes of the aging Maximilian his grandson Charles must have been more than a compensation for his many political disappointments, since the young man was the visible proof and symbol of the greatness of the house of Hapsburg, for which Maximilian and his father before him had labored and intrigued during a long life.

Emperor Maximilian prepares the greatness of the house of Hapsburg by his marriage alliances

In 1519 "the last knight" ended an inglorious career. When thereupon the electors raised Charles, who took the title Charles V, to the imperial dignity, it may have seemed to superficial observers as if the dimmed glories of the Holy Roman Empire had been brilliantly renewed. But if Charles's reign, which was destined to be filled with the uproar of the Reformation, amply proved that he was a powerful monarch, it also proved that he was strong not by reason of any power conferred on him by Germany and the imperial office, but solely because he commanded the immense resources represented by the lands of which he was master by right of inheritance. Preëminent among these was Spain.

Emperor Charles V

SPAIN

While the Spanish people were still in an early formative stage, they suffered a crushing experience by being conquered by the Mo-

ammedan Moors from across the straits in Africa. The event ccurred in the eighth century and the victory of the followers of llah and his Prophet was so complete that only in the shelter of he northern mountains did scattered Christian groups nanage to maintain themselves in freedom. Before long, owever, they took courage, advanced against the enemies f both their country and their faith, and slowly pushed hem southward toward the sea. On the liberated territory number of Christian states were formed which, though hampered y jealousy, usually tended to act together against the hated infidel. n the course of time, either through matrimonial alliances or by onquest, the Christian states, possessing alike a feudal and military haracter, amalgamated with the result that by the second half of he fifteenth century two of them, Castile and Aragon, dominated he situation. It was now only necessary for Isabella, heiress of Castile, to marry Ferdinand, heir of Aragon, for the country's lost nity to be in the main restored. Complete peninsular unity, how-ver, had been made very difficult and perhaps unattainable by the mergence along the western coast of the state of Portugal, whose eople gradually developed a national consciousness of their own. s Portugal comprised less than one fifth of the trans-Pyrenean rea, the peninsula was not hindered from becoming preponderantly panish.

Christian versus Mohammedan Spain

The states of Castile and Aragon owed their greatness to the fact hat by accepting as their mission the expulsion of the Moors from he peninsula they served as rallying-points of the national and eligious sentiment of the Spaniards. Therefore no sooner ad Ferdinand and Isabella become a royal pair than ney turned their combined arms against Granada, the ast foothold maintained in the peninsula by the Moors. In the year 492 they completed the difficult work of conquest. It was a triumph uch as only a few sovereigns have ever tasted, for it meant the final isappearance of a power which had exercised a hateful, alien rule or almost eight centuries.

The conquest of Granada

But if the state of the Moors had vanished, the Moors themselves ad not. In certain sections, chiefly along the southern coast, they onstituted a leading urban element, while agriculture too, in which hey had distinguished themselves by the introduction of an efficient ystem of irrigation, gave a livelihood to many thousands of their aith and blood. In religious and racial respects the Spanish situa-

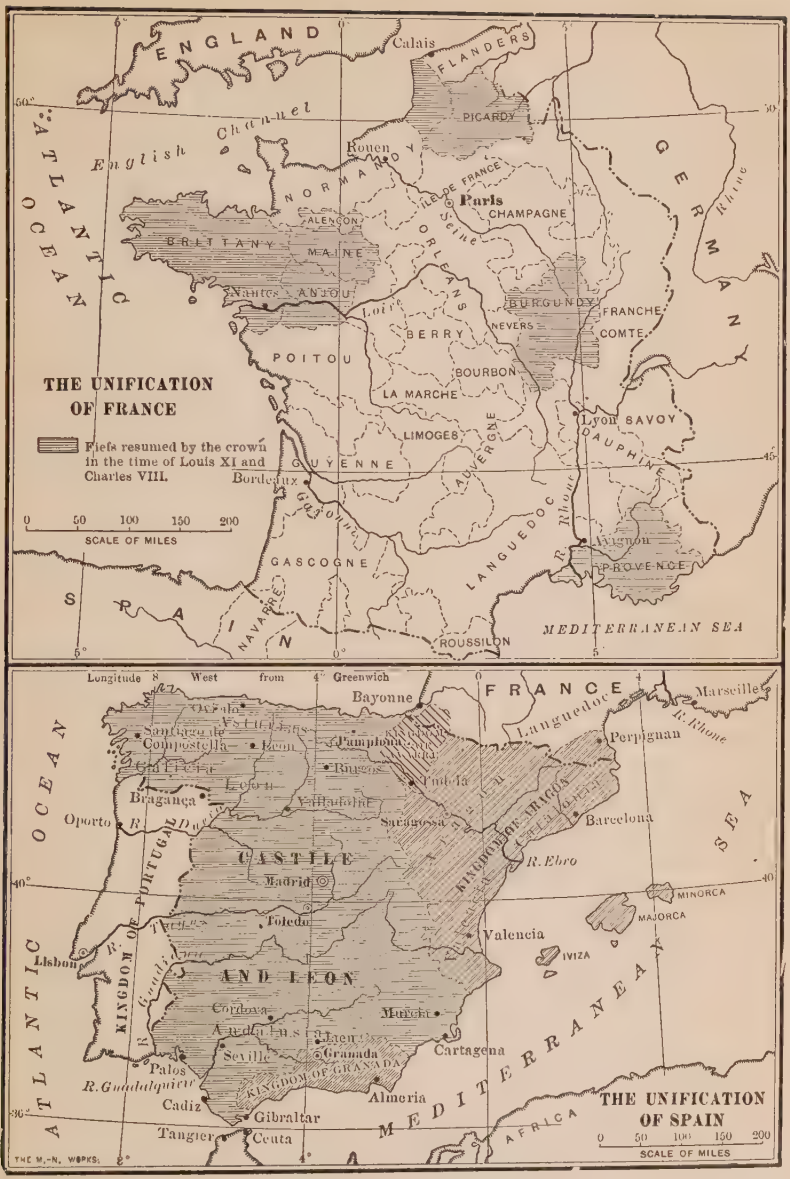
tion was still further complicated by the presence in most towns of flourishing communities of Jews. In an effort to propitiate these two alien groups they had originally been treated with liberality. They had even been endowed with charters guaranteeing their rights. But when the last Moorish fortress was about to fall, a wild Christian and national fanaticism flared up which demanded nothing less than the forcible conversion of both Jews and Moors to the ruling faith or, in lieu thereof, their death or expulsion. Clergy, nobility, and common people shared this lamentable intolerance, which, quite as much political as it was religious, reached the height of its expression in an institution with as sorry a fame as any in history, the Inquisition.

The rising tide of Christian intolerance

The Inquisition took the form of a central governing committee, with branches in all the provinces of Spain charged to ferret out heretics and infidels with the idea either of bringing about their conversion or else of visiting an exemplary punishment upon them. Avowedly a Christian institution, its main purpose was, after all, political rather than religious in that it aimed to consolidate the state. To this end it was subjected to the crown and the pope's control entirely eliminated. The head of the dread machine was called the Grand Inquisitor and under the first incumbent, Thomas de Torquemada, who held the office from 1483 to 1498, some two thousand persons suffered death by fire and some tens of thousands were sentenced to prison terms and money fines. Rather than submit to a debasing tyranny innumerable families of self-respecting and well-to-do Jews and Moors fled to foreign countries. Let us admit that Protestant writers have frequently exaggerated the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. With ample deductions made on the score of partisanship, enough remains to revolt every sensitive spirit. And a consideration of another sort falls heavily into the scales — the injury which Spain did herself by her policy of uncompromising violence. For, aside from the manifest economic loss and the still more serious intellectual setback resulting from the suppression of what were, mentally, probably the most alert groups of the community, the settled religious intolerance developed a national pride and exclusiveness which petrified the Spanish mind and hindered it from making as large a contribution to European civilization as, in view of its many notable endowments, might have been justly expected.

The Spanish Inquisition

Queen Isabella, a resolute, gracious, and deeply religious woman,


ENGLAND
Calais
FLANDERS
PICARDY
English Channel
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Rouen
NORMANDY
ILE DE FRANCE
Paris
CHAMPAGNE
GERMANY
Rhine
ALENÇON
BRITTANY
MAINE
Seine
ORLEANS
Nantes
ANJOU
Loire
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE COMTE
BERRY
NEVERS
POITOU
BOURBON
LA MARCHE
THE UNIFICATION OF FRANCE
Fiefs resumed by the crown in the time of Louis XI and Charles VIII.
LIMOGES
AUVERGNE
Lyon
SAVOY
DAUPHINE
GUYENNE
Bordeaux
Garonne
Rhone
Avignon
PROVENCE
0 50 100 150 200
SCALE OF MILES
GASCOGNE
LANGUEDOC
SPAIN
NAVARRE
ROUSSILON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude 8° West from Greenwich
Bayonne
FRANCE
Marseilles
R. Rhone
Languedoc
Perpignan
Santiago de Compostella
Leon
Pamplona
Gallicia
Burgos
Biscay
Leon
Braganca
Valladolid
Oporto
R. Douro
Saragossa
Barcelona
CASTILE
R. Ebro
Madrid
MINORCA
MAJORCA
Toledo
Valencia
IVIZA
Lisbon
R. Tagus
ANDALUSIA
Murcia
Cordova
Jaen
Cartagena
Seville
Granada
Palos
R. Guadalquivir
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
Cadiz
Almeria
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN
0 50 100 150 200
SCALE OF MILES
THE M.-N. WORKS.

who died in 1504, was survived twelve years by her husband Ferdinand, a remarkably capable but harsh and unscrupulous ruler. Owing to the death of their only son, the crown was destined to pass to their daughter Joan, who in 1496 had been married to Philip of Hapsburg, son of Emperor Maximilian. But as Philip died in 1506 and Joan was adjudged insane and therefore incapable of government, the successor of the famous unifiers of Spain was the oldest issue of the Hapsburg marriage, Charles. When on the death of Ferdinand in 1516, Charles assumed the crown, he was but sixteen years old.

The succession passes from Ferdinand and Isabella to their grandson, Charles

To understand Charles's role in Spanish history we must thoroughly grasp the constitutional position to which he fell heir. In medieval times the monarchy, both in Castile and Aragon, had exhibited the usual feudal character and the sovereign had ruled with the advice of a baronial assembly, called *cortes*. As early as the thirteenth century the commoners had risen to consideration by gaining admission to the cortes for representatives of the fast growing cities. Unfortunately the democratic promise contained in this broadening of the parliamentary system was not realized, for the eternal struggle with an alien conqueror violently inflamed the national sentiment which naturally rallied around its visible symbol, the king. In consequence the king was able to extend his administrative and judicial system, to maintain a fighting force, and to insinuate his tax-gatherers into the towns, although the constitutional custom was not abrogated that the taxes had to be authorized by the cortes. The movement toward centralization was subtle and imperceptible but necessarily led to the exaltation of the king whose person served as the focus of constantly multiplying administrative threads. In short, though both in Castile and Aragon the cortes continued to function with all their traditional rights apparently intact, there fell across them in an ominous way the constantly lengthening shadow of the king.

Growing power of the king

During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella there took place so memorable a territorial expansion that it may not be overlooked. If it was Isabella, who, by putting her faith in Columbus, acquired title to the new world beyond the Atlantic, it was her Aragonese husband who pushed Spanish influence in the opposite direction, that is, eastward along the Mediterranean. Not that he was the originator of this policy, for long before his time his ancestors had

spread their power from the Balearic islands to Sardinia and Sicily, while an illegitimate branch of the royal line had seated itself on the throne of Naples. In this situation was indicated a possible control of Italy and the Mediterranean basin which Ferdinand of Aragon, one of the most grasping and enterprising sovereigns of his day, was sure not to lose from sight. In consequence when Charles VIII of France tried to seize Naples for himself (1494), he inevitably encountered lively opposition from his royal cousin of Spain. We shall presently look into the Franco-Spanish conflict which ensued; but in connection with this summary of Spanish territorial growth we may anticipate the outcome by noting that Ferdinand more than held his own against his French rival. In 1504 he acquired the kingdom of Naples and somewhat later (1512) the southern or Spanish section of the small mountain-kingdom of the Pyrenees known as Navarre.

The growth of Spanish territorial power during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella

FRANCE

So successful was the French monarchy in initiating a process of consolidation at the expense of the feudal barons that, as early as the thirteenth century, it stood out as the most efficient governmental machine in Europe. But owing to a series of disasters, of which the greatest was the Hundred Years' War with England, the advantages won were in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries again largely sacrificed. In the end the long English occupation reacted in favor of the French king by creating such a passion of nationalism as the country had never known. Its unforgettable exponent was the heroic maid of Orleans, Joan of Arc, under whose inspired leadership the French people successfully inaugurated the task of driving the English back across the channel. For Joan as well as for all others dedicated to the idea of liberation the natural leader was the king; and though the king, Charles VII (1422–1461), was a man of very ordinary character and capacity, he succeeded in greatly advancing his prestige and power by his consistent championship of the national cause. By 1453 the English had lost every foot of their French conquest except the port of Calais.

The French monarchy and the Hundred Years' War

Theoretically the French king was, even in the Middle Age, the source of all authority. In practice, however, his power was limited

t only by the great nobles and the Church but also by the States
eneral, which was the feudal assembly composed originally of
rgy and nobles and strengthened since the beginning of the four-
enth century by the addition of representatives of the
mmoners or bourgeoisie. Since the States General bear
undeniable resemblance to the Spanish cortes, the
rman diet, and the English parliament, it becomes
ar that all the European states boasted a somewhat
nilar political structure and developed along parallel lines. True,
e States General appear as rather feeble compared with the English
rliament; nevertheless, without their consent the king could not
lect the *taille*, the tax on land or property values constituting
chief revenue. In 1439 the States General voluntarily divested
emselves of their right of consent and from that moment their
e was sealed. Assured of a permanent income, the king increased
e royal armed forces and was soon beyond the control of his sub-
ts. From the earliest times ample revenues and a standing army
ve constituted the foundations of absolute monarchy. If the
ench people did not protest against the constitutional turn taken
der Charles VII, it was owing mainly to the fact that no sacrifice
med too great to purchase liberation from the English yoke; but
rdly in less degree than to the English situation the monarchy
ed its steady advance to the favor of the urban element which
ked upon a strong king as the surest means for enforcing peace
d order against the lawless feudal lords.

Increasing concentration of power in the hand of the king

It was under Charles's son and successor, Louis XI (1461–1483),
t the menace of the great lords, which periodically threatened to
erwhelm the monarchy, was so effectively met that the edifice
absolutism was still further fortified. Louis was a
spicuous example of the new order of ruler, just com-
to the front, whose game was to spin a web as fine and
stic as a spider's and to gain his cause by diplomacy
her than by war. Faced by such powerful, semi-independent
sals as the dukes of Burgundy, Orleans, Anjou, and Brittany, he
t their plots by a mixture of force and cunning and let no oppor-
ity pass to add their fiefs to the royal domain. He was aided by
feudal custom of escheat, under which a fief reverted to the crown
the failure of male heirs. In this manner on the death (1477)
hout a son of Charles of Burgundy, Louis acquired Burgundy
e duchy) and Picardy, while by the death (1481) of the duke of

Territorial unification under Louis XI

Anjou, he laid his hand on the rich patrimony of Anjou, Maine, and Provence. When Louis's successor, Charles VIII (1483–1498) married Anne, the heiress of the duchy of Brittany, he acted in strict accord with his father's policy of absorbing the great semi-independent fiefs. The addition of Brittany to the crown practically completed the process of French territorial unification.

Growth of the royal power secured by increase of the royal services

In measure as the power of the great nobles paled, the power of the king grew, chiefly by the multiplication of the instruments of government at his command. He distributed his administrative agents more generally through the land and established beyond challenge the ascendancy of the royal courts of justice, particularly of the several courts of ultimate appeal, called *parlements*. As the States General had abdicated their power by the perpetual grant of the taille, they were rarely called together after the middle of the fifteenth century and gradually lost prestige. Nor did the Church escape the general trend. In 1438 in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges the independence of the Gallican (i.e. the French) Church had been strongly asserted as against the usurpations of the pope. But the enforced loosening of the papal hold only prepared the way for the encroachments of the king, who increasingly appointed bishops to office without regard either for the recent claims of the pope or for the more ancient rights of election by the cathedral chapters. The constitutional development indicated by the above measures is not limited to the reign of Charles VII or Louis XI but extends over the whole fifteenth and into the sixteenth century. As in Spain the constitutional movement, if slow, was sure and its meaning as clear as day: it signified the coming of one-man power, the system of absolutism.

ENGLAND

Government vested in king and parliament

The medieval history of England is dominated by the conquest effected in 1066 by William of Normandy, who became King William I. By this event England acquired the benefit of a strong monarchy and was spared some of the worst excesses of feudal lawlessness. Neither William nor his successors, however, dispensed with the assembly of barons, lay and ecclesiastical, known as the parliament. By taking advantage of certain difficulties in which some of William's successors

came involved, the parliament gradually increased its powers, ore particularly under John I, whom it obliged to sign (1215) the mous document, the Magna Charta, which signified an important nitation of the royal prerogative. Toward the end of the thirteenth ntury, in 1295, the parliament was expanded by the admission of presentatives of the towns (boroughs); and thus strengthened, it ganized in the course of time in two houses, the first made up of e great barons, lay and ecclesiastical, and the second of the repre- ntatives of the boroughs together with the representatives of the naller holders of fiefs, called knights.

The parliament of two houses proved so effective an organization the social classes interested in keeping an eye on the monarchy at the king might have been obliged to renounce all his special erogatives, if a number of grave national upheavals had ot interrupted the quiet tenor of domestic evolution. he most important of these was the Hundred Years' War th France, which by inflaming the national sentiment nded to redound to the benefit of the king, the coun- y's natural head in a conflict with a foreign foe. But in ite of brilliant triumphs in the field, the Hundred Years' ar ended disastrously (1453); the English lost all their gains across e channel except Calais; and, to make a bad matter worse, under e weak Henry VI (1422–1461) they became entangled in the civil ruggle familiar under the name of the War of the Roses. When the ar of the Roses ended with the victory of Henry Tudor at the ttle of Bosworth (1485), England was an exhausted country ready welcome a dictatorial ruler, provided he brought the peace she eded and passionately longed for.

Constitutional development interrupted by two great national upheavals

The War of the Roses, ostensibly a struggle between two branches the Plantagenet dynasty, the houses of York and Lancaster, was ally waged between various factions of the feudal lords and was ch an upflare of baronial lawlessness as England had ver before known. The new sovereign, Henry VII 485–1509) signified the advent of a new house, the house Tudor, though he boasted through his mother the possession of ncastrian blood. As he was wise enough to marry a princess of e house of York, he could urge the appeasement of the civil brawls the ground of the convergence in him and his queen of the rival yal strains. Even with these precautions Henry was repeatedly sturbed by pretenders, who obtained a following among the people

The accession of Henry VII

by the false claim of Yorkist descent. All such crises he met with unusual subtlety and sagacity, with traits, in a word, that are rather a modern than a medieval specialty. Naturally such a keen penetration as his would not fail to see and grasp the opportunity afforded by the civil exhaustion for establishing a strong monarchy of the kind just then triumphantly emerging in France and Spain. Manifestly the rivals of the royal power were, on the one hand, the great nobles who had made the crown their plaything during the War of the Roses and, on the other, the parliament, which in an earlier period had established its right to a substantial share in the government.

Henry's policy toward nobles and parliament

In a lifetime of narrowly concentrated effort Henry put a curb on both of his opponents. By virtue of a law depriving the nobles of the right to keep under arms great bodies of retainers, he extinguished the centers of provincial resistance to the royal will; and to make assurance doubly sure he established an extraordinary court, the court of Star Chamber, which sat in London under his eye and visited dire punishment on the recalcitrant nobles as well as on all other malefactors whom the local courts were not strong enough to punish. In curbing the parliament he took a far less drastic course because the parliament was an integral feature of the English constitution and well entrenched in the affections of the nation. With shrewd self-restraint he even adopted a policy of ostensible coöperation with the rival institution. Since he owed his throne to the circumstance of his having been victor in a social broil, that is, to military force, he honored the representatives of the nation — and incidentally put the authority of the law behind his claim — by asking them to endorse his accession in a formal resolution. Furthermore he scrupulously observed the ancient custom by which the king could raise no taxes except with parliamentary consent. But, his supplies once obtained, he husbanded the returns like a miser in order not to be obliged to demonstrate more often than was necessary his dependence on a popular body. In the last thirteen years of his reign he took counsel with his parliament only twice and, partly out of gratitude for his reëstablishment of the domestic peace, it showed no disposition to hew out a path of its own. No doubt the legal claim of parliament to be associated with the king in governing England remained intact; but from failing to appear in London the legislature tended to fall into oblivion, leaving the king to occupy

e national stage alone. All facts carefully considered, it is incon-
vertible that Henry Tudor renewed the prestige of the crown
d created, certainly not a royal absolutism, but a strong monarchy
oking in that direction.

The predecessors of Henry Tudor, while chiefly occupied with
e conquest of France, had not failed to concern themselves with
e annexation of the three smaller states nearer home, Wales, Ire-
ıd, and Scotland. Their progress, though often inter-
ɒted, had been notable, for in the thirteenth century
ales had been brought definitely under the English
own, while even earlier, in the twelfth century, in the
gn of Henry II, Ireland had been invaded and reduced to
ssalage. Unfortunately for the native Irish they were
it into numerous warring tribes incapable of acting to-
ther except on very rare occasions. Even under these untoward
cumstances the Irish resistance was vigorous enough to make the
glish hold on the western island precarious, nay, at times wholly
ısive. Henry VII, cautious by nature and fully occupied with the
glish domestic situation, contented himself with holding the coastal
tion around Dublin, called the English pale, and relegated the task
a genuine and sweeping conquest to his successors. As for Scot-
ıd, wars with it had been frequent throughout the Middle Age
t the Scots and their king had thus far successfully escaped the
glish noose. Without doubt the Hundred Years' War, which had
ɒt England occupied in France for several generations, had favored
e independence of the northern neighbor. But with the Hundred
ars' War at an end, it became probable that England would scan
e situation beyond the Tweed somewhat more narrowly. The effect
such unsolicited interest would be to prompt the alarmed Scots
draw closer to France. In fact the probable partnership of Scot-
d and France was a circumstance with which Henry and all his
dor successors would be obliged to reckon.

His delicate position between the French hammer and the Scot-
ı anvil partly explains why Henry VII felt little inclination to
ew the traditional struggle with the Capetian monarchy. But
s also true and wholly to his credit that he had no love
military adventure for its own sake. Of course he was
ı measure drawn into the intricate game of continental
lomacy; and it was natural enough that he should usually align
nself against France. But as soon as serious conflict or embar-

England encroaches on her neighbors, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland

Henry's policy of peace

rassing expense threatened he quietly withdrew. On the whole he held to the view that his safest policy was to maintain good and even intimate relations with Spain; and in 1501 he gave expression to this opinion in the fashion of the time by arranging a marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. When Arthur died shortly after the ceremony, his widow was retained in England with a view to a later marriage to the king's second son, afterwards Henry VIII. In a commendable effort to detach Scotland by friendly means from her traditional ally across the channel Henry, in 1502, gave his daughter, Margaret, in wedlock to the Scottish king, James IV. In short the first Tudor was a man of peace. If he kept a sharp lookout toward France he was content in the main with such diplomatic measures for keeping his rival in check as amicable relations with Spain and Scotland.

. . . . . .

At the end of the fifteenth century there occurred an event which profoundly affected the relation toward each other of all the European states just passed in review. I refer to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France in 1494. Although Charles pretended that he invaded Italy in the interest of his rightful claim to the kingdom of Naples, he was really prompted by an ungoverned ambition fortified by the circumstance that the French monarchy had become so strong that it overflowed like a brimming cup. The first result of the invasion was to show that Italy, home of the humanists and artists, was politically too feeble to offer an effective resistance to the new centralized type of monarchy. If her five most important states had stood together, there might have been a different tale to tell, but their incurable jealousies made a united front impossible. Charles marched the whole length of the peninsula without meeting a trace of serious opposition, drove the Aragonese incumbent from the throne of Naples, and crowned himself king. But there his triumph ended. King Ferdinand of Spain was not the man to let a rival pick a fruit which he regarded as his own and, allying himself with some of the Italian states, obliged the French king to beat a precipitate retreat. In 1495 Charles stood again on the soil of France with nothing but a few stirring memories to show for his lavish expenditure of blood and money.

Charles VIII of France invades Italy

However, the French king had proved that the trick could be

rned and that Italy was the predestined victim of a neighbor with vill to conquer. On dying in 1498, Charles left this conviction his successor, Louis XII, and when, after a reign of seventeen ars, Louis was succeeded by Francis I (1515–1546), the v king shaped his policy on the same ambitious assumption. It would be a tedious undertaking to follow in ail the Italian campaigns of these three rulers and rtally dull to trace the fluctuations of their shifty lomacy. Let it suffice that France's rival, Spain, ved heaven and earth to hinder the consummation of French designs and that in the battle of the two giants the my states of Italy were at first pawns and ultimately victims. Although France and Spain were on the whole well-matched, the les tended from the first to incline in favor of the latter. As ly as 1504 the issue over Naples was settled by its unconditional sion to King Ferdinand. In return Louis XII hoped be left in possession of the duchy of Milan, on which had fixed his eye as more desirable than Naples because nearer to France and which he had seized (1499) mediately on coming to the throne on the pretext, arly beloved by the monarchs of his day, of an hereditary claim. t Ferdinand was not minded to leave Louis in possession of Milan her and in 1512, by means of a new combination of Italian princes d European powers, successfully ousted him. Thereupon Francis I, the morrow of his accession to the throne, returned to the attack d once more gained a firm lodgment in the Lombard duchy (1515). ortly after Ferdinand ended his days (1516), leaving the quarrel h France over Italy to his grandson and heir, Charles. How the or Italian bone was worried by Francis and Charles all the days their life we shall see in a later chapter.

Charles's Italian ambitions pursued by his successors, Louis XII and Francis I

The struggle in Italy turns around Naples and Milan

However, long before the struggle between France and Spain over ly was brought to a settlement, it had become plain that the insula was a doomed land. Helpless before the might of the o western monarchies, the small Italian states wasted ir resources in a frenzied and indecent scramble for mere -preservation. Moreover, their abasement availed m not at all, for so long as Italy failed to present a ted front to her aggressors she was, in the long run, tain to lose her independence. Worse, much worse from a cul-al viewpoint, ground under the heel of brute force, she was sure

Political and cultural decline of Italy

to lose also the fine intellectual zest which had made the Renaissance such a brilliant and imaginative episode. In point of fact a general decline of Italian life set in, which, hardly noticed at first, became as legible as print toward the middle of the sixteenth century. It signified that the country's subjection to its foreign masters kept accurate pace with the extinction of those spiritual fires which had enabled Italy to produce a literary and artistic treasure still cherished by the world as one of its most precious possessions.

Fate of the individual states

In this tragic decay the destiny meted out to the individual states deserves a passing word. As Naples and Milan were the main objectives of the Franco-Spanish conflict, these two states quickly lost their independence, even though the question whether they would lose it to France or Spain long continued to hang in the balance. The other three states, Venice, Florence, and the State of the Church, were not so much threatened in their immediate sovereignty as in a general diminution of importance due to the projection into peninsular affairs of two large-scale powers. In fact all three native states continued to assert a technical independence for many succeeding generations, Venice and the State of the Church under essentially the same form of government they had given themselves in the Renaissance. Only Florence passed through a number of stirring domestic changes which may be briefly noted here since the vicissitudes of the lively Arno city, mother of such a host of distinguished sons, have always enlisted a sympathetic attention.

The restored Florentine republic

The reader will remember that we have traced the political evolution of Florence to the Medicean domination under Lorenzo the Magnificent. On the heels of Lorenzo's death in 1492 came the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. Taking advantage of the general disturbance of the peninsula, the Florentines rose against Piero, the feeble heir of Lorenzo, drove him and all his family to flight, and again set up a republic. The new government lived for a time in the shadow of the famous Dominican friar and stern moralist, Girolamo Savonarola, and represented a curious reversion to the Middle Age. It was characteristic of Savonarola that while he hated the Medici as destroyers of the ancient liberties of Florence, he abominated them still more as the embodiment of the pagan spirit of the Renaissance. The strange attempt to throw Florence, beacon and inspiration of

e new age, back into the twilight of the thirteenth century con-
ıued as long as the fanatical friar succeeded in dominating the
mmon people. By 1498 his many enemies had sufficiently knocked
s props from under him to compass his downfall and burn him
the stake on a trumped-up charge of heresy. Thereupon the
litical control slipped promptly into the hands of the business
ements traditionally in command of the situation; but to no avail,
ıce their valiant efforts to appease the bitter domestic divisions by
constitution on the Venetian model had only a temporary success.
or the student of European thought the most memorable circum-
ance connected with the renewed Florentine republic in the days
lowing the overthrow of Savonarola is that it employed as its
cretary of state Niccolo Machiavelli, in whom we hail by virtue
his historical studies, particularly *The Prince*, one of the most
netrating political observers that ever lived. In *The Prince* Machi-
elli shows not only that he had a remarkably keen appreciation
the movement toward tyranny and absolutism going on all over
ırope in his day but also that he welcomed it as an escape from
ıdal and republican disorder.

The grievous lesson reserved for the renewed Florentine republic
ıs that the days of a free Italy were over and that the small native
ıtes could not possibly escape the dilemma presented by the Franco-
anish rivalry. Obliged to lean on one or the other of
e two dominating powers, the republic threw in its lot
th France with the result that when King Louis XII
ent down in defeat (1512), the government promptly collapsed.
ith the help of Spain the Medici now returned to the city; and
ough they were once again driven out (1527) and the republic
up anew, the struggle for liberty was hopeless since under the
ered circumstances it was directed not so much against the Medici
against the titan behind them, Spain. The renewed and final
toration of the Medici (1530) was the solemn evidence of Spanish
incibility. Convinced that it was useless to kick against the
cks, the Florentines now sullenly accepted the yoke of the Medici,
o in their turn wore with fitting meekness the yoke of Spain.
ith the consent of their Spanish protector they converted their
orentine possession into the duchy (ultimately the grand duchy)
Tuscany. Thus at last was their ancient dream realized: they be-
me hereditary lords of their native city, sacrificing to this petty
bition the liberty of their fellow-citizens as well as their own.

The triumph of the Medici

Beside these purely local consequences, certain other effects of the prolonged Franco-Spanish duel over Italy began slowly to outline themselves. They literally embrace all Europe and have helped shape its history to the present day. To gain the proper approach to these general consequences let us recall that the Middle Age cherished a noble ideal of European unity. Championed in the first instance by St. Augustine in his famous City of God, it envisaged in its developed form a world-state of Christian humanity committed to a program of peace under the double guidance of pope and emperor. But this program of a Christian commonwealth failed in the course of the Middle Age and was replaced by the actuality of separate and independent civil states engaged in frank rivalry for the control of lands, commerce, and other evidences of material wealth. The Renaissance with its strong secular drift marks the definite emergence of these competing civil entities; and the Franco-Spanish conflict over Italy presents to view the first struggle among two leading powers in which there is hardly traceable any longer the least vestige of medieval ideology. The Franco-Spanish struggle is a naked power issue in which the two combatants make use of war without scruple as a perfectly legitimate weapon.

Passing of the medieval political ideal

It is therefore plain that toward the end of the Renaissance Europe had become endowed with a new political system which, since it continues to this day, may be called the modern system, and which is distinguished by an unlimited competition among its component parts logically culminating in the shock of war. But even when war is reckoned a legitimate tool, the *ultima ratio*, which each state reserves to itself as its court of last appeal, it is undoubtedly a weapon of destruction; and the Modern Period which, just beginning to dawn, was dedicated to commerce and industry and the multiplication of wealth, was sure to develop, at least at intervals, a strong aversion for war's indiscriminate application. To conduct their enterprises the burgher classes, with whom the control of society was coming to rest in constantly increasing measure, required peace; and therefore as soon as the patriotic intoxication which war released had evaporated, they welcomed the treaty of peace which muffled the din of battle and at the same time cleared once more the highways and opened the markets. Treaties of peace, though chiefly of a political nature, usually contained also commercial

Europe works out a system of coöperation based on treaties and a diplomatic and consular service

ovisions or else were supplemented by express treaties of commerce. o be sure, each new war cancelled all treaties existing between the lligerent states, but on the termination of the conflict new treaties, hich were the old treaties modified in accordance with the issue of e recent struggle, were promptly negotiated. To secure their pre- se execution there were gradually developed two special adminis- ative services, the one diplomatic for political matters and the her consular for purely commercial affairs. Placed under the super- sion of the department of state or foreign office, the two services ken together constituted the administrative machinery for main- ining and developing the relations among states according to the tter of the current agreements.

The sum of all the treaties negotiated among sovereign states r any end whatsoever may be conceived as making up the body of ternational law. Increasing in bulk with each new generation, ternational law has served to bind Europe into a single, ore and more compactly organized commonwealth. Un- eniably so long as each sovereign state, large or small, isisted that it was its inalienable right to bring every fference of opinion or of interest to the arbitrament of ar, this delicate organization of the European states would be eriodically exposed to anarchic disorganization; but for all that e should not overlook the substantial gain for political coöperation nd economic interdependence that lay in basing all peace-time deal- gs among the jealously sovereign units of the European system n an expanding code of international law.

The constantly developing code of international law

Although this emerging modern system comprised all states, great nd small alike, only the powerful states, powerful in last analysis ecause of their military and naval strength, figure in the system s great powers. With them during the last four cen- uries has rested the control of Europe and, in measure s Europe has expanded over-seas, the control of the rest f the world. But as each great power has been unceas- gly engaged in the attempt to outstrip its rivals in defensive and ffensive strength, there has developed the curious phenomenon alled the balance of power. It comes into play when one great ower, either by reason of its actual resources or by an alliance with ther powers or by attaching to itself a group of lesser client states, chieves a position which points or seems to point to domination. lmost automatically the opponents draw together in order to re-

The great powers and the principle of balance

dress the scales — a complicated diplomatic operation touching which enlightening evidence was supplied during the Franco-Spanish wars. Whenever in the struggle for the Italian prize France was in the ascendancy there was an immediate rush on the part of the other powers of Europe to come to the aid of Spain; and whenever Spain was in the lead the rush was the other way.

To the reflective reader it must be reasonably clear that with a developing code of international law supplemented by the principle of balanced power, albeit precariously maintained, Europe should be conceived as a single commonwealth. Its political unity was however constantly challenged and at times completely nullified by the persistent and stubborn claim of each member-state to an unlimited sovereignty culminating in the right of war. Before a more harmonious commonwealth than this was possible the individual European citizen would have to learn to think in terms of Europe rather than in terms of the country of his particular allegiance. And that time was in the sixteenth century still far off; in fact it may be doubted if even yet, in this, the twentieth century, it has dawned for more than a handful of men, the hopeful and courageous vanguard of a new political order.

Europe a single but imperfect commonwealth

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CHAPTER V

THE GERMAN REFORMATION TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1555)

The House of Hapsburg

Maximilian I (1493–1519)
m. Mary, heiress of Burgundy

Philip the Handsome (*d.* 1506) *m.* Joan, heiress of Spain

arles V (1519–56)

Ferdinand I(1556–64)
m. Anne, heiress of Hungary and Bohemia

Maximilian II (1564–76)

We have seen that Germany, identical with the Holy Roman mpire (the Empire, for short), was a loose federation of several ndred semi-sovereign states, and that in the reign of the Emperor aximilian (1493–1519) it experienced a national revival hich, however, did not in any essential respect strengthen e feeble national government. The national revival was elf an effect of the general awakening that came to sections of Europe alike with the Renaissance. Only somewhat detailed understanding of the particular stir which the enaissance brought to Germany will prepare us to grasp the origin the great sixteenth century movement called the Reformation.

The Renaissance a forerunner of the Reformation

As an instructive introduction to both Renaissance and Reformaon let us examine the implications of the unshaken domination in ermany, and almost alone in Germany, of the Church. We are ware that the Middle Age was so thoroughly ruled by organized ristianity that the pope was able to proclaim the theory that, nce all power came from God and he himself was God's earthly car, all government, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was of right

vested in his person. Of course, the doctrine of papal authority in this, its extreme form, never enjoyed universal acceptance and never hindered the European monarchs from asserting their independence in the civil field. None the less, in every country of Europe, the Church secured a position which placed it outside the national frame; and in view of the fact that the pope succeeded in acquiring substantial control of each national Church, he rose in every instance to a coördinate position with the monarch, exercising sovereignty in the monarch's territory, chiefly by laying taxes on ecclesiastical property and by controlling the higher ecclesiastical appointments.

The medieval popes exercise powers which prejudice the rights of civil rulers

When, during the Renaissance, the strong monarchies developed in France, Spain, and England, they undertook to challenge the pope's power exercised within their boundaries. In each instance they scored successes, which, if incomplete, showed that the wind had veered and was now no longer filling the pope's sails. Thus in France King Charles VII issued (1438) a royal ordinance, known as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, challenging the papal pretensions to control the French Church; and letting the deed follow the boast, Charles VII as well as his successors by degrees took over the nomination of the French bishops and abbots, in this way successfully usurping a power to which the popes had never ceased to pretend. Again, in Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella, the crown took over (1482) the right to nominate to bishoprics and forbade appeals from the Spanish ecclesiastical courts to Rome; while in England by the celebrated statutes of Provisors (1351) and of Praemunire (1353), a similar anti-papal policy took shape, the former measure denying the pope's claim to appoint to English benefices and the latter forbidding the carrying of appeals outside the realm.

Decline of the pope's power in the strong monarchies

In Germany where, in distinction from the western monarchies, the crown instead of growing stronger had, especially during the long, disgraceful reign of Frederick III (1440–1493), become steadily more feeble, the papal ascendancy over the German Church had been confirmed (Concordat of Vienna, 1448). In consequence the popes of the Renaissance exercised a more arbitrary power in Germany than anywhere else in Christendom. They abused their appointive rights by taking money from candidates to office — the sin of simony; they taxed the clergy

Abuses of papal power in Germany

nd that means ultimately the laity) by a frequent levy of tithes
n the pretext of a crusade against the Turks which never mate-
alized; and they unflinchingly exacted annates or first-fruits. The
mpost called annates involved the surrender of one-half of his
venues during the first year of office by each new episcopal incum-
ent. The German diets of the second half of the fifteenth century
ever ceased voicing their dissatisfaction with the innumerable papal
buses by loud complaints (*gravamina*) dispatched to Rome, which,
uietly pigeon-holed on their arrival, proved no more effective than
they had been messages from Mars. In this connection we must
ot forget that this was the period of the Renaissance group of
opes, who, indifferent to spiritual appeals, desired money and ever
ore money to satisfy their political ambitions and their sumptuous
atronage of the arts. Since such men had but little conscience
here their pockets were concerned, they agreed to every shifty
easure for replenishing the treasury which their unscrupulous
nancial advisers might suggest. In an evil hour they agreed to
sale of indulgences in Germany on an unusually extensive scale.

Who would understand what is meant by an indulgence must be
lling to have a look at the rather abstruse world of medieval
eology and, more particularly, to scan the sacrament of penance.[1]
he sacrament of penance dealt with acts of sin which **Indulgences—the theory**
od for his part forgave the sinner on contrition and
nfession. Absolution by the priest was the evidence
that forgiveness. However, there still remained the temporal
nalty which the sinner must satisfy either in this world by acts
assifiable as good works or in the next by enduring a purifying
nishment in purgatory. It is here that the indulgence comes in.
n indulgence is a remission of the temporal penalty by means of
e Treasure of Grace, defined as the sum total of the merits of
sus Christ and the great company of saints and martyrs. The
easure of Grace came into existence because the ancient founders
d confessors of the Christian faith offered much more satisfaction
hat is, suffered much graver penalties) than their state of sin
quired. All such works in excess of what was needed to balance
e account are called works of supererogation and comprise the
easure of Grace. It is administered by the pope who may at
s discretion apply it to the benefit of others lacking in good works.
he document declaring the remission of the temporal penalty by

[1] See p. 16

a draft on the unexhausted and inexhaustible treasure of the Church is called an indulgence.

Granted that the indulgence, considered in the light of theory, is for us moderns somewhat intricate and difficult, we must agree that it so closely conforms to medieval concepts that it would have aroused no criticism, had it not in its practical application lent itself to abuse. In the Middle Age the popes issued indulgences with a certain restraint and conscientiously applied the returns to legitimate Christian ends such as a crusade. But with the coming of the Renaissance and its pressing financial necessities the sale of the papal certificates was converted into a device for raising taxes. They were consigned to licensed venders who penetrated into every nook and corner of Europe, except where they were excluded by a strong civil power. Because the pope exercised more influence in Germany than anywhere else, the hawkers disported themselves with particular freedom in German territory with the result that they fanned the already dangerous anti-papal sentiment.

The abuse of indulgences

In view of all these facts it is easy to understand the rising tide of national indignation directed against the pope. But unless we understand that this indignation, while possessed of a moral character, was also fed by political and economic considerations, we shall fail to grasp the nature of the hurricane released by Luther's challenge. By a remarkable coincidence all the forces of society were, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, focussing on the papal issue. While some groups, the simply and honestly pious of every social level, were offended with the pope because of his brilliant court and worldly policy, others, the growing mass of narrowly patriotic men, looked askance at him because he was a foreigner exercising more influence in their country than the emperor or the Reichstag. This latter group of passionate nationalists was recruited largely from the rising burghers; and the burghers possessed a further incentive to hostility in the vast sums of money said to be annually drained to Rome. To the town-dwellers of an age, the expanding energies of which called for capital, the steady stream of gold and silver pouring out of Germany across the Alps caused a veritable nightmare. In raising their voices to stop the exploitation they found sympathizers among all classes of the population including the clergy itself. It is useless trying to decide whether the economic or the moral motive predominated in the mounting

The rising anti-papal tide

nti-papal sentiment or whether both motives were not merely ubsidiary aspects of the new nationalism. The situation in Ger- nany was complex as human situations always are, and it will uffice if we agree that, given the papal abuses, the Renaissance pirit, which was a spirit of criticism, was bound to create a protest hich would seek reënforcement from the moral, economic, and very other resource at man's service.

Turning from the politico-religious to the intellectual aspect of ermany, we are confronted with the phenomenon of humanism. riginating in Italy and taking the form of a passionate search mong the ruins of antiquity for a new foundation f life and knowledge, it spread slowly to the other gions of Europe and, of course, also to Germany. But, s was only natural, the German humanists modified the ovement in accordance with their temperament and utlook. So completely did the Italians identify themselves with the ew learning that they were tempted to cut loose entirely from their edieval anchorage; some of them actually abandoned Christianity nd avowed themselves to be pagans. The Germans felt no such clination. Barbarian forest-dwellers in the days of the Caesars, ey had had no share in ancient Rome, which was as remote and nreal to them as the fabric of a dream. On the other hand, the hristian faith, received by them in the early Middle Age, had en- red their souls and, as an unexhausted force, stimulated their deep- t affections. Hence they put their own interpretation on the new arning hailing from Italy and, while accepting its classical mission, referably and enthusiastically directed its energies into a Christian annel. Turning first to the Fathers, they penetrated beyond them the Bible, until this occupation with the origins of Christianity led them with a sense of the amazing chasm between the simplicity the apostolic age and the papal and ecclesiastical grandeur which as dangled before their eyes and which in the form of innumerable xactions pressed on their country like an incubus. Let it not for moment be imagined that they were suddenly persuaded that the isting structure of the Church was an unnatural growth; in fact, ecause of their devotion to custom and tradition, they yielded the clesiastical institution a full and willing obedience. None the less e accumulation of fresh knowledge about so many phases of the hristian past gradually produced a viewpoint which was very fferent from the blind credulity of their forebears.

German humanism turns to the origins of Christianity

The German humanists were a relatively small body of men who served the usual provocative function of an intelligentsia. Since the universities, with certain notable exceptions, opened their doors to them, the ascendancy of the old barren scholasticism was gradually shaken. When men like Rudolph Agricola (d. 1485) and Conrad Celtis (d. 1508), who had gone to Italy to imbibe the new learning at its fountain-head, returned to their native land, they were received with enthusiasm by swarms of students who crowded to their lectures. Under these circumstances the familiar battle of conservatives and liberals was soon joined all along the line and early in the sixteenth century led to a memorable crisis. Its central figure was John Reuchlin in whom we encounter a typical expression of German humanism.

Humanism gets a foothold in the universities

Like his predecessors, John Reuchlin (1455–1522) had made first-hand acquaintance with humanism by travel and study in Italy. An acknowledged master of both Latin and Greek, none the less by a preference which he shared with most of his German countrymen he turned enthusiastically to the Fathers and from them to the Bible. But no sooner had he plunged into the Christian sources than he became persuaded of the necessity of knowing Hebrew. Not only had this language been neglected, but, owing to the hatred commonly felt in the Middle Age for the Jews, the outcast people who had crucified the Lord, it was under a general and severe taboo. In 1506 Reuchlin performed an important scholarly service for all Europe by publishing a Hebrew grammar and lexicon. It immediately aroused a storm of reprobation among the old-time schoolmen, whose main German stronghold was the university of Cologne. As this university was in the hands of the Dominican order of friars, identified since the thirteenth century with the scholastic system, the petrified faculty uttered a cry of alarm and in violent language put themselves on record against the lifting of the Hebrew ban. At their summons the stalwarts of the old régime gathered to their flag, while the friends of the new learning rallied around Reuchlin. It was a miniature war, in which the combatants denounced each other in fiery pamphlets and which culminated in a number of trials for heresy preferred by the exasperated Dominicans against the bold champion of Hebrew studies. Appeased only to flare up again, the combat dragged along for ten years and, though tiresome in detail, possessed the merit of bringing the issue, which was, in substance, the

John Reuchlin and the quarrel over Hebrew studies

edom of learning, to the attention of every educated group in rmany.

What regularly determines the victory in a conflict of this sort, a nflict of minds, is the swing of public opinion. And public opinion, ering slowly toward Reuchlin, was finally almost stampeded into camp by the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of Obscure Men, 1515–1517). The work was the product a group of gay and emancipated spirits, champions of new philosophy, and constitutes as telling a satire as the young d impertinent have ever aimed at their grave and stodgy elders. ken at its face value, it was a collection of epistles written by dents and admirers to one of the Cologne stand-patters; and fun lay in having the bat-eyed correspondents, who blinked bly at the new light, reveal by means of intimate communications, tten without restraint and in an exaggerated version of the gro- que Latin current among the schoolmen, their secret viciousness d abysmal ignorance. True, much of the sport was in the nature rude horse-play, but it did its work and fairly buried the old olasticism under a tempest of inextinguishable laughter.

The Letters of Obscure Men

Although he stood with Reuchlin and smiled with characteristic lice at the broad humor of the Letters, Desiderius Erasmus (1467–36) had no hand in their composition. In this remarkable scholar meet the greatest figure of the humanistic circles of generation not only in Germany but throughout rope. Though born on the lower Rhine, in Rotterdam, he lived turn in every country of Europe and not only professed himself oe a cosmopolitan but, what is much more rare, actually succeeded suppressing in himself every trace of nationalism. Like all hu- nists, north and south of the Alps alike, he employed the Latin guage as his medium of expression; and as this tongue was still foundation of every educational system, he was enabled to reach cultivated classes throughout Christendom. In the main he was cholar, rarely competent in both the classical and patristic fields d winning golden opinions by his editions of the ancients and the hers; but his fame as an intellectual leader was enhanced by activity as a reformer, for, aroused by the evils of the day, he not scruple at times to desert his study and make an open attack the false idols of the market-place.

Erasmus

Erasmus's most famous contribution to scholarship was a New stament in the original Greek accompanied by a Latin translation

which ventured to expose the numerous errors of the version of the Bible stamped with the official approval of the Church and known as the Vulgate. The Vulgate dated back to the fifth century and was regarded by pedantic theologians as sacrosanct. While the New Testament of Erasmus illustrates the common effort of northern scholars to put Christian learning on a sound foundation, regardless of what tradition was upset and whose withers were wrung, it betrays the equally important attitude of this group toward the Scriptures as the true and supreme fountain of faith. "I long," he wrote in explanation of his occupying himself with the fundamental Christian documents, "that the peasant should sing the Scriptures to himself as he follows the plow, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, and that the traveler should beguile with them the weariness of his journey." This is the subtle evangelical note, sounded by him and Reuchlin and the whole body of the northern humanists steadily, if with no set and conscious purpose, against the prevailing ceremonious ecclesiasticism. Magnified by the succeeding generation to a vast cry, it became the trumpet blast before which the walls of Jericho went down.

His Christian scholarship

We have already noted that though Erasmus was in the main a quiet scholar whose chief thought was personal tranquillity, he lived enough in the world to be moved to speak out against its evils. His sharp intelligence put him, in the literary satire, in possession of a weapon which he wielded unsparingly and to the round applause of critics and reformers the world over. In his most famous production in this kind, the Praise of Folly (1509), he presents Folly as a woman adorned with cap and bells and engaged in boastingly recounting her innumerable earthly triumphs. Her merry discourse becomes a fierce lashing of the vile customs of monks, the ignorance of schoolmen, the venality of the clergy, the ambition of kings, and the gross superstition of the masses, in sum, a biting exposure of all the hoary evils of the age.

The Praise of Folly

The Europe which cheered to the echo this attack on its social and political inheritance was already, even though it might not be conscious of the fact, in the throes of a mental revolution. To the humanists, champions of the new outlook, the name of Erasmus became a battle-cry; and when presently Martin Luther made his appearance and went a step farther by flinging his challenge directly at the Church, he counted, not unnaturally, on Erasmus's support.

proved himself mistaken, not only in the single Erasmus but, to
onsiderable extent, in the whole older generation of humanists;
, though they regarded him at first not without favor, as soon as
definitely broke with pope and Church, they drew
:k in alarm. Why? Partly because they were timid
olars with a temperamental aversion for the heat and
st of the arena, but in still greater measure because, as
y viewed the situation, they had preached not revolt but
orm. In particular Erasmus, their honored chief, had cherished,
ilely perhaps but earnestly, the dream that the increasing spread of
owledge would automatically reduce the evils of the world. His
ole life-work was, on its moral side, an advocacy of reasonableness
l toleration, and, instead of joining the ranks of violence and revolu-
n, he resolutely turned his back on the Lutheran movement and
ked in his tent. Protestant writers, who, on this account, have
en angrily berated Erasmus as a white-livered knave, fail to do
tice to his fundamental conviction that the only reforms which
ever worth while come through gradual enlightenment; on the
er hand, there is undeniably a modicum of truth in the pithy
mmary of the situation credited to a Catholic contemporary:
asmus laid the egg; Luther hatched it. To bitter, partisan Catho-
Erasmus was quite as great a criminal as Luther.

Erasmus does not accept the Lutheran revolt

Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483, in a village of Thur-
ia at the foot of the Harz Mountains. His ancestry for many
erations back had been hard-working peasants, and much of
sant sturdiness and simplicity, with much of peasant
tinacy and superstition, remained characteristic of this
of the soil to the end of his days. By personal sacrifices his
ents managed to send young Martin to school and later, to the
versity of Erfurt, where he prepared himself for the law; but in
year 1505, during a thunder-storm which overtook him on the
hway and filled him with wild terror he made the vow to become
nonk. It was a characteristically medieval act inspired by a
se of sin and the need of salvation. He joined the Augustinian
er of friars at Erfurt and took his duties so seriously that a dis-
guished clerical career opened before him. In 1507 he was ordained
riest and, immersing himself in his theological studies, he was in
2 promoted to the doctorate and, shortly after, called to the
fessorship of theology at the university of Wittenberg. This
itution had been recently founded by the Elector Frederick of

Martin Luther

Saxony at the seat of his government. Luther immediately became a leading professor, largely because in the spirit of the new learning he based his instruction not on the medieval schoolmen but on the living Christian sources, the Fathers and the Bible.

But these externals of Luther's career do not touch the substance of the terrible inner problem which agitated him throughout his early manhood nor do they explain how it happened that he became a reformer and altered the course of human history. To him, as to every true and sincere Christian, the supreme concern of life, before which everything else shrank to nothingness, was the question of salvation. The medieval Church had arrived at a solution which represented an amazingly delicate adjustment between faith and good works, that is, between simple surrender to God's love and the conscientious performance of the many holy acts enjoined by the sacraments. Neither one way nor the other sufficed by itself; you traveled each in turn according to the need of the hour and, so proceeding, met your reward in heaven. Luther tried the traditional Catholic combination, or, according to his Catholic critics, committed the error of trying works too exclusively; in any case he felt crushed by an agony of doubt touching his future fate until the certainty came to him like an illumination from on high that God accepted all who surrendered their stubborn will into His hands. By faith and faith alone did sinful man win his way to peace and forgiveness. In this the humble friar originated nothing new and never claimed he did; in fact he owed his trust in the way of faith to his discovery of it first, in the writings of St. Augustine, the great Latin father, and later, in the epistles of the impetuous Apostle Paul, in whom Luther detected a remarkable spiritual kinsman. Faith had therefore high and highest authority behind it, as the Church itself in no way denied. Only faith as the *sole* pillar of the edifice of salvation — that was not a position which a good Catholic, heir of an unbroken and authoritative tradition, could accept.

Luther's inner agony and its solution

We must, if we would understand all that followed, hold to the view that bitter and tormenting doubts wrung Luther's soul for many years. By the time he became professor at Wittenberg he had begun to see the light, but his full position was not formulated till some time afterwards, in fact not till he had engaged in battle with the Church. It is highly characteristic that Luther found himself and grew to his full stature in the heat of conflict. Moreover, that the

ttle occurred at all, taking on something of the inevitableness of natural event, was the result of his fiery personality, aided and etted by his having achieved a personal religion, bringing him into direct a relationship to God that the whole elaborate ediatory apparatus of the Church became a mere embarssment. Luther was slow to see this sweeping consence of his position, but he suspected it sufficiently to ow signs of a growing impatience at any interference with e free flow of his spirit. Unescapably the time came when the urch, scenting an enemy, defended its ground. Thereupon his ubts, receiving wings from his wrath, brushed the clergy aside, only find that behind the clergy rose the holy sacraments, with the adnistration of which the clergy was entrusted. We now begin have an inkling of what it meant that so whole-hearted and compromising a character as Luther followed an individual line development. He had, in opposition to the custom of his day, ieved a purely personal religion conferring the confident assurce of salvation through faith and faith alone; and with nothing t this conviction as his weapon he was gradually led to attack e majestic and historic edifice of the Church based on faith indeed t also on the equally significant foundation of clergy, sacraments, d works.

Implications of Luther's doctrine: faith and faith alone

Luther was still far from seeing all the above implications of his sition, he was still searching St. Augustine and St. Paul for their ching about faith, when there occurred the event which flung n into the center of the world's interest and inaugurated e movement which Catholics call the Protestant revolt d Protestants the Reformation. In 1517 a Dominican ar, Tetzel by name, appeared on the confines of Saxony sell indulgences and Luther came forward to protest against the ises with which they had become tainted. He showed his still nservative viewpoint in that he raised no objection against the lesiastical doctrines on which indulgences were based.

Luther challenges a vendor of indulgences

We have seen that indulgences were letters of pardon issued by pope, and that, rightly or wrongly, the Germans had come to pect that they were a financial device to minister to the scandalous ury of the Roman court. Apparently Luther's protest against the ulgence hawked by Tetzel was mainly inspired by the report t among other exaggerations the Dominican did not scruple to e purchasers by telling them that it was not only the penalty which

was remitted but the sin itself. His protest took the form of ninety-five points or theses, which, in the scholastic manner still fashionable, he proposed to argue in learned debate before a university audience.

The reverberation of the ninety-five theses

Composed, according to usage, in Latin, they were affixed by him to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. They produced a tremendous reverberation, were translated into German, and in a few weeks known throughout the land. Since they were, in the main, abstrusely theological, their popularity can be accounted for solely on the ground that they sounded an anti-papal note and therefore appealed to that anti-papal sentiment which, as we have seen, had procured a general lodgment in Germany.

That Luther was surprised by the tumult he had raised is certain, for he was still at the time a good son of the Church and not consciously opposed to the pope. His thoughts, born of keen spiritual

The critical period from 1517 to 1520

agony, had revolved solely about the question of salvation and had neither faced the many implications of his new convictions nor the purely historical issues involved in the evolution of the Church. But since the ninety-five theses loosed a torrent of discussion, he was swept off his feet, hurried into investigations he had hitherto neglected, and moved to broaden the basis of his criticism. The three years from 1517 to 1520 constitute an extraordinarily important interlude when there was still some hope that a compromise might be effected which would restrain the audacious friar from taking an irrevocable step. But Luther's fundamental impetuosity was as inimical to long drawn-out debate as to spineless formulas framed to skillfully evade the issue. Besides the Catholics who broke into the discussion were as obstinate as he and, with flint striking flint, caused the sparks to fly in every direction. A debate, into which he was drawn at the university of Leipzig with a certain Dr. Eck (1519), proved particularly decisive for his revolutionary development, owing to the fact that during his preparations for the contest he arrived at the conclusion that the papacy was not evangelically instituted but the result of a gradual historic process. As for the pope, Leo X, his attitude toward the distant northern tempest was typical of the cultured Italian gentleman of the Renaissance: he mildly wondered why the faithful in Germany were showing such excitement over "a squabble of monks." Nevertheless, as head of the Church, he was sensitive to every attack upon its position and by characteristically cunning diplomacy tried

o lure Luther to Rome, where he would have had him in his power. ut the agents whom he dispatched to Germany were haughty and nskillful, and their attempts suffered shipwreck not only on Luther's nflinching stand but also on the resolution of his prince, the Elector rederick of Saxony, to protect him to the utmost.

When, amid all these agitations, three years had passed, Luther ad succeeded in clarifying his views and in a number of ringing amphlets[2] boldly attacked the pope, the clergy, and the sacra- ients themselves. The bold step meant war, war to the nife! Leo X did not misread the sign and, abandoning itile negotiations, issued a bull declaring Luther a heretic and threat- ning him with the usual consequences unless he recanted. The friar iet the challenge with a dramatic counter-blast. Amid a concourse f applauding Wittenbergers he consigned the papal judgment to the ames and to leave no doubt as to the revolutionary meaning of is act he threw in the books of Canon Law which recorded all the mmunities and privileges accumulated by the Church in the Middle ge. The breach was complete. It remained to be seen for which ide the German people would declare.

The issue is war!

Germany had just passed through the throes of an imperial lection. In January, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian had been athered to his fathers, and after a particularly spirited contest, in hich the kings of Spain, France, and England appeared s imperial candidates, the choice of the seven electors ell on the king of Spain, who assumed the crown under ie name of Emperor Charles V. But let no one imagine that Charles wed his election to his occupancy of the Spanish throne. It was due xclusively to his being the head of the house of Hapsburg and the ost powerful prince of Germany. In the year 1520 he left Spain r the Low Countries to travel thence to Aachen, where he was rowned with the usual elaborate ceremony. Then he called a diet the city of Worms on the Rhine. Many matters demanded his ttention but all were overshadowed by the conflict which raged round Luther. The Wittenberg professor had just been condemned y the pope. It was incumbent on emperor and diet to declare their and with reference to the papal sentence.

The accession of Charles V

[2] These pamphlets, containing the gist of early Protestantism, are very important. They bore the titles: Address to the Christian Nobility of the German ation; On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church; Concerning Christian berty. They have been made accessible in English by Wace and Buchheim nder the title, Luther's Primary Works.

The sovereign who confronted his German subjects for the first time at Worms was a lad of but twenty-one years. He had passed his life in the Netherlands and in Spain, where he had been brought up as a good Catholic who might acknowledge the existence of abuses in the Church, but who, in the main, gave it an unhesitating allegiance. Therefore he, personally, was prepared to dispose of Luther without more ado. But there were certain considerations which could not be overlooked. So large a section of the German princes and people were secret or open supporters of Luther that to condemn him unheard might cause an armed insurrection. Accordingly, Charles agreed to have him summoned to Worms for a public hearing under a special pledge of safety. Luther's friends besought him not to walk into the lion's mouth, reminding him of the fate of Hus at Constance. "I would go even if there were as many devils there as tiles on the house-roofs," he answered. As the devil and his cohorts were to him not a figure of speech but a reality, it was a characteristically fearless reply. On April 17, 1521, he appeared before the diet.

Charles summons Luther to Worms

The scene is one of those historical spectacles which dramatize a world conflict. The friar, whose audacity had given voice to the latent opposition of a people, was confronted with his supreme civil judge, the emperor, who sat upon a throne encircled by a brilliant gathering of ambassadors, princes, and bishops. As he let his eye travel over the faces of the throng, he encountered all gradations of expression, ranging from deep devotion through indifference to fierce hatred. Would he recant the heresies he had uttered? Had he met this demand of the emperor, he might have won forgiveness and the fire he had lighted have been extinguished. But he insisted that he should be proved wrong by the words of Holy Writ. That was the crucial issue: for him the authority of the Bible had replaced the traditional authority of pope and Church. "Here I stand. I can not do otherwise. So help me God. Amen." If these were not his exact words, they concisely state that right of private judgment which he claimed and which was to become the common basis of every form of Protestantism. To cow this man was out of the question, especially as Worms was seething with his partisans. Permitted to depart in accordance with the imperial promise, he was seized on the highway by servants of his prince, the Elector Frederick, and carried secretly to the castle of Wartburg in the Thuringian forest. There let him lie concealed, was the thought

Luther before the diet

f his protector, until the crisis be over and he might once more show imself without danger.

It did not take Charles long to come to a decision. He had nothing ut abhorrence for a movement which threatened the spiritual authory of the Church and the unity of Christendom. Moreover, his ttention at that moment was fixed not on Germany but n Italy, where the predominance won by his Spanish redecessors was again in question. In dealing with his sovereign we must never forget that he had interests n the most widely separated regions, in Spain, the Netherlands, ermany, Italy, and America. In Italy the king of France had ecently renewed the Franco-Spanish struggle for ascendancy with ne successful seizure of Milan (1515). From this vantage-point, om which he threatened the Spanish control of the peninsula, harles was firmly resolved to oust him. Clearly in such an enterrise an alliance with the pope would prove helpful. But unless e gave support to the papal bull against Luther how could he hope or papal assistance against France? Accordingly, on May 26, 1521, harles published the edict of Worms, which, not without a measure f deceit, he had wrung from the diet and which pronounced the ban f the empire against the heretic. In the hope that he had thus disosed of a dangerous religious crisis Charles turned his attention to ther matters, more particularly to the French war and the reconuest of Milan.

Luther condemned by imperial edict

But the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum o be stopped by an imperial gesture. If Charles could have remained n Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against uther, or if the civil power in Germany had not subantially lain with the princes, who, from the nature of ne case, were divided in their sympathies, the history f the Reformation might have been different. As it appened, Charles remained away from Germany for the next decade, nd the princes and imperial cities, left to themselves, found agreeent impossible in the face of the strong national support behind uther. For to most of his countrymen he was since Worms a hero nt from heaven. Consequently the hostile decree remained a dead tter and the party of reform, encouraged by the vacillation of the ntral government, grew so strong that, by the time Charles w fit to return to Germany, it could defy him as well as the ope.

The edict against Luther not executed

It is important to understand what in the crucial decade of Charles's absence from Germany took place wherever the party of reform succeeded in gaining a foothold. To Lutheran enthusiasts it appeared imperative at a very early stage to proceed from opinion to action. The result was that some of the most familiar aspects of medieval Christianity began gradually to disappear. Monks and nuns renounced their vows, resumed their civil status, and in many cases married. Luther himself set an example by marrying (1525) Catherine von Bora, a former nun. Monastic and other ecclesiastical property was appropriated by the state and was devoted partly to the maintenance of the new religion, partly to the increase of the revenues of the prince. Further, the pope and hierarchy were set aside and their authority flouted, while in accordance with the evangelical tendency characteristic of the new doctrine many medieval practices such as indulgences, pilgrimages, worship of the Virgin and the saints were condemned as misleading works and abandoned. At the same time the religious service was materially altered. The impressive mass, conceived to be idolatrous, was more and more simplified until it had been stripped to the bare bones of a service composed of prayer, song, and sermon. Since the priesthood was no longer believed to be a privileged class, a necessary link between God and man, the communion in both bread and wine was conceded to the laity. Finally, Latin was driven from the service and replaced by German.

Religious changes effected by Lutheranism

With an unparalleled ferment seizing on the whole country, visionaries and fanatics of every kind with a ready cure for the ailments of society rose to the surface and found willing converts. Not only religious panaceas but political and social as well were shouted from every pulpit and platform. Such sweeping radicalism has manifested itself in connection with every great upheaval in history and has regularly proved the greatest enemy of the cause of moderate reform. As the alarmed Luther, confronted with these aberrations, deeply knew, it was moderate reform that he wanted, moderate *religious* reform; not the least hankering manifested itself in his mind in favor of the indiscriminate overthrow of the whole vast body of tradition. As he interpreted the grave crisis, to strive for the millenium here and now was to abandon the practical program of Christian reorganization and to invite certain shipwreck. Let us therefore admit that it was but natural that he should presently have put on the brakes and done

As the German kettle boils over Luther banks the fires

s best to defend himself against the imputation of being an anarchist y vigorously shaking off the extremists. In attempting to plumb s mind we should also remember that, overwhelmingly concerned ith salvation, he refused to occupy himself for long with social nd political problems and never acquired more than a meager under- anding of them. His exclusively religious outlook made him de- rous to carry through his movement by detaching it from every sue save his own and every leader save himself. It is possible at this sane if narrow decision saved the Reformation; but it is ore than possible, it is highly probable, that Luther's extremely nited contacts with life helped sap the vigor of his movement by rning it too soon and too completely into the single channel of reform of a moderate and exclusively religious character.

The first place at which the seething German kettle overflowed as at Wittenberg itself. Within a few months of Luther's condem- ation at Worms this hearth of the reform movement threatened to ass over into the radical camp. Fanatics, calling them- lves prophets, appeared in the town, inviting the people rise in their might and break and burn the Catholic nages and altars. Men of standing, including Carlstadt, ne of Luther's colleagues on the Wittenberg faculty, did ot scruple to join the disturbers. Luther lay concealed in the Vartburg, where he was turning his enforced leisure to account by e memorable task of translating the Bible into German; but the Vittenberg situation looked so serious that with his usual promptness e rushed into the arena and successfully rallied the people to his nner. The prophets fled, and though they continued their icono- astic preachments elsewhere, Wittenberg, saved, became the citadel the true, the moderate Lutheranism (1522).

Luther drives the prophets from Wittenberg

Simultaneously another revolution, involving a purely political nd economic program, broke out among the petty knights of the hine region. This order of small landlords, theoretically directly nder the emperor, had been ruined by the capitalistic velopment of the rising towns and was in consequence reatened with absorption by the more powerful princes. esolved to utilize the general ferment to improve their status, they und an energetic leader in Franz von Sickingen and a literary ampion with a really national outlook in Ulrich von Hutten. But, etched medieval survivals with no footing in the modern world, e knights were, in spite of Hutten's enthusiasm, incapable of

Uprising of the Rhenish knights

conceiving a program of national scope and fought only for their selfish ends. In a short war (1522–1523) they were crushed, not by the emperor but by the Rhenish princes, lay and ecclesiastical — an interesting and decisive indication of whither the German constitutional movement was tending.

The rebellion of the peasants

Shortly after, a far greater disturbance than that of the knights shook the very foundations of society. Since the Lutheran ferment spread to every class it was clear that the humble tillers of the soil would not be immune. Serfs, attached to the manors of the nobility and the Church, they had in recent decades frequently registered a protest against their hard lot by rising in insurrection. Not only had all their rebellions been cruelly suppressed, but their burdens had been multiplied by increased rents and services as well as through the seizure by the lords of the woods and pastures once owned by the villagers in common. With the expansion of trade characteristic of the Renaissance the old medieval simplicity was passing, and we need not think of the lords as necessarily harder of heart than their forebears if they tried to meet the higher cost of living by squeezing a larger return from their peasants. An economic adjustment attends every period of change, bringing an unusual pressure to bear on all classes alike. Such considerations do not alter the fact that the peasants dwelt in a deepening gloom, into which the wild hopes universally aroused by the Reformation fell like a ray of light. Not that the abused husbandmen responded particularly to the religious message of Luther, although it doubtlessly reached the hearts of many. Preëminently they were agitated by the conviction spread by innumerable visionaries of an era of social justice looming just beyond the horizon. In this mistaken hope they rose and armed themselves as best they could, first (1524) in the extreme south on the borders of Switzerland. Thence with surprising swiftness the revolt spread northward till all Germany between the lake of Constance and Thuringia was aflame. By the spring of 1525 armed hordes of peasants wandered over the land, killing the lords who ventured to resist them, burning castles and monasteries, and joyfully expecting the new age which was to rise phoenix-like from the ruins they had wrought.

Coolly considered, the great peasant insurrection was a midsummer madness and never had a chance of achieving success. The numerous bands of marauding rebels were uncoördinated; they were poorly armed; their leaders were insignificant men, all of them

gnorant and deluded, some few vile and ready to betray the cause. Chey put forth several programs, some of which, like the famous Twelve Articles, demanded the restitution of the appropriated com-non lands, the abolition of excessive rents and services, nd other perfectly reasonable items, while even the most xtravagant were extravagant only for the sixteenth entury and would sound like commonplaces on the lips of present-day socialist. Having taken the road of force, he peasants were obliged to defeat the country's constituted author-ies and at the same time persuade the alarmed urban classes that hey possessed the constructive talent necessary to give the country a etter organization. The test came when the outraged princes brought heir forces into the field. The showing of the peasants was lament-ble: unable to face the shock of arms, their phalanxes dissolved in a vild scramble for safety leaving the individuals to be butchered by the nousands by the ruthless conquerors. It has often been observed nat no conflict unchains the beast in man more swiftly than the ar of social classes. The hideous peasant war of 1525 is a case in oint.

Ferocious suppression of the peasant revolt

Luther's attitude toward this great upheaval is illustrative of his etermination to keep clear of extremes. While the peasant move-nent was still no more than the rumbling of a distant drum and efore the era of violence had set in, he issued a pamphlet hich was, in the main, a call to the lords to do justice to heir offended serfs. But the battle once joined, a battle which the peasants threatened the whole existing order of society, e sided with the princes without hesitation. If, in the light of his t purpose, such a decision was entirely comprehensible, it was un-ardonable that in a second pamphlet on the peasant movement he nould have given free rein to his hot temper and in language of nsurpassed coarseness have spurred on the princes, who certainly eeded no spurring, to trample their adversaries in the dust. The agic end of the peasant uprising stifled most of the visionary opes entertained in connection with the Reformation. That in self was perhaps no loss; but it was an irreparable injury to the eneral development of Germany that Luther, by tying his move-ent to the victorious chariot of the princes, broke with those opular forces which alone would have been able not only to renew ermany politically but also to assure the periodic freshening of he Reformation stream.

Luther against the peasants

While Germany was seething with these troubles, its absentee ruler, Charles V, was occupied with his many other interests and chiefly with the war with France. In fact, war with France was a leading feature of his reign and long prevented him from giving more than casual attention to the German problem. There were in Charles's time four wars between France and Spain, all concerned with the control of Italy. These wars occurred as follows: first war, 1521–1526; second war, 1526–1529; third war, 1536–1538; fourth war, 1542–1544. Toward the end of his life Charles conducted a fifth war against France which will be treated in due time and which differs from the others inasmuch as it was precipitated more particularly by the German situation.

The four wars of Charles V with Francis I

The first two wars were really a single war of almost a decade since they were broken by only a short and insincere peace. The military developments need not detain us. Suffice it that, in spite of all that King Francis I could do, the struggle went steadily in Charles's favor. In 1525, at Pavia, in northern Italy, a great battle was fought which proved a French disaster and led to the capture of the king. He was carried a prisoner to Madrid and there signed a peace (1526), by which he surrendered all his pretentions to Italy and, in addition, ceded the duchy of Burgundy, once held by Charles's Burgundian ancestors, to his Spanish rival. Released on the strength of a solemn oath that he would execute the peace, Francis none the less renewed the struggle as soon as he had crossed the Pyrenees and again touched the soil of France.

Defeat and capture of the French king at Pavia

The French king was encouraged to take this stand by the sudden friendliness of Pope Clement VII, Henry VIII of England, and other lesser potentates, chiefly of Italy. These rulers, alarmed by the completeness of Charles's victory, feared his universal ascendancy and swung instinctively to the weaker side to redress the balance. But the allies were neither energetic nor harmonious and failed to disturb Charles's grip upon the situation. Therefore the emperor was free to single out the vacillating pope for vengeance. In the spring of 1527 a combined army of Spaniards and Germans descended upon the Eternal City and took it by assault. The Spaniards were mercenaries, the Germans Lutherans, and between them the famished hordes, breaking all bonds of discipline, put the ancient

The pope turns against Charles and is punished with the sack of Rome

pital of Christendom to such a sack as no words can adequately scribe. To superstitious Protestants the catastrophe took on the aracter of a divine punishment visited on the papacy for a long ccession of misdeeds, while even faithful Catholics were inclined regard the cruel pillage as a not unfitting conclusion to the selfish litical game so passionately pursued by the whole group of enaissance popes.

As for Clement VII, one of the least worthy sons of the Florentine use of Medici and as unspiritual a man as ever wore the triple own of St. Peter, the chief thought that came to him as, from the stle of St. Angelo, he stared at the ruins wrought by s policy, was that he was defeated and must come to rms with the all-powerful Charles. He opened negotia- ons, and although his allies continued the conflict yet a while, a neral peace was at length arranged by the treaty of Cambray 529). In return for a reconfirmation of the French retirement om Italy coupled with the payment of a money indemnity, Charles reed to give up his claim to the duchy of Burgundy. Italy was his: at was the upshot of the ten years' struggle.

The peace of Cambray, 1529

In the very year of the peace Charles visited the peninsula in der to set the Italian house in order and had the satisfaction of ing fawned upon by the pope together with all the company of e petty princes as master of the land. With Naples d Milan definitely Spanish and secured by Spanish gar- ons, he straddled the peninsula like a colossus and over- ved the pigmy powers at his feet. True, whenever ance renewed the ambition which first drew her to aly, the pope and his Italian compeers did not fail to rattle their ains in sign of mute sympathy, but it is clear that by 1529 fate had nclusively pronounced in favor of Spain. To put the final touch on his victory, Charles, yielding to medieval precedent, had nself crowned emperor by the pope. The great pomp occurred Bologna, in the month of February, 1530.

Charles, master of Italy, is crowned emperor at Bologna

Encouraged by an unequaled triumph, Charles, after an absence nine years, resolved once more to look into the affairs of Germany. r almost a decade the policy formulated by the condemnation Luther at Worms had remained unfulfilled. In the peror's absence the power in Germany indubitably sted with the princes, and if they chose to connive at clesiastical changes there was no one to say them nay. In a diet

The affairs of Germany 1521–1530

held at Speier, in 1526, the paralysis of the central authority regarding religion was correctly expressed in a decree which permitted the estates to act in matters of faith as each could answer to God and to the emperor. It was a qualified recognition of the new Lutheran church. Three years later (1529) Charles had become reconciled with the pope, and with his fortunes mounting to the zenith, sent a peremptory command to a new diet, again convened at Speier, to revoke the concession of 1526. As the Catholic princes still commanded an overwhelming majority, the behest was complied with and Lutheranism outlawed. But the adherents of the new faith were no longer minded to yield, even at the risk of the emperor's displeasure. They drew up a document which declared with unusual fervor that their duty to God and conscience took precedence over their duty to their sovereign. On the strength of this ringing protest the reformers were for the first time welded into a party under the name, destined loosely to embrace all groups which successively fell away from the papacy, of Protestants.

Such was the decidedly taut situation which Charles confronted at a diet, called to meet him at the city of Augsburg (1530). Though his mind was even more completely made up than at Worms, he was, as then, persuaded that he would have to grant to the opposition the courtesy of a hearing. Asked to put their position in writing, the Protestants commissioned Melanchthon, a friend and fellow-worker of Luther's but a man of a more gentle and conciliatory disposition, to formulate the beliefs which represented the crystallization of opinion thus far attained by the secession from the Catholic Church. In a document which received the name of the Confession of Augsburg Melanchthon made a moderate and even conservative statement of the new tenets. So greatly did it appeal to his brothers in the faith that it became and has remained to this day the fundamental creed of the Lutheran church. True to his assumed role of judge, Charles listened to the Protestant defense and then, supported by the Catholic majority, firmly announced his decision. The innovators were given a respite of six months before action would be taken to bring them back by force into the Catholic fold. Would the movement collapse in the face of this threat? Thoroughly aroused, leading delegates of the Protestant estates called a meeting at the little town of Schmalkalden in Thuringia and organized a league for mutual protection (1531). It

Renewed condemnation of Lutheranism at the diet of Augsburg, 1530

eant the resolution to stand by the Protestant cause, if necessary
meeting force with force.

But just as a religious war seemed unavoidable, an event happened
nich adjourned it. In 1529 the Turks, who had established a vast
ohammedan power in the Near East on the ruins of the Byzantine
mpire and other Christian states, had, in pushing west- **Civil war adjourned**
ard up the Danube, reached the city of Vienna. Only
e heroic defense made by the citizens themselves had saved the
pital of Austria and eastern gate of Germany from capture. But,
thing daunted, Sultan Solyman resolved to renew the attack, and
e rumor of a new and vaster Turkish expedition turned the con-
rdant thoughts of emperor, princes, and people to the basin of the
anube. In need of Protestant support, Charles decided to adjourn
tion against the heretics and in a truce signed at Nürnberg (1532)
reed to refer the religious differences to a General Council of the
nurch. Such a Council had long appeared to him as the likeliest
eans of restoring the unity of Christendom, especially as the Prot-
tants had frequently declared and now repeated that they were
epared to submit their case to this ultimate court of appeal.

Marching against the Turks with the forces of a united Germany
hind him, Charles was enabled to make a display of power before
nich the Turks fell back without venturing a battle. On his return
found other interests of his wide dominions demanding **Charles's many political difficulties keep him from crushing Lutheranism**
s attention. Spain and his Italian provinces had long
ffered from the depredations of the Mohammedan pi-
tes established along the Barbary coast of Africa and
couraged by their powerful co-religionists at the other
d of the Mediterranean, the Turks. It was indispensable
take up the problem of their punishment if Charles
shed to keep the southern waterways open to Christian
mmerce. But once committed to an attack on the pestiferous cor-
rs of Tunis and Algiers, he was involved in enterprises requiring
any years of labor and engulfing untold quantities of ships, men, and
oney. Besides, the slightest African mishap was sure to be taken
vantage of by his enemies, Francis I and Sultan Solyman, either
gly or in conjunction. To an occasional association, nay, even to a
n and lasting alliance with the infidel Turks, the French king had
t the slightest objection, provided it would put a quietus on his
ted rival of Spain. Thus, to the scandal of old-fashioned Christians
Franco-Turkish alliance, aimed at the emperor, was concluded and

became operative in 1535. When in this year Charles returned from Tunis, where he had scored a great but temporary triumph over the confederated pirates, he encountered a diplomatic situation which developed into another French war (1536–38). No sooner had this been settled than he was obliged to launch another naval expedition against the Algerine corsairs, who, as usual, were strengthened by aid from Sultan Solyman. And, finally, from 1542 to 1544 he was obliged to fight a fourth war with Francis I. This war, concluded by the treaty of Crespy, served but to confirm that Spanish hold on Italy which a lifetime of effort on the part of Francis I had not succeeded in shaking.

This rapid summary of wars which shook the whole structure of Europe will once more make clear that Charles, owing to the vast extent of his dominions, had too many irons in the fire. He was an intelligent and conscientious ruler, rarely restrained for so powerful a man. But though he had a temperamental preference for adjourning an important decision, to a program once adopted he held fast with the silent stubbornness of a tenacious nature. This trait will explain why, on his return to Germany in 1544, when, much as in 1530, he was for the moment disembarrassed of all his other difficulties, he took up the Lutheran schism, resolved by hook or by crook to put it at last out of the world. By the agreement of 1532 the threatening religious war had been avoided by referring the contentious issues to a General Council of the Church, still considered, as throughout the Middle Age, to be the highest ecclesiastical tribunal. Since 1532 Charles had been tireless in his effort to persuade the pope to convene such an assembly. The Holy Father, firmly opposed to a parliament only too likely to encroach on his prerogative, had employed every diplomatic device at his disposal to block the imperial request. The African campaigns, the French wars, even the Schmalkadic League were welcomed by the pope as checks on the too universal power of the emperor, but by 1545 Charles had triumphed over all obstacles and Pope Paul III, bowing his head, summoned a Council to meet in the Alpine city of Trent. It was too late. By 1545 the Protestants had passed beyond the stage of experimentation and were no longer willing to find their way back to mother Church on any terms. In the face of their refusal to recognize the Council, Charles, who had really never expected any other result, resolved to settle the issue on the battlefield.

Charles again faces the Lutheran issue

Just before the outbreak of hostilities Luther died (February, 1546). elieving that God in His wisdom ordered the affairs of men and t denying that He ordered them through the mediation of the pe, Luther had been brought to the belief that the ord's highest earthly representatives were the various vil monarchs and that obedience to the particular ruler od had given him was every Christian's plain and undebatable ty. This doctrine of civil submission, as it has been called, made ther a very uncertain supporter of the Schmalkaldic League formed protect the new faith, if necessary by force of arms. However, th the aid of a little casuistry, his favorite political doctrine could given an anti-imperial turn. By representing the true civil govern-ent in Germany to be vested not in the emperor but in the princes, was possible for Luther to arrive at the position that under certain rcumstances war against the emperor was justified. Inclined to ibble where the party interest was concerned, without a trace of lent for politics, and subordinating all life to the concepts of the-ogy, the Wittenberg reformer has in these untheological times lost mething of the glamour which he possessed for the earlier genera-ons of Protestants. Nevertheless his simplicity and rude, vibrant ncerity still set him apart among the born leaders of men, lending m an authority which is heightened by his native gift for music d poetry. He was no mean performer on the lute, while the hymns hich he contributed to the new church have a solemnity and strength surpassed among Protestant productions. We can now see that uch about Luther was distinctly medieval, but, even so, his con-ibution to modern mentality is undeniable, for the appeal from pe and Church to the higher authority of the Bible was tanta-ount to the assertion, in matters of faith and conduct, of the right private judgment. True, this right was not consistently asserted, t, once given to the winds, it could not again be recalled. Slowly ining supporters, it served to fortify that individualism which was rn in the Renaissance and which in the course of time led to the allenge not only of the universal Church but of every kind of aditional authority.

Final estimate of Luther

The first war of religion in Germany, usually called the Schmal-ldic war, broke out in the year of Luther's death (1546). The rotestant forces, commanded by the leading evangelical princes, hn Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, acted without plan energy. An additional difficulty resulted from an internal Prot-

estant division. While some princes weakly remained neutral, Maurice of Saxony, a cousin of the Elector John Frederick, actually turned traitor and, for the price of his relative's electorate, gave military help to Charles. In consequence Charles was able to outmanoeuver his opponents and to end the war with one stroke at the battle of Mühlberg (April, 1547), in which he crushed the Saxon army and took the elector himself prisoner. At once all resistance broke down, leaving the emperor master of the situation.

The Schmalkaldic war, 1546–47

What now? Charles's plan was to reëstablish the unity of the Church, but, though victorious, he was wise enough to see that he would have to proceed with a certain moderation. He therefore had passed by the diet an ecclesiastical document, called the *Interim*, which, while asserting every essential Catholic position, contained a few concessions to the Protestant viewpoint. This he imposed as law on all the Protestant estates of Germany until the Council of Trent, which, under orders from the pope, had adjourned its sessions, should reconvene and render final, authoritative sentence. Imposed by force, the Interim gave the false impression of an achieved reconciliation. Under the surface, however, a sense of wrong filled the Lutherans and, slowly mounting, became an irresistible force. Maurice of Saxony, made elector in place of his deposed cousin, was as unscrupulously eager to keep his booty as he had been to acquire it. A deft intriguer, he secretly united the disgruntled Protestants around his person and did not hesitate to spin his web as far as the court of France, where Henry II now held sway. It redounded to the advantage of the able plotter that Charles in the course of his reign had identified himself more and more with his kingdom of Spain, becoming in essence a Spanish national sovereign. While this made it impossible for him to project himself sympathetically into the German situation, it had the further drawback of alienating his German subjects and inclining them more and more to look upon him as a foreign interloper. Blinded by his Spanish outlook to the vigor of the national resistance, he pursued a policy calculated to exalt his prerogative at the expense of the estates and bound, in consequence, to arouse the hostility of the Catholic as well as of the Lutheran princes. By the year 1552 he stood practically alone in Germany with the princes solidly arrayed against him. Taking the lead among them, the wily Maurice delayed to drop the mask until he had received the full

German rising and defeat of Charles

surance of French support. Then he pounced suddenly on Charles, liging him to flee for his life southward over the Alps. Almost er night and without a battle the sweeping victory of 1547 had en turned into an equally sweeping defeat.

Reluctantly admitting his discomfiture, Charles empowered his other Ferdinand to sign the preliminary Peace of Passau (1552), ich permitted the reëstablishment of Protestantism on the pre- r basis. Then, with the German civil war composed, he rned with all his strength on France. Henry II, coöpera- g with the Protestant leaders, had invaded Germany m the west and seized the three bishoprics of Metz, ul, and Verdun. Metz was a fortress on the Moselle d the key to western Germany. As, in Charles's view, this could ver be left in French hands, he organized an expedition which tried retake Metz but failed (January, 1553). France was not to be lodged from the new vantage ground. The conquest affected in 52 marks the beginning of an era of French encroachments on rman territory destined to continue uninterruptedly for several nturies.

The Peace of Passau and the attempt to retake Metz

His failure at Metz, taken in connection with the collapse of his rman program, broke Charles's spirit. He retired from Germany, st to the Netherlands and thence to Spain, with the fixed, pessi- stic resolve to throw off the burdens of office. Not till 56 did he fully carry out his purpose; but from the time his departure from Germany he left the conduct of rman affairs entirely in the hands of his younger other Ferdinand, who, more than two decades before, d been designated by the electors as his successor in the imperial ce. The first task confronting Ferdinand was to convert the liminary arrangements of Passau into a definitive religious peace. a diet held at Augsburg in 1555 this was accomplished in the nous document known as the Peace of Augsburg.

Charles abandons the conduct of German affairs

To the philosophically minded student perhaps the most memor- e feature of the Peace of Augsburg is that it marks the abandon- nt of the unity of the Church, the central concept of medieval ristianity. By the side of the old Church the law hence- th recognized a heretical departure from Catholicism led Lutheranism and theologically defined by the Con- sion of Augsburg of 1530. To the student of German politics it y seem equally important that the legalization of the new faith

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555

signified a fresh victory of the territorial principle over the central power. It will be recalled that when Lutheranism first arose there was no question but that it belonged to the province of Charles to deal with it, in coöperation of course with the diet. But the princes had shielded the movement, and when Charles failed in his effort to suppress it, he thereby disastrously lowered the imperial prestige. The proof is furnished by the fact that the Peace of Augsburg declared that religion was primarily a territorial and not a national matter; and it confirmed this principle by giving to every estate the right to choose between the two legal religions and to impose its choice upon its subjects.

Clothed in the Latin formula, *cujus regio ejus religio* (religion pertains to the territorial government), this privilege of choice between two legal religions must not be confused with modern individual toleration with which it has nothing to do. The conceded choice, narrow to begin with, pertained only to rulers and not to their subjects, who, if they were Catholics, might be evicted from Protestant regions and vice versa. Indeed a fresh wave of intolerance may be said to have inundated Europe with the coming of the Reformation, since the theological fury of the Lutherans reacted on the Catholics and made them more rigidly doctrinal than they had been in the immediately preceding centuries. It would be difficult to prove that Lutheranism or any other form of Protestantism directly and intentionally promoted toleration in the modern sense; and yet it is clear that indirectly Protestantism helped considerably to bring about the triumph of this precious principle, since by emphasizing the right of private judgment it tended so greatly to multiply dissident faiths that in the end the idea of a uniformity enforced by penalties had to be given up as unrealizable. In 1555 individual toleration was still so far from the comprehension of men that not a voice was raised in its behalf.

No toleration in the modern sense

With Lutheranism legalized it was easy to settle the question of former ecclesiastical property within the Lutheran territories. To all such property appropriated at the date of the treaty of Passau (1552) the Church was obliged to surrender title. But as nothing was said concerning property in Lutheran states which might be seized after 1552, there was the prospect of renewed wrangling wherever the Lutherans took over Catholic lands which for one reason or another had thus far been

Ambiguities of the peace of 1555

ared. A much more serious ambiguity marked the settlement of e issue of the prince-bishops. A prince-bishop was a bishop who s also a temporal ruler, and backward Germany was burdened th a goodly number of these feudal survivals. With regard to em the Lutherans contended that they were to have the usual ht of choice between Catholicism and Lutheranism, while the most e Catholics would concede was the right of choice for their own rsons. As, in the Catholic view, the bishoprics themselves were lienably Catholic, the bishop who turned Protestant was at once resign in order to permit a Catholic successor to be appointed in place. This view was laid down in an article of the peace called e Ecclesiastical Reservation; and although the Protestants clamor-sly voiced their objection, it ended by being incorporated in the aty. Since within a few years after the Peace of Augsburg had en signed a number of bishoprics, in spite of the Ecclesiastical servation, passed into Protestant hands, the Catholics nursed a ious and fairly justified grievance against their rivals. This and ner difficulties finally led to the renewal of the religious struggle. stead of being a peace, as it claimed to be, the Augsburg agreement tled nothing satisfactorily and was at best a truce.

Charles V saved himself the humiliation of putting his signature the Peace of Augsburg by abdicating the crown, a step which, g meditated, he finally took in 1556. Two years later the man o had overshadowed Europe died, a modest recluse, in the cell of a Spanish monastery. *Sic transit gloria ndi.* Ever since Charles's accession to the empire his other Ferdinand had exercised rule in the strictly Austrian lands; d as early as 1530 he had been named as Charles's successor to the pire. Thus Ferdinand became the founder of a second, a unger Hapsburg line, established in the German provinces of the use. The older line was continued by Charles's son, Philip, who s endowed with Spain (and her colonies), the Netherlands, and the lian possessions. Henceforth until the extinction (1700) of Philip's geny, we have to reckon with a Spanish and an Austrian branch the house of Hapsburg.

Division of Charles's heritage

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CHAPTER VI

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The movement of protest and revolt inaugurated by Luther spread idly through the northern, the Teutonic, area of Europe and even de threatening inroads on the Latin countries, Spain, Italy, and re particularly, France. This startling phenomenon y be accepted as proof that the cry for reform of the urch was more or less universal. However, no matter ere the Protestant movement made its appearance, it ularly met with resistance, though of a varying inten-. In some countries, such as Italy and Spain, it was promptly l utterly suppressed. In others, such as France, it waxed strong ough to oblige the monarch to come to terms with it, while in still lers it won the civil government to its side and completely replaced old faith. We shall now follow the movement of reform on its rney through western Europe, prepared to take particular note the new aspects it assumed due either to local conditions or to influence of a strong personality, and ending our survey with a utiny of the effect on the Roman Church of the successful attack its universal dominion.

The Reformation invades western Europe

Nowhere was the success of the Reformation more sweeping than the Scandinavian north. Toward the end of the Middle Age the ee Scandinavian powers, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had ome united under one king by virtue of the celebrated ion of Kalmar (1397). The concentration was more ective in name than in fact, since the king's residence Copenhagen gave the government a Danish slant which used a frequent resistance in Norway and an almost nterrupted opposition in Sweden. When, in the sixteenth cen-y, King Christian II tried to reduce the recalcitrant Swedes by ce of arms, he excited a revolution (1521) which, under the capable dance of a Swedish nobleman known to fame as Gustavus Vasa, s crowned with complete success. In 1523 Gustavus Vasa was

Sweden breaks away from the Scandinavian union

invited by a meeting of the Swedish estates to assume the kingship in place of the deposed Christian II. He thus founded, together with the independence of his country, a royal house, the house of Vasa, destined to be identified with some of the most brilliant pages of Swedish history. Norway made no serious effort to follow the example set by its eastern neighbor. In fact, it fell even more completely than before under Danish rule, continuing in this state of subjection until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Although the Swedish war for independence had nothing whatever to do with the Reformation, the disturbance which it caused throughout the Baltic area greatly favored the spread of Protestant opinions. Swedish and Danish students, returning from Wittenberg, preached the Lutheran innovations to the citizens of the larger towns and before long members of the two reigning houses and many leaders of the nobility as well fell under the influence of the new teachings. While it would be invidious to deny that conviction played a considerable part in these conversions, indubitably greed and ambition were by no means negligible factors. As in Germany, the sovereign who adopted Lutheranism stood to gain the immense Catholic properties, to which he would automatically fall heir in case Catholicism was proscribed. Since neither the newly fledged king of Sweden nor his Danish contemporary boasted other than meager and uncertain revenues, the temptation of each was necessarily great to strengthen his position by absorption of the landed wealth of the clergy. An element not to be overlooked was the envy and even hatred which the Church had excited throughout the impoverished north on the score of an excessive opulence and display. Consequently a policy of clerical spoliation was likely to meet with considerable popular approval, especially if the powerful nobility were won for the project by the shrewd proffer of a share in the booty.

The Scandinavian social-political situation favors Protestantism

These statements present no more than a very generalized picture of the politico-religious agitation astir in Scandinavia in the crucial decades during which Lutheranism gained an ineradicable foothold in Germany. It would hardly seem to have been so much a question in the Scandinavian countries of an irresistible popular movement as of revolutionary measures enthusiastically championed by a group of genuine religious converts and resolutely carried through by an interested ruling class. Admittedly the awakening national sentiment con-

The Scandinavian countries join the Lutheran camp

ɔuted to the relatively easy success of Protestantism, for, here elsewhere, a native church divested of foreign influences made a ghty appeal to emotions deep-seated in every human breast. In n, as early as 1527 Lutheranism had become effectively established the state church of Sweden; and in the course of the succeeding ade Denmark with dependent Norway definitely broke with me by bringing its religious life into conformity with the Con- sion of Augsburg. Scandinavia — Sweden, Denmark, Norway — resents the one considerable conquest made by Lutheranism out- e of Germany.

Turning next to Switzerland, we must, in order to grasp the crisis ated by the Reformation, have at least a general knowledge of political situation. The Alpine region familiar to us as Switzer- d was in the Middle Age an integral part of Germany (the Holy Roman Empire). The sturdy peasants and rdsmen of the almost inaccessible inner valleys had vays maintained a considerable measure of Germanic independence d naturally offered resistance when, in the course of the thirteenth ıtury, the neighboring count of Hapsburg attempted to oppress em with dues and subject them to a typical feudal rule. In 1291 men of the three cantons, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, sur- ınding the picturesque lake of Lucerne, formed a defensive alliance d with their solid peasant masses heroically and repeatedly beat the onslaughts of the feudal hosts led against them by their enemy, count of Hapsburg. In later generations their surprising vic- ies crystallized in stirring legends, which, connected with such ders as William Tell and Arnold Winkelried, still have the power move the human heart. Victories and legends alike have served a nursery of that liberty with which the fascinating story of Swiss lependence begins and around which all its succeeding chapters woven. For over two hundred years the house of Hapsburg ng to its dream of conquest, only to have it shattered on something onger than dream, on the resolute will of the men of the moun- ns to be free. As late as the last decade of the fifteenth century ıperor Maximilian mobilized the whole imperial power in order to orce the claim inherited by him in his capacity of count of Haps- rg; but this final effort too proved vain and in a new treaty signed Basel in 1499, he was forced to acknowledge the freedom of the iss not only from the house of Hapsburg but to all intents also m the Holy Roman Empire.

Origin of Swiss independence

The success of the three original cantons fired the enthusiasm of their neighbors and presently prompted the adjoining communities of peasants, as well as the two large towns of Zurich and Bern with their dependent villages, to apply for admission to the league. There thus arose the Swiss Confederation, including before the last struggle with Emperor Maximilian as many as ten cantons and mounting to thirteen on the eve of the Reformation. However, the new and growing state never got beyond the phase of a loose association chiefly for defense against present and prospective enemies. The central agency of the Confederation was a diet composed of representatives from the thirteen cantons and strictly limited to the right of discussing peace and war owing to the fact that the strong passion of the local governments for independence would not permit them to divest themselves of their traditional powers. On this feeble framework the very successes of the Confederation put an almost impossible burden. In the course of their many victories the Swiss had conquered from the Hapsburgs and other feudal lords considerable territories, called common bailiwicks, which it fell to the lot of the Confederation to administer. But how could so weak a government maintain its rule in the common bailiwicks if ever there arose even a slight difference of opinion; and how could it possibly survive the buffeting of a fierce religious storm?

The Swiss form a loose federation

The test of the Swiss union came with the Reformation, first championed in Switzerland by a native son, Ulrich Zwingli by name, who always maintained that he had arrived at his religious opinions independently of Luther. Zwingli was born on January 1, 1484, in a village not far from the lake of Constance, and was therefore only a few wecks younger than the stormy petrel of Wittenberg. He came of an influential burgher family and received an excellent schooling which he crowned by attending the universities of Vienna and Basel. In both of these institutions humanism had come to the fore and Zwingli gave himself not only to the study of the classics but quite as enthusiastically, in accordance with good Erasmian precedent, to the mastery of the sources of the Christian faith. Ordained a priest in 1506, he was launched on his career by having the small parish of Glarus committed to his care. An even, balanced temper saved him from the religious crisis that troubled the youth of Luther and gave him a joyous confidence in the intellectual promises of humanism. At the same time, in his capacity

Ulrich Zwingli

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
SCALE OF ENGLISH STATUTE MILES
0 5 10 25 50
Original Three Cantons, 1315
Five Cantons added, 1315 to 1481
Territory and Five Cantons added, 1481 to 1798
Subject Territory until 1798
Allied and Protected Territory until 1798
Territory added since 1798
Cantons created since 1798, thus. VAUD
Boundary of Switzerland
Boundaries of Cantons
Neuchâtel became Prussian in 1707, belonged to France 1806 to 1814, and again to Prussia 1814-1857
TO FRANCE 1792 To Bern 1815
TO BERN UNTIL 1798
TO BERN UNTIL 1798
LOST 1797
Mülhausen LOST 1798
GERMANY
ALSACE
Basel
R. Rhine
Lake of Constance
THURGAU
ZURICH
Zurich
ST. GALL
St. Gall
AARGAU
Aarau
Schaffhausen
Solothurn
LUCERNE
Lucerne
Zug
GLARUS
Glarus
Bern
BERN
Thun
Interlaken
Grandson
Lake of Neuchâtel
Yverdun
Fribourg
VAUD
Lake of Geneva
Geneva
GENEVA
VALAIS
Rhone
Great St. Bernhard
SAVOY
TICINO
GRAUBUNDEN
GRISONS
Mt. St. Gothard
Splugen Pass
ITALY
TYROL
Lago Maggiore
Lake of Como
Adda
Inn
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO

free-born Swiss, he made acquaintance with the democratic system government, becoming imbued with that virile patriotism which he product of political responsibility.

Humanism and democracy, conceived as twin lode-stars, shaped ingli's labors and determined his fate. They explain why he began public career not as a religious but as a social reformer intent on suading his countrymen to break with that mercenary stem of warfare by virtue of which they sold their bodies the highest European bidder. He wanted his people be too proud to fight for any but a national cause. So as ecclesiastical abuses were concerned, he was, like asmus, content to drive them from the world by ridicule. Suddenly, ound 1519, he swung his concentrated attention to religious reform, ved more perhaps than he could ever be brought to admit by example of Luther. Once embarked on his new course, he took er practically all the doctrinal positions of his Saxon contemporary. wever, when it came to the problem of ecclesiastical organization followed a wholly independent line. We have seen that when in rmany the rule of the Church by pope and clergy was rejected, control of the new, the Lutheran church was vested in the princes the simple reason that they represented the existing civil power. a result the Lutheran church became identified with and sub- vient to the secular lords, the princes. In Switzerland, where the il power was exercised by magistrates elected by the people, a v and Reformed church would have to operate under the estab- ed authorities subject to the provision of as broad a measure of f-government for the individual religious communities as might ve workable. To this system Zwingli, the born republican, sub- ibed enthusiastically, thus favoring a form of church government ch more responsive to popular currents than that of Germany. m his general position it also followed that Zwingli, far from ling any aversion for politics as Luther did, regarded their practice only as the plain duty of the citizen but as the necessary con- ion of a healthy and successful religious transformation.

Zwingli, humanist and democrat, adopts religious reform

As already said, Zwingli did not actively take up re- ous reform till 1519, in which year he was called to the of Zurich, the most vigorous and thriving community the whole Confederation, to take pastoral charge of central church, the Great Minster. Luther had re- tly hurled his bolt against indulgences and Zwingli, taking the

Zwingli brings the Reformation to Zurich

same ground, was, exactly like the German friar, soon moved to broaden his criticism. In a surprisingly short time he had freed himself from the bonds of tradition and, breaking every connection with Rome, steered straight at independence. By 1525 his persuasive tongue had so completely swept the Zurich townsmen off their feet that he was enabled to set up his Reformed church with the consent and under the protection of the town council.

That, administratively, the Zwinglian church was to the Lutheran church just emerging in Germany as republicanism is to monarchy has already been remarked; let us note that, in point of doctrine, the two faiths, in spite of a general agreement, exhibited slight, though by no means negligible, differences. The most important variation unquestionably regarded the Holy Eucharist or Lord's Supper. To the Catholic Church the Holy Eucharist had become the central mystery of Christianity and Luther, after first questioning the Catholic teaching, had in his conservative way ended by reverting to it. The orthodox position briefly was that the bread and wine of the service are changed into the actual body and blood of Christ by a miraculous process called transsubstantiation. True, Luther somewhat modified the traditional teaching, but his doctrine, usually called consubstantiation, hardly, except for professional theologians, differed by a hair's breadth from the Catholic position. To a certain rationalist tendency in Zwingli, a tendency which prompted him to test everything by the evidence of the senses, transsubstantiation and its little Lutheran brother, consubstantiation, were of a piece with every other medieval superstition, and he contemptuously tossed them on the scrap-heap together with fasts, pilgrimages, worship of the saints, and other so-called works. So sweeping an elimination of mystery from life and faith enraged Luther, who, miles removed from rationalism, had not even identified himself with Erasmian humanism, except where its positions happened to accord with the deep, religious demands of his nature.

Zwingli, Luther, and the Lord's Supper

It was natural that so long as Protestantism was weak and exposed to attack efforts should be made to draw the Lutheran and Zwinglian forces into an alliance. In 1529 when Charles V, having just brought his war in Italy to a triumphant conclusion, was preparing to return to Germany to stamp out heresy by force, the outlook for the reformers became suddenly very black. In consequence Philip of Hesse, a Lutheran leader endowed with political understanding, urged the closing of the Protestant ranks,

The Marburg conference

nd as a preliminary measure brought Luther and Zwingli together a conference at his city of Marburg in order to persuade them to on out their doctrinal differences. Matters went smoothly enough ntil the Lord's Supper was broached. On this rock the meeting ffered shipwreck for the reason that Luther would not make the ast concession to Zwingli's rationalism, and Zwingli, for his part, ough ready to retain the Lord's Supper as a feature of his church rvice, refused to regard it other than as a purely symbolic act mmemorative of an actual occurrence recorded in the gospels. hus on the theological inflexibility of the two Protestant champions e plan of consolidating their movements came to naught. It was piece of good luck that Charles, on coming to Germany, found mself diverted from his purpose by unforeseen circumstances, iefly connected with the Turks, and that on this account he was bliged to adjourn his slaying of the serpent of heresy. But the disgreement between Luther and Zwingli, because the modern mind inclined to regard it as mere hair-splitting, deserves an additional ord of elucidation. The medieval development had identified the hurch with sublime mysteries which, pouring an extraordinary amour around life, had converted the individual existence, as has een aptly said, into a Christian epic. A humanism, inclining toward cold, rationalist outlook, might eventually succeed in finding new nd more acceptable formulas of living than those upheld by the hurch, but it was highly improbable that mankind would suddenly nd of one accord surrender a familiar and cherished body of traditons in exchange for an invitation to fare forth on an uncharted sea. uther's position was evidence that great masses of men would long ntinue to value the emotional exaltations of faith above the chill tisfactions of reason.

From Zurich, its center, the Zwinglian movement spread into the djoining Swiss areas, particularly into the towns which, here as sewhere, proved to be the chief carriers of Protestantism. When ern adopted his cause (1528), it looked to the sanguine wingli as if all Switzerland must ultimately fall like pe fruit into his lap. But the five forest cantons, repreenting the original nucleus of Schwyz, Uri, and Unteralden plus the two neighbors, Zug and Lucerne, clung their ancient faith. In addition they were opposed to Zwingli's cial reforms, which, by condemning the profitable mercenary serve, threatened their well-being. Exactly as might be expected, it

Religious war followed by the Peace of Kappel, 1531

was over the subjected territory, the common bailiwicks, that the quarrel between the two groups finally came to a head. Dominating the federal diet, the five forest cantons planted their officials in the common bailiwicks and rigorously suppressed all Protestant teaching by the use of force. Against this Zwingli, hesitatingly backed by the Protestant cantons, protested with the result that civil war became inevitable. In the first clash in 1529, Zwingli by expeditious action won a bloodless victory and carried his point. In consequence each community of the common bailiwicks was conceded a free choice between the rival faiths. However, on the renewal of the struggle in 1531 the forces of Zurich were badly routed at Kappel (October 11) and the undaunted Zwingli himself slain. The defeated Zurichers had to sue for peace which, signed before the year was out at Kappel, cleared the atmosphere. The issue of the common lands was of course settled in the main in the Catholic interest, but the authority of each cantonal government to adopt the religion it preferred was freely recognized. The Kappel solution of the religious conflict closely resembles the one afterwards found by Germany and laid down in the Peace of Augsburg (1555) under the formula *cujus regio ejus religio*. That is to say, Switzerland, like Germany a weak federation, was obliged to leave the thorny religious issue to the local governments. Consequently each canton made its own choice between Catholicism and Protestantism, thereby giving to the religious map of Switzerland the same checkered appearance as marks Germany and characteristic of both of these countries to the present day. A constitutional effect of the religious factionalism was that the already feeble central government was for many generations to come reduced to complete impotence.

The Switzerland of the Reformation, though essentially a German state, had, by virtue of its westward expansion, already come to embrace a number of French districts. The territory of the Confederation stretched toward the lake of Geneva, at the western end of which lay, completely surrounded by the territories of the duke of Savoy, the city of Geneva. This French city, controlling the headwaters of the Rhone, was an important mart of trade and had a peculiar political régime which will be presently explained. By an amazing chain of circumstances Geneva, shaking off, early in the sixteenth century, its bondage to the duke of Savoy, established a free republic together with Protestantism, and immediately after became the home of an

The city of Geneva made famous by John Calvin

ile from France by the name of John Calvin. Not only did the ien Calvin become completely identified with Geneva, but breath- g new life into the Reformation movement, he carried it much rther afield than Zwingli or even Luther had been able to do. hrough Calvin the Reformation became militant and, effectively anscending national boundaries, developed an impetus which carried to France, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Great Britain, nd ultimately across the Atlantic Ocean to America.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Geneva had a form of overnment suggestive of the transition from medieval to modern onditions. Though the city, as an active community of merchants, ad acquired a certain measure of self-government, it as still subject to its feudal lord, who was also bishop Geneva. As in the course of the preceding century, the ost powerful secular lord of the neighborhood, the duke Savoy, had insinuated himself into the government as the lieuten- nt, in civil affairs, of the bishop, the town enjoyed the perilous xury of a three-cornered rule. However, the unstable equilibrium ight not have been destroyed, if the duke of Savoy, abetted by the shop, had not formed the ambitious plan of bringing the town holly into his power. This stirred the citizens' latent love of liberty nd, rising in revolt, they attacked the conspirators with so much gor that they drove them from the town. By 1536 Geneva had ecome a free republic recognizing no superior under heaven.

Geneva wins its independence

However, the victory of the Genevans would have been impossible ithout the help of the near-by Swiss cantons and particularly of he large and war-like canton of Bern. Since Bern was Protestant, introduced Protestant preaching into Geneva and rgely by its influence persuaded the citizens to adopt he Reformation. They took this decisive step (1536) mmediately after gaining their independence. No sooner had the ouble revolution been effected than Calvin appeared upon the ene.

Geneva becomes Protestant

John Calvin, a Frenchman by birth, saw the light of day at Noyon, Picardy, on July 10, 1509. He received an excellent education the classics, chiefly at the universities of Paris and Orleans. Orig- ally intended for the Church, he switched at Orleans jurisprudence, to which study, it may well be, he owed at clearness and precision which are the characteristics of his pened thought. His steady and profound devotion to the great

Calvin

thinkers of antiquity may have helped to strengthen these outstanding mental traits.

Though a son of the sixteenth century might love the classics and give himself to the pursuit of law, he could not, more especially if he had the passion for righteousness which distinguished Calvin from birth, avoid being drawn into the religious whirlpool. While pursuing his studies Calvin came into touch with the circles in France which were nursing the seeds of the Reformation, and when the intolerant government of Francis I inaugurated an attack on heresy which brought many leading men to the stake, Calvin was obliged to seek safety in flight (1534). He settled in the Swiss city of Basel which some years before had adopted the Zwinglian reform, and here he published in 1536 his famous treatise *Christianae Religionis Institutio* (The Institutes of the Christian Religion). The Institutes, greatly enlarged in subsequent editions, constituted the most scientific and critical attempt that had yet been made to reconstruct the church of Christ on the basis of the evidence supplied by the New Testament. A positive achievement of profound scholarship, it was at the same time a daring exposure of the elaborate additions to the apostolic structure made by the medieval Church. No book had yet come from the Protestant camp combining so much historical information and method with such invincible logic. Some months after the publication of his great work Calvin paid a visit to his native France and on his return journey stopped for a night's rest at Geneva.

Calvin's Institutes

The Protestant faith, only recently adopted by Geneva, was still an exceedingly frail plant. The real difficulty was that the citizens, having turned Protestant largely on grounds of political expediency, had not felt the uplifting force of a great moral experience. The leading preacher of Geneva, Farel by name, was aware of the evils of the situation and wrestled with them tirelessly. When the news was brought him that the famous young author of the Institutes had arrived in town, he called upon him at his inn and warmly solicited his aid in the great work of inner evangelization that still remained to be done. Calvin, enamored of the quiet life of the scholar, at first refused, but Farel plied him with such vigor that he at last agreed to make the sacrifice and plunge into the world of action.

Calvin settles in Geneva

The work on which Calvin now entered lasted, with the exception of a short setback and exile, till his death in 1564. By sheer force

will and ascendancy of genius he made himself the commanding gure within the city walls and with the consent of the citizens led their destinies like a dictator. His plan, one of the most udacious ever formed by man, was to realize in Geneva he original church of Christ outlined in the Institutes. Let s be clear that it was this evangelical edifice which wholly led his mind. As for the political government to be t up, its particular form did not matter much in Calvin's view, rovided its magistrates were imbued with the sense of their Christian ission. He was therefore ready to take over the democratic régime ready established at Geneva, provided it would accept the obliga- on to work in close association with and even subservience to his urch to the end of producing as nearly perfect a Christian common- ealth as possible. Instead of separation of church and state, the uch vaunted ideal of the present age more perfectly realized in he United States of America than anywhere on the older continent, e demanded the same intimacy and reciprocity between the two stitutions for which the Middle Age had striven. According to m the state which governed temporal man and the church which inistered to his immortal spirit could not disjoin their labors if od's great purpose in regard to man was ever to be realized. This a theocratic ideal substantially identical with that of the great edieval doctors, the reason for the agreement being that exactly ke them Calvin held life to be worthless in itself and valuable only hen lived under God with a constant view to salvation. Where alvin and the scholastics differed — and the difference constitutes unbridgeable chasm — was on the question of the means to a mmon end. While the medieval teachers exalted the Catholic hurch as the divinely created instrument of salvation, the French former swept this vast intermediary structure aside with a single veep of his arm and brought the individual face to face with God. he church in his view, the real but invisible church, was the body believers throughout the world divided for practical purposes into parate units and guided by clergymen who preached and prayed, ut who were completely impotent to promote by as much as a hair's eadth the salvation of the sinner.

Calvin establishes a theocratic state

Although Calvin's theocratic ideal possesses a decided interest, e are obliged to admit that it was his theories touching the eaning and application of Christianity which have chiefly im- essed themselves on the world. His three major contributions

belong to the respective fields, first, of church government, second, of morals, and third, of theology. We shall discuss them in turn and begin by noting that, regarding point one, he championed the democratic principle. He did this because democracy seemed to be the system of the primitive church, in which every believer was equal to every other and all the believers together constituted a working, self-governing unit. By identifying itself with this principle Calvinism made a popular appeal which was absent from Lutheranism from the moment the Wittenberg reformer committed his movement to the control of the princes. Without the least doubt it was the democratic kernel of the Calvinistic system which was responsible for winning the hearts of the middle classes in so many European countries and which, by winning the middle classes, tied up the Genevan reform with those vigorous social and economic elements destined to be the carriers and exponents of the modern movement of progress. In short, a democratic church stirred the imaginations of all self-governing groups and greatly promoted democracy throughout the world.

Calvinism identifies itself with the democratic principle of government

A second memorable feature about Calvinism is the extraordinary emphasis which it put on conduct. According to the Genevan leader the conversion of the individual to the Reformed faith ought infallibly to mean a life lived on a plane of high endeavor in the consciousness of God's active and incessant grace. Hence the true Christian divorced himself from all weakness and frivolity and gained his daily bread and guided his relations with his fellow-men in the spirit of simple duty and dignified austerity. Without doubt Calvin is the first Puritan and his Genevan code of morals the source and model of all Puritanical codes whatever. But, cognizant of the frailty of the flesh and brought face to face with the backsliding and misdemeanors of his fellow-citizens, Calvin was unwilling to trust to pulpit exhortation to hold sinners to the narrow path. We must conceive him as a man of the grimmest resolution and, as such, a willing believer in the most drastic measures. He therefore created as an executive organ for his moral code a commission, called the consistory and made up of six ministers and twelve elders. The consistory was in substance an ecclesiastical or moral police and was empowered to arrest and bring to trial any man, woman, or child charged with failure to comply with the Genevan standard of conduct. The punishment imposed was carried

Calvin the father of Puritanism

t by the civil authorities, which furnishes an excellent illustration how, in the Genevan system, state and church interlocked. The cords of the consistory, which still exist, show that children were ipped for being disrespectful to their parents, men pilloried for asphemy, and money fines and imprisonment meted out for danc-g, card-playing, the singing of profane songs, and non-attendance church. Of course, heresy and blasphemy were particularly inous offenses and in several instances led to the infliction of the ath penalty either by the sword or the lighted fagot. A community bjected to a rigid standard of behavior by supervision and penalties ay become welded into an irresistible mass, but it will necessarily rn to stifle that spontaneous human sympathy and to extinguish ose simple joys which under other systems have proved invaluable ments of life. As in the case of every other code of ethics put th by man, the law of compensation provides that the credit and bit accounts of puritanical Calvinism are in perfect balance.

The third feature of Calvinism destined to be historically im-rtant belongs to the province of theology and touches the Genevan holar's conception of God. He made the might and majesty of e Creator so unapproachable and all-inclusive that it mpletely overshadowed the universe. No Christian stem has ever been set forth which reduced man to ch total insignificance, made him so entirely a helpless worm. om this position it followed for Calvin, a reasoner who with char-teristic firmness stood by every consequence of his logic, that nful man could not contribute an atom's weight to his own salva-on either by the good works recommended by the Catholic Church by the faith extolled by Luther. God alone could save and His ving was a pure act of mercy. But since God is eternal and om-scient He must know and has willed, even before birth, whether soul shall be saved or lost. Familiar under the name of election grace or predestination, this teaching has proved a rock on which e waters of discussion have dashed themselves to spray for many nturies down to the present hour. To men of a different temper om the austere Calvin, to tender-minded men throughout the ages, e doctrine that man is as utterly unimportant and God as rhada-anthine and implacable as predestination implies has proved traordinarily repugnant. It was freely predicted, even in Calvin's etime, that discouragement would seize upon the adherents of is creed and that something akin to oriental fatalism would par-

Calvin and predestination

alyze their wills. Rarely has a prophesy been more completely disproved by the facts, for history reveals that the Calvinistic form of Protestantism is associated with a remarkable display of human activity. What the belief in election by divine grace may have to do with an unexampled activism is a metaphysical problem beyond the scope of this book.

Calvin tried to bring the Lutheran and Zwinglian churches into union with his own. In this he scored a partial success, since in 1549 the Zwinglians signed with him the consensus of Zurich which established for Switzerland a single Reformed church. The Lutherans, however, by refusing to budge from their conception of the Eucharist secured the perpetuation of the Protestant division. For the moment at least that misfortune hardly checked the astonishing vitality of Calvinism. From Geneva as a center and with the aid of an academy for the training of pastors, to which Calvin gave an unremitting attention, it radiated a missionary zeal unique among Protestants and excelled, among Catholics, only by the Jesuits.

Relation of Calvinism to Zwinglianism and Lutheranism

The reform movement of which Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were the protagonists could not possibly have achieved success, if it had not appealed to a conviction, which had been gathering strength for over a century, that the Church was corrupt in head and members. To all such criticism the popes not only had turned a deaf ear but by a resourceful diplomacy had nullified every attempt to produce a reform by constitutional means. The failure of the General Councils of Constance (1414–1418) and Basel (1431–1449), assembled amidst the hopes of Christendom to inaugurate a new era, was due and due solely to the popes, jealously resolved to maintain their absolutism against the claims of a reforming parliament. Issuing with unshorn powers from the conciliar crisis, the Roman pontiffs plunged into the Renaissance and gave themselves whole-heartedly to worldly joys and schemes of temporal power. While many of the Renaissance popes by befriending humanism and patronizing the arts exhibited a spirit which elicits applause, it is also true that, practically without exception, they proved themselves morally so obtuse that the universal laxity of clerical manners and the scandalous financial corruption under their eyes failed to disturb their equanimity. Popes of this character would not be able to cope effectively with the northern revolt because they would be impenetrable to its moral fervor. They

The papacy and the Reformation

uld continue to loiter in the pleasant gardens of the Renaissance d refuse to face the hard realities beyond the Alps. However, th the spread of the Protestant disaster certain more conscientious embers of the papal court would feel alarm and raise their voice favor of conciliating criticism by the abolition of some of the more grant scandals. In measure as this sentiment gained ground, it vaded even the college of cardinals and in the election of 1534 gistered a first, if partial, success in the elevation to the curial air of Paul III (1534–1549). Although this pope was undoubtedly Renaissance product, still he showed a genuine concern for the evils the Church and, intermittently at least, attacked the problem of e hour. For a few decades therefore the decision trembled in the lance until, with the election of Pope Paul IV (1555–1559), the pacy definitely and forever turned its back on the Renaissance and ok up the urgent question of saving what was left of the universal urch. Under these circumstances began that famous move- ent of Church reform by Church action known as the Counter- formation.

Although the Counter-Reformation did not acquire its full momen- m until the popes had put themselves at its head, let it be clearly derstood that its energies had begun to accumulate long before e middle of the sixteenth century. Any attempt at systematic presentation of these slowly gathering forces ust start with the ecclesiastical reforms carried out in ain under state direction and at the express instiga- n of Ferdinand and Isabella. These sovereigns en- usted the work to the learned and devoted Cardinal Ximenes, who a lifetime of courageous service cleansed the Augean stables of e Spanish clergy. He renewed the spiritual life of the monastic ders; he brought the parochial clergy back to a sense of their ligations as guides and comforters of the people; and he estab- hed schools and seminaries which were made obligatory for all ndidates for the priesthood and which put an end to the abysmal erical ignorance so vigorously scourged by the humanists. It is ue that the Spanish revival identified itself with scholasticism and as distinguished by a rigorous orthodoxy; it is no less true that shaped for itself as its mightiest weapon the Inquisition and prac- ed a fierce intolerance; but, in spite of these darker phases of the ovement, Spain experienced a genuine renewal of religious life anifested by an energy which poured at last over the national

The Catholic reform begins in Spain

boundaries and passed like an electric current through the paralyzed body of the universal Church.

One of the most conspicuous evidences of every religious renewal in the Middle Age had been the voluntary association of men and women in ascetic orders whole-heartedly devoted to some form of Christian service. Not only in Spain but in the other Catholic countries too, in measure as they caught the Spanish spirit, this medieval phenomenon was repeated with the result that organizations animated with the purest Catholic zeal came into spontaneous being and multiplied rapidly. Only the most important can be here enumerated. As early as the reign of Pope Clement VII a handful of ecclesiastics in his own capital of Rome founded the order of the Theatines (1524). Undeniably influenced by the Spanish example but certainly no less by the chilling blasts that blew from Wittenberg, they resolved that, above all, the parochial clergy must be aroused to a new sense of its duty. The Theatine order was planned, therefore, and rose to fame as an association of priests, who, turning away from idleness, ignorance, and self-indulgence, pledged themselves to the highest ecclesiastical ideals. Far more widely effective was a new order of friars, the Capuchins. Founded some two years after the Theatines as a reformed branch of the ancient Franciscans, the Capuchins practised simplicity and kindliness and, moving freely among the common people from whom they sprung and whose language they spoke, they became an important link in the chain of influences that kept the Italian masses loyal to the Church. However, as world forces, both of these rather local orders were completely overshadowed by the Jesuits. The Jesuits are unthinkable except as an expression of the narrowly concentrated Catholic fervor of Spain.

Evidences of Catholic revival: Theatines and Capuchins

The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, as the order is officially called, were founded by Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was a Spanish nobleman, who, as was natural in one of his birth, followed the profession of arms until during convalescence from a wound received at the siege of Pampeluna (1521), he chanced to read certain holy books dealing with the lives of Jesus and the saints. His high-strung and exalted nature was so fired with this reading that thenceforth he knew no other ambition than, in imitation of the early martyrs, to dedicate his life to the Church. His first efforts were wildly extravagant and ineffective. He eventually saw that he needed to put himself in possession

Loyola founds the order of the Jesuits, 1540

a solid body of knowledge and at thirty-three years of age began e study of Latin, philosophy, and theology. While attending the iversity of Paris, he made the acquaintance of some kindred irits who in 1534 solemnly bound themselves to him and to one other in the service of Christ and the Church. It is fascinating linger on the strange coincidence that Loyola and his Protestant tipode, John Calvin, were students at Paris together and may ve rubbed elbows on the same class-room bench. The group of ven companions (for that was the original number), welded into unit by the inspired leadership of the Spanish nobleman, presently parted for Venice in the hope of crossing the sea to the Holy nd. When the outbreak of a new war with the Turks made the an impossible, they contented themselves with taking the road to me to the end of gaining the papal blessing for their society. In 40 Paul III officially authorized the order and at the same time proved its purpose and organization as sketched in Loyola's peti-n. In both these respects the Society of Jesus proved so different m the religious orders that preceded and followed it that it must ranked as a highly original creation.

As recited in the charter of 1540, the objects of the Society were the main three: (1) mission work in any part of the globe but re particularly in Protestant lands; (2) preaching and directing e conscience; and (3) educating the young. Since the Jesuit mission work ciety experienced an almost phenomenal growth, it was eady by the time of the death of the founder (1556) factor to be reckoned with; and before it celebrated its fiftieth niversary it boasted thousands of members together with some ndreds of colleges and houses distributed everywhere over Catholic rope. And this enormous establishment remained with an indeed re consistency dedicated to its original purposes, among which ssion work held a conspicuous place. Not only did their Catholic thusiasm carry these strange zealots to the ends of the earth, to dia, China, and Japan, as well as among the Redmen of America, t it led them to display a particular energy in Protestant lands, ere at the height of their power they scored many a triumph. eir practice was to single out for attention ruling families and icials in the highest walks of life and the conversion in the seven-enth century of the elector of that country, Saxony, which had en the cradle of the Reformation, and of the Scottish Stuarts on e British throne, shook the northern world with a sudden alarming nse of Jesuit missionary power.

If their missionary labors measure the courage and death-defying devotion of the Jesuits, their preaching and confessing illustrate their intellectual subtlety or, as their enemies phrased it, their trickery and dishonesty. So successfully did they exhort the faithful from the pulpits of their churches and so delicately did they direct their lives from the confessional that they were in eager demand in an age of religious doubts and convulsions. Practically without exception the Catholic sovereigns of Europe promoted Jesuits to the service of their private chapel, enabling them by this intimate intercourse to wield a wide though indefinable political influence. However, their most impressive service belonged without question to the field of education. Wisely aware that youth is the impressionable age, they gave their attention to the multiplication of schools and colleges and by virtue of their zeal and energy carried their instruction to a high degree of excellence. It was in part by championing better educational methods that Protestantism had won its victory, especially among the upper classes. To this Protestant movement the Jesuits opposed their own, carrying it through on a much more extensive and unified plan. The proof is furnished by the fact that by the seventeenth century the Jesuit colleges had acquired a very high reputation for efficiency in Italy, France, the Spanish Netherlands, and Catholic Germany, while in countries like Portugual and Spain they completely monopolized the educational field.

Jesuit preaching and education

Devotion, be it ever so sustained, can not by itself explain these remarkable achievements; they were due in no small part to an organization, which, although only gradually perfected, was implicit from the start in Loyola's conception. As was natural for an old soldier, he took the army as his model. Hence, establishing gradations of authority culminating in a commander-in-chief or general, he welded his machine together with the spirit of an iron military discipline. On being accepted as a novice a youth learned first and foremost complete subordination. As his best aid to this end he was made to live with and under the "Spiritual Exercises," a devotional book composed by Loyola and wonderfully adapted to the suppression of every trace of an individual will in the interest of the order. After a novitiate of two years' duration the youth became a scholastic. *Scholastics* took the course in arts and on graduation were permitted to qualify as teachers in their turn. Specially endowed scholastics were invited to study

The Jesuits organized as an army

eology and after a prolonged and successful application might pe to become priests and to be elevated to the rank of *spiritual adjutors*. Individuals unsuited to serve either as teachers or priests re classified as *temporal coadjutors* and served the order to the st of their ability as laymen. They represented the lowest Jesuit nk, with the scholastics and spiritual coadjutors set above them the order named.

Although these three classes embraced the bulk of the membership, ey had no claim to the government of the Society. This was served to the "Professed of the Four Vows," a select body promoted om the spiritual coadjutors and composing the Society in the strict sense of the word. All Jesuits of whatever ade took the three vows sanctioned by monastic usage chastity, poverty, and obedience, but the Professed ded a fourth vow (hence their name) of special and unalterable edience to the pope. Even the Professed, however, were not so uch a parliament as a general staff. They might advise the supreme neral whom they elected to office for life, but they were absolutely his will and pleasure, once he was installed in office. In the fourth w resides the special significance of the order for the political story of the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits conceived of themves and, in fact, were the militia of the pope and first, defensively d finally, offensively waged perpetual war with heretics and infidels the glory of the Church — *ad majorem gloriam ecclesiae*.

The inner governing group and the general

There remain for consideration three agencies with which the urch completed its armament in preparation for the war with its emies. They are the Inquisition, the Council of Trent, and the dex.

We have seen that the Inquisition, conceived as a special board the investigation and suppression of heresy, was intermittently ployed throughout the Middle Age, sometimes locally by the shops, sometimes more universally by the popes. One the most famous instances of its papal use is in connec- n with the suppression of the Albigensian heresy at the beginning the thirteenth century. In the following century the spread of manism had discredited violence in matters of faith and had used the discontinuation of the Inquisition until the Spanish vernment, faced by the special problem of the Jews and Moors, titioned the popes for its resumption. In consequence, under rdinand and Isabella, the famous Spanish Inquisition was set up

The Roman Inquisition

in complete independence of Rome and operating as much and more in the civil than in the ecclesiastical interest. Naturally when Pope Paul III began to look about in order to strengthen the Catholic defenses, he was much impressed with the work done in Spain and in 1542, in compliment to the Spanish tribunal, issued a bull establishing a papal Inquisition which claimed universal authority. A central board of cardinals sitting at Rome was empowered to hear cases and pass sentence, acting at the same time as a court of appeal from inquisitorial courts to be set up in the various European territories. As heresy, besides being a sin, was also accounted a crime, the inquisitors were privileged, in consonance with the practice of criminal courts throughout Europe at this time, to put the accused to torture in order to extract a confession of guilt. This circumstance, together with the fires which were presently lit at Rome, explains why the Roman Inquisition soon spread a terror hardly inferior to that connected with its Spanish exemplar.

Although it was the ambition of Paul III and his successors to give the new institution a jurisdiction as wide as that of the Church itself, they did not achieve their purpose. The Spanish government politely notified Rome that in the future as in the past it intended to do its own heresy-hunting and almost all other Catholic states answered in the same vein. Not that they were averse to persecution or, as we shall see, failed to practise it, but they were averse to increasing the pope's power by authorizing an infringement of the national jurisdiction. In point of fact the new Roman Inquisition never exercised any notable activity outside of Italy. Over Italy, however, it was completely effective and had no small part in stamping out not only the new seeds of heresy but also many of the fair plants which had grown up under the shelter of humanism. It is not enough to explain the historic eclipse of Italy by pointing to the Spanish political conquest; it was caused even more by the fact that the Italians, tiring of their splendid Renaissance audacity, succumbed also spiritually to Spain.

The Roman Inquisition limited largely to Italy

It will be remembered that the Lutheran schism had no sooner made its appearance than a General Council of the Church was proposed as the natural and certain remedy. Emperor Charles V was won over to the plan and from an early date importuned the pope to call together the parliament of Christendom. But the pope hesitated. The Councils of Constance and Basel, sitting in the first

lf of the fifteenth century, had threatened his absolute control by ampioning a policy which would have lowered him to the rank of mere constitutional sovereign. It was only with the greatest difulty that he had defeated these plans and preserved e power which he considered to be his by divine right the successor of St. Peter. However, stubborn as was e opposition of the popes of Luther's day to Charles's licy of a General Council, Charles was a very powerful an and could not be systematically flouted. Sometimes he was alost omnipotent and on such occasions the pope had to make at ast a show of acquiescence. At last in 1542 Paul III issued the call r a Council to be held in the city of Trent on the southern slope the Alps, but found occasion to adjourn it before a single session uld be held. In 1545 Pope Paul and in 1551 his successor went rough the same comedy, except that the sessions were formally ened on these occasions and a limited amount of business transted. When finally, in 1552, the emperor was defeated by the erman Protestants, he reached the conclusion that his conciliar medy for the heretical poison was a failure and, resigning the perial crown, retired to Spain to die in monastic seclusion.

Charles V advocates the calling of a General Council

Simultaneously with the disappearance of Charles from the scene e whole Catholic outlook dramatically changed. The spirit of action triumphed, conciliation was rejected, and under Jesuit inpiration the whole Church drew its ranks closer together, mmitting its destinies into the hands of its traditional ader, the pope. No longer fearful of a Council under ese altered circumstances, Pope Pius IV (1559–1566) issued a new ll which resulted in the famous and concluding session of Trent of 62–1563. With the trouble-breeding Protestant question elimited from discussion, for this fighting body met to the battle-cry of no surrender," the Council was able to perform a notable work. response to the new moral fervor manifested by the clergy it gan by correcting some outstanding abuses. Thus it enforced iscopal residence, condemned pluralism (the practice of holding veral benefices at once), and established seminaries to bring the ergy to a higher educational level. Then it rolled up its sleeves attack the real issues between itself and Protestantism, the issues doctrine. Without a shadow of equivocation the Council took stand on tradition, reaffirming the labors of the scholastic doctors d restating in terms of medieval continuity every doctrinal posi-

The Council of Trent, 1562–1563

tion which Luther and his allies had attacked. Moreover, by laying a formal anathema on every contrary opinion, not only were the remaining bridges between the old and the new faith broken down but any plan to build bridges in the future was frustrated in advance. In short, "the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," under which name the official acts were published, constitute a declaration of war; and from a purely military viewpoint they recommend themselves as a precise staking off of the ground which Catholicism was prepared to defend in the coming struggle. In that combat the Protestants were to learn that the lack of a common ground, due to their bitter doctrinal divergences, was a heavy handicap.

A result of the Council, surprising in view of the reluctance of the popes to call it together, was that the papacy emerged from the ordeal with added prestige, for, the Council settled, though not in express words, the ancient constitutional issue as to whether the final authority in the Church rested with the pope or with the general assembly of Christendom. Though the papal absolutism had mounted steadily since the early Middle Age, it had always remained in dispute and was invariably challenged by the Councils whenever they met. Even in the Council of Trent there was a party of bishops who took their stand on the old platform of conciliar supremacy; but the papalists, ably assisted by the new champions of the pope, the Jesuits, won an undisputed victory. It was not the smallest service that Jesuit energy and discipline rendered its avowed lord and master. It would hardly be too much to say that the Council of Trent practically surrendered the historic conciliar claim and affirmed the absolutism of the pope in matters of government as well as of faith. Sufficient evidence of this assertion would seem to be supplied by the fact that the next ecumenical council did not meet till the nineteenth century (1870), when the final touch was added to the supremacy of the pope by the declaration of his infallibility.

The papal absolutism

Before adjourning the Council of Trent empowered the pope to draw up a list of forbidden books (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*). Long before this act an occasional pope or a Catholic university had taken cognizance of the flood of dangerous matter released by the new invention of printing and had attempted to bank it up by publishing the names of authors whom good Catholics should eschew. These haphazard efforts were now to be replaced by a careful attempt to put, as it were, in quarantine all writers and

The Index

itings not strictly orthodox. The commission to which the work s entrusted brought out the papal Index of 1564, to which addi-ns were afterwards made as occasion served. It was arranged in ree categories, the first of which listed tainted individuals, so-called resiarchs, who were condemned *in toto;* the second named individ-l dangerous works; and the third indicated forbidden passages thin books otherwise sound. Wherever, as in Italy, the Index be-me effective, it must have contributed to the darkening of the in-lectual skies. But many Catholic countries, doubtless to the vantage of the free play of ideas, refused to enforce it, and even learned Jesuit was found, who, a white crow in a black flock, nificantly hinted that the best way to discredit bad books was write better ones.

In looking back over the movement in the Church which we have en describing, we would seem to be fully justified to speak of it as Reformation inasmuch as it improved the manners and morals of e prelates, gave birth to new and highly disciplined ders, and raised the level of learning and devotion long the secular priests. But it is also clear that by eaking with the spirit of criticism and returning to the son of medieval tradition the Counter-Reformation rned its back on humanism and the Renaissance. Of rse, it might be argued that Protestantism had pre-led Catholicism in declaring war on the Renaissance by reviv-theological controversies and resting its case ultimately not reason but on faith. In whatever ratio the responsibility for phenomenon may be distributed, around the middle of the teenth century the promise of a liberated human spirit implied the Renaissance was, temporarily at least, obscured by an era religious strife between churches prepared to assert their respec-e theories of salvation not with the persuasions of the mind but h the drawn sword of the fanatic. By virtue of that blind and ssionate struggle it might even come to pass that mankind would be manently deflected from the advance indicated by the line of the naissance movement. But if something of the Renaissance free-n should be saved, enough to stimulate at some later time the rage of men to resume the great interrupted adventure of the eenth century, it would hardly be due to either Protestants or tholics but rather to those rare individuals who, priests of the man spirit rather than of any church, were content to nurse the red flame outside the warring camps.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation extinguish the Renaissance

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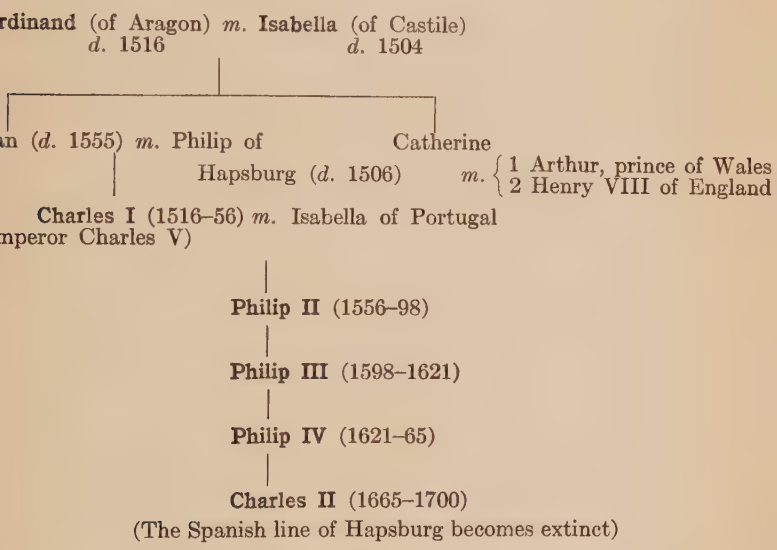
THE POPES

Leo X (Medici), 1513–21
Hadrian VI, 1522–23
Clement VII (Medici), 1523–34
Paul III (Farnese), 1534–50
Julius III, 1550–55
Marcellus II, 1555
Paul IV (Caraffa), 1555–59
Pius IV, 1559–65
Pius V, 1566–72
Gregory VIII, 1572–85

CHAPTER VII

SPAIN UNDER EMPEROR CHARLES V AND HIS SON, PHILIP II; HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY


rdinand (of Aragon) m. Isabella (of Castile)
d. 1516 d. 1504
ın (d. 1555) m. Philip of Hapsburg (d. 1506)
Catherine
m. { 1 Arthur, prince of Wales
2 Henry VIII of England
Charles I (1516–56) m. Isabella of Portugal
mperor Charles V)
Philip II (1556–98)
Philip III (1598–1621)
Philip IV (1621–65)
Charles II (1665–1700)
(The Spanish line of Hapsburg becomes extinct)

When the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles, who in 16 mounted the throne of Spain, was, in 1519, elected to the npire and became Emperor Charles V, the Spanish nation had cause mourn rather than to rejoice at this increase of dignity; , having duties henceforth in Germany, the monarch uld no longer give an undivided attention to his Span- task. In fact his interests which, besides Spain and rmany, embraced also the Netherlands and Italy, liged him to abandon a narrowly national viewpoint and to oaden his policy till it assumed continental dimensions. Charles s by nature neither exceptionally energetic nor ambitious. Even a young man he was taciturn, wary, and patient, but having once de up his mind to a particular course he was inclined to stick to with singular tenacity. When a series of remarkable coincidences

Charles pursues an imperial rather than a Spanish policy

put him at an early age in possession of a large part of Europe, far from having his head turned by the abundant favors of fortune, he faced his responsibilities with, on the whole, extraordinary deliberation and gradually elaborated a policy expressive of his position. We have glanced at this policy in the chapter dealing with the German Reformation and found that it involved a conception of himself as arbiter (not master) of the states of Europe, held together by a single faith of which the universal Church was the divinely appointed custodian. Charles's views represented a survival of an ancient medieval dream which he brought nearer to realization than any emperor since the passing of the Saxon Ottos. None the less in the end his dream failed, most conspicuously no doubt in Germany where Charles experienced the heavy sorrow of having to concede the protection of the law to a hateful heresy.

Since for the support of his imperial pretentions the emperor depended largely on Spanish resources and Spanish soldiery the conclusion seems justified that his failure to identify himself exclusively with the particular interests of Spain was disadvantageous to that country. Moreover, he left a perilous heritage to his son Philip, who, without becoming emperor, identified himself as fully as ever his father had done with the Catholic faith. As we shall see, he did not hesitate to stake all the resources of Spain on the struggle against the rising tide of Protestantism. While Philip was, above all, in character much more of a Spaniard than Charles, and while by championing the Catholic Church father and son gave their country a universal significance it might otherwise have missed, the fact remains that they put a burden on the Spanish people under which it in the end calamitously broke down.

Philip pursues a Catholic rather than a Spanish policy

The reigns of the emperor and his son, covering almost the whole of the sixteenth century, constitute an extraordinarily brilliant episode during which the history of Europe seems to revolve around Spain. With Philip's demise (1598) there is an eclipse so sudden as to bewilder the observer and so deep as to have remained substantially unbroken to our own day. We are forced to conclude that beneath the surface splendor a slow dry-rot was at work which, when it at last broke through the crust, produced disaster. An examination of the domestic situation, to which we shall now turn, will bear out this deduction. Beginning with the reign of Charles (1516–1556), we

The brilliance of the two reigns followed by darkness

ll examine the internal developments of Spain with a view to tting some light on the amazing Spanish collapse.

And first, the movement toward absolutism merits attention. We ve seen [1] that Charles inherited a growing royal power which, ercised against the lawlessness of feudalism, had been the source considerable social benefits. But, strong monarch that harles was, in both of his kingdoms of Castile and Ara- n he had to reckon with a parliament or cortes which ntrolled the purse and even insisted on being heard in legislative tters. In Castile, the real heart of Spain, there occurred early Charles's reign a constitutional crisis. Angered by the sovereign's o arbitrary procedure, the cities of Castile, constituting the most tive element represented in the cortes, revolted with the general n of gaining more consideration for their wishes. As the move- nt was poorly coördinated, the royal forces were able to stamp t the fire (1522) so completely that Charles was left in a position dictate the terms of peace. In consequence, some cities were, way of punishment, deprived of their right of representation in e cortes, while all of them had to admit a royal appointee (*cor- idor*) in their midst and to accept other serious curtailments of ir municipal liberties. It was a body-blow aimed at popular vernment. Although the cortes of Castile was not deprived of right to meet periodically and vote the taxes, henceforth that dy was no better than a broken reed, lost heart, and became terly subservient to the executive. In fact, following the rout of 22, the once proud Castilian cortes degenerated to the level of royal rubber stamp. As for the Aragonese cortes, it was made sterner stuff than its Castilian counterpart and obliged Charles ictly to respect its financial and many other rights. Its turn to humiliated did not come till the reign of Philip, who seized (1591) convenient pretext to overrun Aragon with a Castilian army and break, if not the Aragonese constitution, at least the will of the agonese people to use the cortes against the royal pleasure. Un- ubtedly the line of movement in Spain throughout the sixteenth ntury is toward absolutism and away from constitutional practices; d in such a development of the purely arbitrary power of the own we may detect a decline of public health ominous for the anish state.

The growth of absolutism

Another cause of deterioration already noticeable under Charles

[1] See p. 77.

but cumulatively effective under his successors carries us into the field of economics. The Spaniards were not a numerous people nor was their country naturally rich. Besides, owing perhaps to the warm climate, they were characterized by a certain physical indolence. When the trans-Atlantic discoveries under Ferdinand and Isabella and the projection into world politics due to Charles lifted the Spanish people with dramatic suddenness into the first place in Europe, the necessity arose of increasing the country's productiveness if the rapidly rising expenses of the government were to be successfully met. The peninsula was a land of agriculture and sheep-raising with few and relatively unimportant manufactures. Instead of the economic activities being at once stimulated to more intensive life, they at first about held their own with the exception of sheep-raising, which has the drawback of involving a very destructive use of land; and after the middle of the century economic production visibly and definitely declined in practically every line. The reason is not far to seek. In large measure at least it may be ascribed to an unbelievably inept system of taxation. Since the clergy and the nobles, being privileged classes, were tax-exempt, the task of finding the national revenue fell almost exclusively upon the towns, the method adopted being to lay a burden of ten per cent on every commercial transaction. This senseless tax, called *alcabala*, had of course the effect of totally discouraging trade, that is, it shut off the air by which the urban classes lived. As for manufactures, which early in the sixteenth century were greatly stimulated by the rising demand for goods among the Spanish colonies across the seas, a complete ignorance of the laws of political economy led the government to burden the factories of silk and woolen textiles with so many regulations that the young enterprises were suffocated under a mountain of red tape. A stationary productiveness, on the one hand, and ominously growing government expenses, on the other, define a situation which simply obliged the monarch to become so extortionate as gradually to drain the wealth of the country. For a time, it is true, the steady economic enfeeblement remained hidden from view. The silver mines of Mexico and Peru poured a stream of bullion into the country which everybody fallaciously took for wealth and which did indeed enable the government to hire mercenaries and purchase military stores, that is, to engage in expenditures which were required by the exigencies of foreign policy, but which signified pure

The bad economic situation

ste. In the long run the Spanish bullion regularly passed into the nds of commercial and industrial people, like the Dutch and Eng-n, who were able to supply the goods which the Spaniards wanted t which either through native indolence or stupid government erference they failed to create. In fact the paradox might be ntured that the American metal poured into the Spanish coffers s rather a curse than a blessing, since it had the evil moral effect confirming this southern people in the fatal delusion that a nation n become rich without work.

From this analysis of the maladies of Spain the Inquisition must t be omitted. Established, as we have seen, under Ferdinand d Isabella, it retained its tragic effectiveness under Charles, who ver wavered in his support of its main purpose. That **The Inquisition** s to persecute the two alien groups, the Jews and the oors, until every trace of infidelity had disappeared from the land d the nationalist dream, "one people, one king, one faith," had en realized. We should not forget that the intolerance of the vereign and the ruling classes was shared by the common people, o not only willingly bowed their necks to a secret and insuffer-e tyranny but who to testify to the hatred they felt for men of other blood and opinion crowded to the public executions, called *os-de-fe* (acts of faith), at which the victims perished in rows by , as to a merry-making or a bull-fight. As the descendants of the oors (usually called Moriscos) proved particularly difficult to up-t, there was in the eyes neither of Charles nor of his successors reason for relaxing the royal vigilance against them. Occasion-the fanatic treatment to which these hunted groups were exposed sed them to break forth in a rebellion which in so far eased their e as, instead of perishing singly by rack and fagot, they fell in ltitudes by the avenging sword. When toward the end of Charles's gn the Lutheran opinions gained a foothold here and there, the uisition, rejoicing at the discovery of a new group of enemies, ew itself upon the Protestant heretics and stamped them out root d branch. Not in many pages could one exhaust the evils, moral, nomic, and intellectual which flowed from the terrible system of pression represented by the Inquisition. Suffice it to remark that people which suffers the misfortune of having the free play of spirit paralyzed by the terror emanating from a secret and isible government can not long continue to carry the torch of lization.

The last thirteen years of his rule Charles spent away from Spain closely occupied with German affairs. His failure to quell the Protestant movement broke his spirit and he resigned his crowns in 1556, Spain with Italy and the Netherlands to his son Philip, Germany to his brother Ferdinand. Philip II (1556–1598) found himself on his accession at the head of territories hardly less extensive than those which Charles had governed; and as he did not become emperor he had, from the Spanish point of view, the advantage over Charles of fixing his residence in Spain and of presenting himself to the world in dress, speech, and manners as a Spaniard. As such, his policy, although it was not so much dedicated to Spanish as to universal Catholic interests, aroused so little opposition that he came to be regarded by his people as a truly national king.

Philip an out-and-out Spaniard in feeling and carriage

Every historical personage has two aspects, depending on whether he is looked on with favor or disfavor. To his devoted Spaniards Philip II was a circumspect and estimable ruler, while for the other peoples of Europe, more particularly of the Protestant north, he was the darkest tyrant and the most persistent enemy of light the age produced. The modern historian can not adopt either of these partisan views. He sees in Philip a severe, formal, and narrow-minded man, who was animated by the Catholic fervor traditional among his people and his family, and who had acquired from the sad experiences of his father a perfect horror of religious diversity. Hence his guiding thought, while there was life in him, was to maintain the Catholic faith by repression of heresy through the Inquisition, where he had the power; by war, where war had become inevitable. Contemporary Protestants shuddered as they identified Philip with the horrors of the Inquisition. While from their angle their aversion was fully justified, it should not be forgotten, especially as it throws a penetrating light on this age of religious conflict, that there was not a feature of his reign of which he was more proud than of the Inquisition since, by means of it, he was doing God's will and securing the triumph of the divinely instituted Roman Catholic Church. However, apart from this one spark of religious enthusiasm, Philip's joyless nature was as foreign to elation as the head of a bank. He passed his days and his nights over state affairs. Every document had to go through his own hands. Historians who have examined his papers declare it incredible that so much matter should have been written by one man in

The character of Philip II

e lifetime. In fact, work was his failing, for work with him de-
ıerated into a rage for minutiae and ended by enfeebling his grasp
essentials. Out of business hours this ogre of the Protestant myth-
gy was a tender and devoted husband and father. Even his
rthless son, Don Carlos, whose mysterious death in prison has
en the cause of violent and frequent defamation of the royal name,
is now admitted to have treated with an exemplary forbearance.
This very ordinary man managed to loom like a titan on the stage
European politics for the simple reason that he stood forth as a
rty champion in a clash of world importance. At the very time
at Philip succeeded to the throne of Spain the Counter-
formation had at last organized its forces and was
epared to take the offensive against Protestantism,
ich had thus far met with little or no systematic op-
sition. Without doubt it accorded with Philip's fan-
cal devotion to the Church to put himself and his
ıntry at the service of this cause; but here again a
dicious student will demur from the emotional Prot-
ant view which presents him as the evil-minded and persistent
gressor in the Catholic-Protestant conflict of the second half of
e sixteenth century and will without difficulty agree that this
uggle was inevitable and as much forced on Philip by the logic
events as determined by his own Catholic impulses. Nothing
l lend better support to this argument than the narrative account
his reign, for it shows that he slipped into the role of Catholic
ampion gradually and under the unescapable pressure of cir-
mstances.

Philip's world position due to the identification of himself with the Counter-Reformation

On Philip's ascending the throne it looked as if the chief concern
th him as with his father would be the purely political program
maintaining the Spanish hegemony in Europe by a close watch
France. Within a year of Philip's accession, the
ench king, Henry II, showed that he nursed the same
ibitions as his ancestors, for, in conjunction with Pope
ul IV, he began (1557) a war, the chief object of which,
on all previous occasions, was to wrest Italy from
anish control. However, in this new struggle fortune
ain decided in favor of the Spaniard. France gained some notable
ccesses, above all, she captured Calais from the English, who had
ne into the struggle on the side of Spain; but after suffering two
ital defeats in the channel area, one at St. Quentin (1557) and the

The French-Spanish war of 1557–59 followed by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis

other at Gravelines (1558), she agreed to come to terms. By the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), except that France was permitted to retain Calais, no territorial changes of note were carried out. Therefore the real import of the treaty may be said to have been once more to acknowledge the Spanish domination of Italy. As this admission ran counter to the trend of French ambition, we may be sure that Henry II, like all his predecessors as far back as Charles VIII, would have returned to the attack as soon as the occasion served, if the wheel of fortune had not now taken a novel turn. When the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed, France was already simmering with heresy and rebellion and Philip, for his part, was morbidly aware that throughout his Netherland heritage, Protestant opinion had gained a powerful foothold. By these circumstances the two kings were diverted from their political rivalry and concentrated their attention on the domestic problem under their eye. Thus Cateau-Cambrésis marks an epoch. It rings down the curtain on the long struggle between France and Spain, a struggle chiefly over Italy which had begun more than half a century before, in 1494, with the famous expedition of Charles VIII; and it inaugurates an era of religious wars which cover the rest of Philip's reign.

Heresy in the Netherlands develops into a general Catholic-Protestant struggle

The origin and development of the Protestant movements in France and in the Netherlands will be taken up in detail in later chapters. Here, where we are considering Spain, it will suffice to indicate the consequences which followed from Philip's mobilizing the Spanish resources against the Netherland heretics. Let us clearly understand that the Low Countries were not a part of Spain and that their association with that country was limited to the accidental circumstance that through a turn of luck (or ill luck) they owed allegiance to the same sovereign. There was therefore no reason why the Spanish state as such should concern itself with domestic happenings along the shores of the North sea; and as a matter of fact it did not do so. But Philip, as absolute ruler of Spain, could not be prevented from employing his Castilian soldiers and revenues to solve a problem that had arisen in another of his territories; and when in the course of the decade following Cateau-Cambrésis the Netherland situation culminated in an armed rising which Philip tried to stamp out with Spanish troops, the whole contemporary world became excited. In the eyes of the pope and his Catholic following Philip was doing nothing less than fighting

ir battle, while for Protestants, whether in Germany, France, or gland, the Netherlanders were heroes defending a universal cause. turally both combatants took advantage of the wide appeal made the struggle to summon all available help to their side. In this rebels were, on the whole, more successful than the Spanish er, of whose excessive power even Catholics, nay, at times even pope, continued to be fearful. Intermittently, it is true, but er all with much self-sacrificing fervor the Protestants of Ger- ny and France and, most effectively of all, their co-religionists England came to the aid of the hard-pressed sailors and merchants he Netherlands. When we take up this struggle we shall see that vas, in large part at least, the help furnished the rebels by out- ers that balked every effort of Philip at their subjugation. Slowly l reluctantly Philip swung to the opinion that he would never ster the situation on the lower Rhine until he had punished the ding supporter of his enemies. In what we may call the second ase of the conflict in the Netherlands he turned furiously on gland.

The gist of Philip's plan was to gather an irresistible navy in the rbors of Spain, an irresistible army on the Flanders coast, and by vell-timed coöperative action to overwhelm the island-kingdom order to make it harmless to succor continental Prot- antism. In 1588 the great stroke was ready and was ugurated by the dispatch of the magnificent fleet, led the Armada, against the English coast. In our Eng- h chapter we shall recount how the proud Armada proved a serable fiasco for a great variety of reasons, among which the supe- r skill and audacity of the English seamen merit the first place. ilip bore his defeat with dignified resignation. He spoke unaffect- y of the deep grief it caused him "not to be able to render God s great service." And as soon as his exhausted means permitted he urned to the attack. But the English, made confident by success, only parried every blow but even pushed the war to the Spanish asts, capturing the treasure-ships which brought to Spain the plun- of America. Clearly the sending of the Armada was the climax the general religious war and its failure defeated Philip's plans d settled a number of matters in a sense deeply distasteful to the ampion of Catholicism. Not that during the ten years that were l his after his descent on England he weakly folded his hands in lap. But for the historical reviewer it is clear that by 1588

Failure of the war with England

Philip's life-work had come to naught; that both the Netherland rebels and the Protestant north in general were safe from overthrow; and that declining Spain was about to be superseded as ruler of the seas by the Netherlands and England.

It gives us the measure of Philip's difficulties and helps explain his failure in his war with Protestantism to recall to mind that he was heavily engaged at the same time on another, on the Mediterranean front. Here he had to meet the naval power of the Turks and their corsair allies of the African coast. We are aware that this same combination troubled the Emperor Charles throughout his reign, and that, if he occasionally carried the war to Tunis and Algiers, both his ships and his shores continued to be exposed to the depredations of the pirates. With Philip's advent the situation changed, if at all, for the worse because of the concentrated attention he was obliged to give to the developments in northern Europe.

Philip's Mediterranean difficulties

At length, in 1571, Pope Pius V persuaded Philip to join hands with Venice, still a considerable naval power commanding the remnants of a colonial empire in the eastern Mediterranean, in a resolute effort to set a term to the audacity of the Mohammedans. The pope himself made a contribution of money and ships and Philip, for once liberating himself from the administrative red tape which so often choked his activities, rapidly assembled a great fleet in the waters of Messina. The supreme command over the allied forces was entrusted to Don John, the handsome and chivalrous half-brother of the Spanish king and his exact counterpart in temper and demeanor. As soon as everything was ready Don John sailed his Armada eastward to find and fight the enemy wherever he might be. Sighting him in the gulf of Lepanto, off the western coast of Greece, the enthusiastic prince poured into his men his own unconquerable spirit. Dressed in white velvet trimmed with gold he had himself rowed between the lanes of galleys, crying exhortations to his men: "Christ is your leader. This is the battle of the Cross." In the combat that followed (October 7, 1571) the young commander's dash and courage contributed notably to the outcome which was the greatest victory that had yet been won by any Christian force over the apparently invincible Turks. Of the two hundred galleys engaged on either side a squadron of only forty Turkish vessels managed to escape. The rest with all their men and armament were either sunk or captured. It was a by no means mino

The victory of Lepanto

rce of pleasure that 12,000 Christian rowers were freed from slem slavery.

reat was the exultation of the Christian powers and great and ified the satisfaction of the Spaniards who had made the main tribution to the brilliant victory. But its consequences fell far rt of what was expected at the time. Torn violently rt through jealousy, the Christian allies by failing ollow up their triumph permitted the Ottoman sultan rebuild his fleet and resume the domination of his ne waters. After his one magnificent spurt Philip returned to familiar bureaucratic jog-trot and starved his navy in so short- ted a manner as to incapacitate it for further offensive fighting. 1573 the disgusted Venetians signed a peace with the Turks on best terms they could get, and though the war between Spain the sultan dragged on, no further battle of any consequence k place. The Algerine corsairs continued to be a pest that weighed vily on the commerce of Spain and Italy and perpetual vigilance ard them was an inalterable necessity of the situation; but the ks, by renouncing an active policy in the western Mediterranean, ed henceforth to lend encouragement to their African allies. fact is, and it caused all Europe to heave a sigh of relief, that n approximately the date of the battle of Lepanto, the over- llen Ottoman power entered definitely on a decline. That chrono- cal succession does not however argue that the former event was cause of the latter. Such an opinion would be hardly tenable in light of the fact that the Turkish naval power recovered from the v of Lepanto and forced Christian Venice to sign a peace (1573) ch marked a further depression of its fortunes. Let us indeed e that the Ottoman empire declined, but let us not make the take of ascribing that significant event to any but the actual ses. These, in the main, are undoubtedly to be found in the rnal situation of the realm. About the time of Lepanto terrible estic evils began to make themselves felt in administration and nce, spreading a corruption through Turkish public life that was a consuming cancer. Simultaneously the sultanate, which, pos- ed of absolute power, could alone have cured these ills, fell into hands of a succession of imbecile rulers, who, shut up in the erial seraglio, thought only of their own pleasures and sat idly while the ship of state drifted on the rocks. We shall in the future of an occasional recovery of the Ottoman state, but beginning

Decline of Ottoman power after Lepanto

with the last quarter of the sixteenth century, we may think of it as having effectively shot its bolt and as ceasing therewith to be the nightmare of Christian Europe.

Perhaps the most unqualified success associated with the reign of Philip was his winning of Portugal. The acquisition of this kingdom had, in the interest of peninsular unification, been an ancient object of the Spanish kings, but they had wisely refrained from the attempt to effect it by force of arms. Frequent marriages between members of the two reigning houses had fostered a dynastic intimacy, of which Philip took full advantage when, in 1580, the death of King Henry without direct heirs opened the question of the succession. While there were aspirants to the Portuguese crown with as good or a better claim than Philip, the Spanish ruler was close at hand with an irresistible army and by acting swiftly took possession of the throne before the opposition could gain momentum.

The acquisition of Portugal, 1580

Owing to the considerable trade and numerous colonies of Portugal its absorption greatly strengthened the Spanish position in the world; but it was not long before Philip discovered a fly in the ointment. Conscious of their separate nationality and intensely proud of their achievements during the Age of Discoveries, the Portuguese accepted the yoke of their greater neighbor unwillingly and never ceased to exhibit dangerous signs of restiveness. True, they organized no systematic rebellion against Philip II, but quietly nursing the precious memories of independence, they let the decline of Spain run its destined course. Some forty years after their first Spanish master's death they at length revolted and won back their freedom under a new royal house, the house of Braganza (1640). Thus ended in disaster what in Philip's lifetime was celebrated as the successful consolidation of the peninsula.

The union with Portugal ephemeral

On turning to the domestic situation under Philip we find there is little to add to the story of the country's ills under his predecessor except to say that they became steadily more deep-seated and incurable. In the face of the waxing absolutism the cortes of both Castile and Aragon, although they continued to be summoned from time to time to vote the taxes, paled to helpless, constitutional wraiths; the Inquisition completely dominated the social and intellectual life and fiercely made it its business to pounce upon and extinguish every spark of dissidence or originality as soon as it appeared; and the

Intensification of the domestic evils under Philip II

ɔductiveness of both city and countryside declined until to a ɨitor from the busy north the Spanish people gave the impression being a nation of idlers and beggars. Nor is this the end of the disartening tale. In measure as misery spread the taxes mounted e to the high-flying foreign policy of the sovereign and his ceases embroilments with enemies in every part of Europe. Up to the ry last year of his life Philip was engaged in sucking up as with a ɔnge the wealth of Spain with the result that when the ruler died ɩo in the eyes of credulous Europeans was, owing to the bullion America, as fabulously rich as Croesus, there was not enough ɔney in the treasury to meet the most immediate wants of the ɣal household. The Inquisition, absolutism, insane administrae principles, and a spendthrift Catholic imperialism may be conently named as the ills which engulfed Spain in her ruin.

The successor of Philip II, his son Philip III (1598–1621), was an ɛerly incapable man, the tool and puppet of his favorites. In 09 he was forced to bend his pride so far as to sign a truce for twelve ars with the Netherland rebels, thereby virtually acowledging their independence. Thus did the seed sown the emperor and his son begin to ripen under their ɛcessors. During the long reign of Philip IV (1621–65) the shadows still further deepened, and in consequence of disɛrs suffered in the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath, the etched country sank definitely to the second and third rank among ropean powers. How in the course of the Thirty Years' War ance resumed the struggle for the supremacy in Europe interɔted by her religious difficulties and how, under the leadership of e great Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, she completely reversed e decision of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) we shall see in due time. t our last word on this swift review of Spanish glory and decay be ɩt by the middle of the seventeenth century the decline of Spain s patent to the most superficial observer.

The rapid decline of Spain after Philip II

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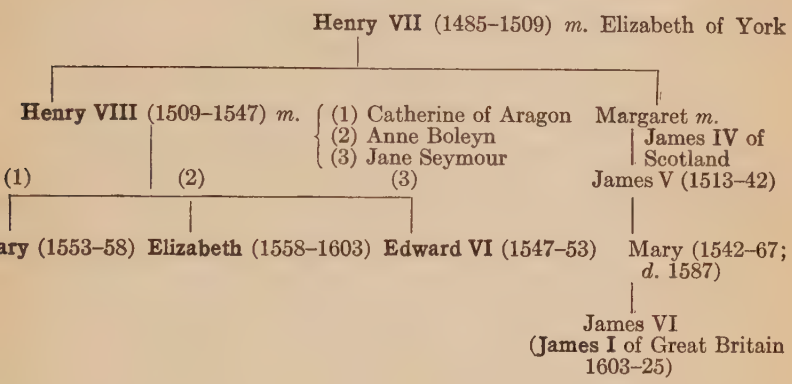
CHAPTER VIII

TUDOR ENGLAND: FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH



It was during the pacification effected by the first Tudor monarch, enry VII, a pacification in the course of which the civil rage loosed the War of the Roses was gradually spent, that the Revival Learning gained its first foothold in England. English avelers and scholars, returning from the continent and, ore particularly, from Italy, communicated their human- ic enthusiasm to their countrymen until first, the uni- rsity of Oxford and later, the sister institution at Cambridge came active centers for the promulgation of the new ideas. While e literature of the ancients was taken up with avidity, in accord- ce with the tendency generally exhibited among the peoples of rthern Europe a preference was shown for the Christian learning hich centered about the Bible and the Fathers. Throughout the rmanic area, let us recall, the Renaissance was as much and more Christian than a classical movement, and England was no excep- n to the rule. On this account the great Dutch scholar, Erasmus Rotterdam, was given an eager welcome when in 1499 he paid a it to the circle of Oxford humanists. Erasmus was the spirit arnate of northern scholarship and during the six visits he paid English friends between the years 1499 and 1517 he gave and eived a stimulus which had the happiest consequences for the

The Revival of Learning comes late to England

cause of letters. Innumerable as were the famous Dutchman's English contacts, his best friends as well as the leaders of the English movement were Colet and More. A review of their intellectual interests will serve as the best possible introduction to the prevailing mood of English humanism.

John Colet

After travel in Italy, John Colet (1466–1519), the son of a wealthy London merchant, settled at Oxford where he soon distinguished himself by lectures on the New Testament combining a sound learning with the deep sentiments of Christian piety. It is significant of his reforming fervor that, like so many scholars of the continent, he was drawn to the apostle Paul, in whose simple, burning faith he detected an unconscious protest against the priestly elaborations and the financial abuses of the contemporary Church. His moral enthusiasm made him a master of pulpit eloquence and so great did his fame as a preacher come to be that he was called to London as dean of St. Paul's cathedral. Not content with his exacting duties in the capital, he resolved to crown his life's labors with the foundation at his own expense of St. Paul's school for boys dedicated to the principles of the new learning (1512). Here Latin and Greek, taught in a fresh way, crowded out the barren studies of the schoolmen, while Christianity was taught not in the form of a round of mechanical ceremonies but as a spiritual message pointing the true way to salvation.

Sir Thomas More

A similar moral passion informed the thought and life of Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), friend and intimate of both Colet and Erasmus. Brought up in the humanistic circle of Oxford, he became a barrister, and adopting a public career, was at an early age elected to the house of Commons. His distinguished qualities did not escape King Henry VIII, who drew him into his service, and advancing him from post to post, raised him in 1529, on the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, to the office of Lord Chancellor, the highest dignity in the realm under the sovereign. His public service and tragic end belong to the political history of the times which we shall presently take up.

More's Utopia

At this juncture we are concerned with More's place in the English Renaissance and may agree that, though he promoted the cause of learning at every turn, his fame rests chiefly on a single volume, the well known Utopia. Written in Latin and published in 1516, the Utopia is composed of two parts to meet a clear-cut double purpose. While Part One is a sweeping criticism, social,

litical, and religious of the England of his day, Part Two unfolds e picture of an ideal commonwealth, Utopia, the kingdom of No- here, in which the wrongs and abuses of contemporary society are nedied and men live together in those conditions of labor and ace enabling them to enjoy the best gifts of life. The Utopia is dream, like Plato's Republic, and offers lively witness of a heart at is torn by the sufferings of humanity. It is properly conceived a socialist tract, the first ripple of a stream of protest destined in e following centuries to swell to the dimensions of a mighty flood. nqualifiedly it denounces the ruling classes and their institutions d sketches a new communistic order where men are equal, peace- , moderately laborious, and — happy. While the program, taken a whole, is wildly impracticable, it should not escape our atten- n that it contains a number of humane suggestions which have adually been turned into realities by the increasing enlightenment society. Since More's day we reserve the term Utopia for every entially unrealizable vision of a reconstructed world.

Exactly as in Germany these English humanists helped prepare e way for social and religious reform; but, also like their German ngeners, when the movement called the Reformation came, they otested against its violence as well as against its theo- gical tendencies and, generally speaking, repudiated it olly or in part. The outstanding difference between e English Reformation and its German counterpart is at, instead of the former being carried through under e leadership of an English enthusiast, it was, at least in earliest phase, championed by the ruler of the land o, animated by little or no interest in religious reform, was set on ring a political victory over the pope. Indeed it is doubtful ether King Henry VIII did anything whatsoever for the Reforma- n considered as a spiritual movement, although he certainly omoted it indirectly by carrying through the separation of his ntry from the Roman allegiance. How that separation came out is the kernel of Henry's reign which we shall now proceed to mine.

The English Reformation in its first phase a political rather than a religious movement

Henry VIII mounted the throne in 1509 in succession to his father, nry VII, from whom he inherited an authority hardly rt of absolutism. He was not yet twenty years old, a ith of attractive presence, skilled in gentlemanly sports, h as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed

The accession of Henry VIII

and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation which received him with acclamations of joy. Not least exultant over his coming to power were the English humanists, for Henry had been brought into the circle of the new learning by his tutors and was reputed to look upon it with favor.

The joy of the humanists over the accession of Henry was not destined to last long. The king, indeed, distinguished various members of the learned group by offices and emoluments, but he soon showed that he did not seriously share their reforming zeal and that he was bent on following his own lead. Beneath the king's smooth exterior appeared a stubborn will which with the passing of the years tended more and more to indulge exclusively its selfish purpose. A despot by nature, Henry became ever more despotic by habit and success.

Breach between Henry and the humanists

Throughout his reign Henry's main purpose was to make himself and his country a decisive factor in European politics. His father had sat quietly at home, perfecting the administration and amassing a considerable treasure. The son saw at once that with France and Spain holding each other in check and engaged in permanent enmity over Italy, there was a splendid opportunity for an ambitious sovereign who felt free to throw his weight into the scales for either party. It is true that the French-Spanish controversy hardly touched the interests of England; still, an English ruler of the sixteenth century could not forget that, less than a hundred years before, a warlike predecessor had been crowned king of France, and that from the port of Calais on the French coast, the last stronghold on the continent which floated the English flag, a descent could be made at any time upon Paris. That Henry therefore kept a sharp lookout across the channel requires neither apology nor explanation. If in the perpetual warfare between France and Spain England threw in her lot with Spain, she might reasonably hope to have restored to her a part of France. This speculation determined Henry's general attitude. But though leaning by preference toward Spain, contingencies might arise which would make it advantageous for him to comport himself for a time as the ally of France. In that case he could demand some convenient territory in payment for his services or, if territory was refused, he might let himself be placated with a handsome subsidy of ready money.

Henry's foreign policy

Such in outline was Henry's shrewdly calculated foreign policy, modified, however, by one factor — Scotland. Henry VII had in-

gurated a policy of reconciliation with Scotland, which he hoped uld lead in the course of time to a complete union. In this pectation he had married his oldest daughter, Margaret, to the ottish king, James IV. But matters did not progress favorably as he had planned. The enmity between Scots d English was bred too deep in the bone to be easily dicated, and the Scots, suspicious for centuries of their re powerful neighbor, had looked so steadily toward France for and protection that they could not be easily persuaded to ndon the habit. A war of England with France had generally the past brought Scotland into the field with the object of making liversion in favor of France along the English border; and this ditional alliance, which caught England between two fires, was ually maintained during the reign of Henry VIII. Thus the king s obliged to wage frequent war with Scotland, but only in moments intense resentment did he forget what we may name the Tudor icy, with reference to the northern kingdom, of reconciliation and imate union.

Relations of England and Scotland

After these general remarks we can dispense with following in tail the intricate game which Henry played upon the diplomatic essboard of Europe. He joined the pope and Spain in the Holy ague of 1512, the object of which was to drive France m Italy. When Emperor Charles V in 1521 renewed war against France, Henry again fought shoulder to shoulder h Spain, until the great victory of Pavia and the capture of the nch king frightened him with the specter of a universal Spanish mination and drove him for a time into the arms of France. Late his reign, in 1543, he joined the emperor once more in an attack on Francis I, in which the chief English success was the capture Boulogne. During these wars Scotland was very troublesome and eral times invaded England, though with small effect, since at odden (1513) and at Solway Moss (1542) her armies were crush- ly defeated. To sum up we may say that Henry won small fit for England from his diplomacy and wars, but that he had purely personal satisfaction of playing a leading role in inter- ional politics.

Henry's wars

The favorite adviser of Henry in the early period of his reign was omas Wolsey. Wolsey was a commoner by birth. Taking orders a priest, he rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, il the king's favor won for him the archbishopric of York and

at the same time put him at the head of the civil administration of the realm in the capacity of Lord Chancellor (1515). No man in his day accumulated more offices and power. His civil position he filled honorably on the whole, proving himself an able administrator and exercising a check upon the king's martial inclinations; but his immersion in political affairs led him to neglect his spiritual functions and filled him with a sense of importance which induced him to order his life on a scale of munificence altogether out of keeping with the English conception of a churchman. Spurred on by the criticism of the humanists, Wolsey undertook to consider and remove some of the abuses of the English Church, but he was still far from being committed to the humanistic program when Luther's theses against Indulgences (1517) made the Reformation the question of the hour. The development of the English attitude toward the greatest contemporary issue constitutes the most interesting aspect of Henry's reign.

Wolsey

Henry, despot and natural lover of authority in every form, followed Luther's first attack upon the papacy and Catholic doctrine with instinctive aversion. In fact, such was his resentment that he did not disdain to descend into the lists in person against Luther, and in 1521 published a vehement pamphlet, wherein he defended both the sacraments and the papal supremacy. In return the gratified Leo X conferred upon Henry the title — still used by English sovereigns — of Defender of the Faith. Of such nature was the understanding between pope and king in Henry's early days. In another ten years the wind had veered and couriers were speeding from Rome not with messages of friendship but with bulls of excommunication. This radical and dramatic change was brought about by the peculiar circumstances of Henry's marriage and his suit for divorce.

Henry's attitude toward Luther

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII, in pursuance of his plan to strengthen himself against the traditional French enemy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. The outcome of this political intimacy was a contract of espousal, by which Arthur, the prince of Wales, was married to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to his surviving brother, Henry,

Henry's marriage based on a papal dispensation

wever, an obstacle to this project was offered by a law of the urch forbidding a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In dilemma Pope Julius II, when appealed to, had recourse to his pensing powers, by virtue of which he could make a law non-rative in a particular case. He issued what is called a papal dis-sation, and on the strength of this the marriage took place in 9. Now it will be readily understood that if the pope, as Luther affirming every day with increasing violence, was an impostor, exercise of the dispensing power was a usurpation, the law re-ned inalterably the law, and Henry's marriage was illegal. In ition, therefore, to the natural inclination of a despotic mind to old the cause of authority everywhere and at all times, Henry a very personal reason for wanting to see Luther put down and sovereignty of the pope raised above reproach and challenge. us it happened that Henry crossed pens with Luther and became Defender of the Faith.

But time brings about surprising changes. Only a few years after ry had broken a lance in behalf of the papacy, his attitude ard his marriage altered. After having for over a decade shown ch attachment to his queen, he now thought he had eighty reasons for divorce from her. He had had several dren by her, but only one child, Mary, had survived ncy, and owing to Queen Catherine's advanced years there little hope of further offspring. Even if Princess Mary had not n a very sickly child, the king might reasonably feel that he was ying a dangerous game to stake the succession upon one fragile On dynastic grounds, therefore, Henry felt troubled and ired to marry again. But he had also an incentive of a more sonal nature. The aging Catherine had long since lost her charm him, and he was now madly infatuated with her young and rming maid of honor, Anne Boleyn. In 1527 he first whispered is confidant, Wolsey, the word divorce.

Henry desires to be divorced

Questions of marriage and divorce belonged, as we have seen, to exclusive competence of the Church, and because marriage was a rament, the Church refused to countenance divorce save in certain eptional circumstances. Henry professed to believe that his the exceptional case, resting his plea on the contention that the pensation granted for his marriage was legally defective. He ated the reigning pope, who was the worldly-minded Clement VII, acknowledge that defectiveness, thereby automatically cancelling

his predecessor's dispensation and rendering the marriage null and void. This simple course Wolsey, who had meanwhile, in addition to his other dignities, become cardinal and papal legate, undertook with all his might to urge upon the pope, but without avail. Clement VII proceeded with extreme caution, partly perhaps from conscientious scruples, certainly because he did not dare offend the powerful Charles V, who as head of the Spanish house naturally stood by his aunt, the English queen. Clement would examine, he would not pronounce. In 1529 he agreed to send to England a legate, Cardinal Campeggio, who, together with Wolsey already on the ground, was to hold a legatine court and ascertain the facts. The king put aside his dignity so far as to appear before the two cardinals like a common suitor, but even this humiliating act profited him nothing, for the pope, still proceeding on his original plan of delay, suddenly transferred the case to Rome.

Henry desires the pope to annul the dispensation

Henry was furious at this crumbling of his hopes and in his rage to make a scapegoat of some one let fall the weight of his displeasure on the head of Wolsey. He stripped him of his civil honors and exiled him to the country; still unappeased, he had just ordered his arrest as a measure preparatory to his execution, when the great cardinal was stricken ill and died (1530). At the last he cast a regretful backward look upon his life, using to his attendants words which Shakespeare has employed almost literally in his play of Henry VIII: "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

Wolsey's disgrace, 1530

What to do now? Almost any other man would have given up, but Henry had the kind of autocratic will which grows terrible with opposition. If the pope could not be got to act in what the king considered a just and necessary case, he would repudiate the pope altogether and establish the English Church on a purely national basis. Further, he would no longer permit the Church to remain an independent power in the state, but would reduce it to subjection to the civil power, which meant, of course, himself. The officers of a church cut off from Rome on the one hand, and dependent on the king upon the other, could be trusted to settle the divorce question as the king desired. Upon this plan Henry proceeded, but not without frequent pauses in order to give the pope time to reflect upon the

Henry resolves to renounce the pope

dangers he was running. For the royal quarrel with the papacy was a matter of policy, not of conviction, and the king would have avoided it at any cost short of the sacrifice of the divorce. As the pope remained deaf to both the threats and pleas of Henry, the anti-papal enactments succeeded each other without interruption until every cable binding England to Rome had been slipped. Let us tabulate the leading steps in this procedure.

The assembly of the English clergy is called Convocation. In 1531 Convocation was summoned and a decree wrested from the clergy, declaring Henry Head of the Church; owing, however, to the qualms expressed by many of the members the quali- **Submission** fying phrase was added, "as far as the law of Christ **of the clergy** allows." The next year the king destroyed the legislative independence of the clergy by requiring them to permit him to revise their statutes and to adopt no new laws without his consent.

By these steps Henry had put the English clergy, so to speak, into his pocket. Now it remained only to repeal the laws by which Rome possessed a foothold in England. These laws being acts of parliament could be repealed only by parliament, which **The divorce** body Henry accordingly summoned and by mingled **pronounced** threats and persuasion bent to his will. In 1532 parliament abolished the payment to Rome of First Fruits, which, being the first year's revenues of ecclesiastical benefices, constituted the chief income that the pope drew from England. The next year followed a renewal in more sweeping form of the ancient statute prohibiting the taking of any legal case outside the kingdom. This gave to the English ecclesiastical courts the right to pronounce, and pronounce finally, upon the king's suit. And now longer delay was neither necessary nor possible. In February, 1533, Cranmer, a creature of Henry's and half a Protestant at heart, was made archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England; and three months later he pronounced the desired sentence of divorce in his own court. Henry had already without waiting for this action married Anne Boleyn and now proceeded with her public coronation as queen of England (June 1, 1533).

When the pope heard of these doings he at last recovered his power of unambiguous speech and fulminated at Henry **The Act of** a bull of excommunication (July, 1533). But Henry was **Supremacy,** now secure and could meet the pope's wrath as an equal. **1534** In 1534 he had parliament pass a culminating act, the Act of

Supremacy, by which the last traces of connection with Rome were removed, and the king confirmed in the title already voted by the clergy of Supreme Head of the English Church, to which there was now attached no qualification whatever.

Thus while the English Church became national by being cut off from Rome, it also transferred its allegiance and became subject to the crown. Naturally there were many who regretted these changes. If they thoughtlessly crossed Henry's path they were not likely to escape with their lives. His marriage with Anne Boleyn, the Act of Supremacy, and all that hung thereby could only be criticised at the risk of death. When Sir Thomas More, the humanist, although he had been Lord Chancellor for three years following Wolsey's disgrace and although he was the foremost living Englishman, refused to take the oath involving acquiescence in these high-handed measures, he was convicted of treason and hurried to the block (1535).

Henry suppresses opposition

From the first it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Catholic system and approach the Protestant theological position. In his own heart and mind he was as much a Catholic before as after the separation. The sole distinction between Henry then and Henry now was that he had taken, as regards England, the pope's place at the head of the Church. But to a certain extent he could not fail to be influenced by the Reformation, for the pope and the Catholic world had solemnly repudiated him, and at the height of the struggle with the pope he had fallen under the influence of a counsellor, Thomas Cromwell by name, who entertained secret Lutheran sympathies. A number of minor changes, redolent of Lutheranism, were therefore carried through. Every church was ordered to provide itself with an English Bible for general use, indulgences were condemned, pilgrimages forbidden, and a few miraculous images destroyed. But the most incisive innovation adopted was the suppression of the monasteries.

Henry makes Protestant concessions

We have seen on several occasions that monasticism was the feature of the Church which chiefly invited the ridicule and criticism of the humanists. On this account, wherever the Reformation was victorious, monasticism was the institution which was first thrown overboard. Doubtless there was exaggeration in the tales of depravity circulated by such a virulent enemy of the orders as Erasmus; still, where there was so much smoke it is safe to assume

there was some fire. Even during the chancellorship of Wolsey, long before the policy of separation was entertained, a number of smaller institutions had been discontinued; and when Cromwell now suggested a plan of suppression on a much larger scale the king gave his consent, prompted in part, no doubt, by the immense material advantage which would accrue to the royal exchequer from the confiscation of the extensive monastic lands. In pursuit of his bold plot Cromwell sent partisan agents through the land to investigate the monastic houses. Although their reports were steeped in gross exaggeration, they served the purpose of the unscrupulous minister, since on being presented to parliament, they moved that body, outraged by the thought of so much wickedness, to adopt the desired legislation. In 1536 a bill was passed ordering the suppression of the lesser houses — the exact provision was of all houses of less than £200 revenue — but Henry and his greedy henchman managed to include gradually the richer institutions as well by bringing personal pressure to bear upon the abbots. Before five years had rolled by monasteries in England were a thing of the past; and the houses and vast tracts of lands which had fallen home to the king had been either given to greedy courtiers, or sold to meet the royal necessities, or dedicated in a few honorable instances to the support of schools and churches.

The suppression of the monasteries

As far as it is possible to ascertain the attitude of the English people toward the ecclesiastical revolution inaugurated by Henry, it would seem that in their majority they consented, though somewhat hesitatingly, to the separation from Rome because in England, as throughout the continent, the prestige of the papacy had in recent generations been seriously impaired. However, although they rallied behind the Act of Supremacy, they were, like Henry himself, essentially conservative and Catholic in spirit. Apart from a small band of reformers, influenced from the continent, they had little desire for any change in the familiar features of the Church. Therefore the suppression of the monasteries went beyond their wishes and in the backward counties of the north, where attachment to tradition was particularly strong, led to a dangerous revolt, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). Henry, as might be expected, put down the insurrection with vigor, but taking the hint which it conveyed, refused to go farther along the path blazed by the Lutheran princes of Germany.

The English people accept the royal policy

For the rest of his life Henry was content to stand fast, force the

acknowledgment of his supremacy upon his subjects, and keep the service and the doctrine of his Church free from the taint of Protestantism. From time to time, in order to remove all doubt, he condescended to inform his subjects what they were authorized to believe; and these pronouncements, such as the Ten Articles of 1536 and the Six Articles of 1539, contained very little to which a strict partisan of Rome might not have set his name. The Six Articles in particular were eminently Catholic, since they upheld the sacrament of the mass, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, and, for good measure, made diversity of opinion punishable with death.

Henry's doctrine remains Catholic

Under such a régime there was no peace in England either for supporters of the pope or for adherents of Protestantism, and both these groups were vehemently persecuted. Thomas Cromwell himself, though his fall was coupled with other causes, could not be saved by a long record of faithful, if shifty, service when his support of the religious radicals became obnoxious to the king. In 1540 he was charged with treason and beheaded. The only safety for Englishmen lay in the quiet acceptance of the system which their masterful sovereign had imposed and which was substantially Catholic except for the separation from the venerable capital of Rome and the suppression of the monasteries.

Execution of Cromwell, 1540

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. His brutal ruthlessness, which served him well in politics in so far as it enabled him to impose his will triumphantly on his environment, stands out in appalling nakedness in the tenderer associations of the family. We have already followed the tragedy of Catherine of Aragon to the coronation of her coquettish rival, Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed on the charge of unfaithfulness (1536). The next wife, Jane Seymour, died in childbed, leaving a son, Edward. The fourth wife, a German princess, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all and was married only to be immediately divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catherine Howard, proved unfaithful, her head too was severed by the axe (1542); and so room was made for a sixth, Catherine Parr, who managed, by dutiful submission, to outlive the royal Bluebeard.

His six marriages

Henry died in 1547. Before his death he had been granted by parliament the right to regulate the succession by will. Accordingly,

he devised his crown to his son Edward, with the provision that it pass, on the failure of Edward's blood, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, in the order named. As Edward was but a boy nine years old, his father provided further, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset.

The succession

EDWARD VI (1547–1553)

Henry was hardly dead when the council of regency met, and without regard to Henry's wishes practically resigned its powers to Somerset, who was authorized to assume the title of protector. This measure was of decided consequence because Somerset leaned toward the reforming party. As a majority in the council held similar opinions, Somerset had no difficulty in inaugurating an era of Protestant legislation, especially as he was heartily seconded in his policy by Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. We have therewith touched upon the real significance of the rule of the protector. The English Church, which Henry had zealously kept free from theological innovations, was now definitely launched upon Protestant waters.

The Protector Somerset pursues a Protestant policy

If we admit that it was probably impossible to keep the English Church, following its initial breach with the Catholic world, exactly where Henry left it, we shall incline to defend Somerset against the charge of precipitate change which is frequently made against him. In any case his decision was, while keeping the Church national and uniform, to swing wide the door to Protestant influence. English was gradually substituted for Latin in the services; priests were allowed to marry; the use of holy water was discontinued; and all images were removed from the churches. Finally, to lend dignity to the conduct of the new services in English, there was published in 1549 the First Book of Common Prayer, which vindicates the sobriety of Somerset's policy, since Archbishop Cranmer, who is mainly responsible for it, modelled it closely on the ancient services of the Church.

Protestant changes

But Somerset's fall was at hand. Not because of discontent caused by these religious innovations, at least not in a marked degree, but owing primarily to prolonged economic misery, the peasantry of England rose in the summer of 1549 and threatened civil war. The troubles among the English peasants, who were freemen, bore little

resemblance to the situation which provoked the German peasants, held in galling serfdom, to wage the bloody war of 1525. Instead of being bound to the land and laden with services, the English country folk were so little bound that they found themselves in large numbers driven off the land altogether by a curious procedure known as enclosure. The great English landlords had discovered that, owing to the steady demand for wool in the markets of the Netherlands, their returns were larger from sheep-herding than from agriculture. Therefore, by letting their lands run to pasture and enclosing them, with perhaps the addition of the common lands of which the whole village had once had the use, they threw thousands of peasants out of work and occasioned great misery. This conversion of agricultural land to pasture was not new in Somerset's day. It had been going on for several generations, and many were the laws by which the government had tried to stop the movement and give protection to the humble tillers of the soil. But economic causes, operating like forces of nature, are stronger than legislation, and the peasants had not been relieved. When in 1549 they rose, Somerset, who had a heart that beat for the oppressed, did not hesitate to declare his sympathy with them. The rest of the council, members to a man of the landlord class, waited until the army of the government had scattered the insurgent hosts and then proceeded to rid themselves of the traitor in their midst. In October Somerset was arrested and deposed, and although he was allowed to live for a while, his opponents did not feel perfectly secure until his head had been severed from his body. He was executed in 1552.

The agrarian revolution causes the fall of Somerset

The leader of the landlord party in the council which had caused the overthrow of the protector was Warwick, better known by his later title of duke of Northumberland. He became Somerset's successor as governor of the kingdom, without, however, assuming the title of protector. He was a clever, unscrupulous, ambitious man, who, although he had no particular religious convictions, became an enthusiastic advocate of Protestantism when he discovered that a majority of his colleagues were of that opinion. Not content with Somerset's moderate program, he allied himself with the religious radicals and gave free scope to their passions. Now first occurred violent scenes of iconoclasm in England, when the people, incited by the so-called "hot gospellers," entered the churches and indiscriminately broke

Northumberland introduces radical Protestantism

ltars, statuary, and stained-glass windows. Now, too, came per-ecution of orthodox Catholics, although the government never en-irely lost the tolerant quality impressed upon it by Somerset. In 552 there was issued the Second Book of Common Prayer, which vas again largely the work of Cranmer but differed from the earlier edition in the more Protestant color of many of its passages. The Forty-two Articles of Religion — a new confession of faith — fol-owed, and therewith the reconstruction of Henry's national Church on Protestant lines was completed. An Act of Uniformity imposed he reformed Church upon the nation.

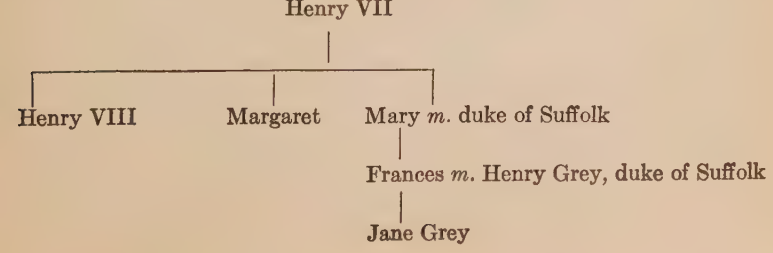
The Protestant revolution of Edward's reign was, as we have seen, he work of Somerset and Northumberland. Nevertheless, the king, vho was, as is frequently the case with feeble children, a boy of re-narkable precocity, followed the religious changes with ntense sympathy. When he was twelve years old the German reformer, Bucer, wrote of him: "No study enjoys his favor as much as the Bible." His favorite diversion was a theological dis-cussion, which he would follow with a countenance whence every touch of childish grace had been banished by an unnatural austerity.

The boy king

Such a boy was only too likely to exhaust prematurely his low measure of vitality. Early in 1553 Northumberland perceived that Edward was dying. By Henry's will the succession would now fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother Catherine, was a devout Catholic. With his Protestant record, Northum-berland had everything to fear from her, and in order to secure himself he played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he persuaded him to devise his crown away from his sisters Mary and Elizabeth upon his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who could trace her lineage back to Henry VII.[1] In Northumberland's eyes Lady Jane not only had the advantage of being a Protestant who would presumably sympathize with his

Edward changes the law of succession

Genealogy of Lady Jane Grey.



religious measures, but as he had lately married her to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley, he might hope through these young and inexperienced people to perpetuate his power. It was a base and despicable intrigue without a vestige of legality. For Henry's arrangement of the succession by will was in accordance with an express permission granted by parliament, but Edward, having been accorded no such power, signed an utterly worthless document. Northumberland was still completing the arrangements for his plot when, on July 6, 1553, Edward breathed his last.

MARY (1553–1558)

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate, he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his selfish intrigue and rallied around Mary, their lawful sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of law and justice, but also their religious prejudices designated her as queen. For the majority of the people still leaned strongly toward the ancient Catholic usages and had little or no sympathy with the radical Protestantism carried through in Edward's reign. From Mary they expected the return of the mass and the other beloved practices from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

Public sentiment declares for Mary

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland, deserted by his followers, gave himself up and was beheaded. His death was a just punishment for his misdeeds, but unfortunately Lady Jane, the unwitting tool of an ambitious man, paid the same penalty. It is true Queen Mary felt compassion for her and delayed the execution, but a rebellion of the following year exasperated her to such a degree that in sudden alarm she gave her consent to her young cousin's death. The gentle and refined young girl, queen of England for nine agitated days, has always excited a pathetic interest. Not having of her own volition sought the crown, she could truthfully call the day on which she gave it back to the commissioners, who arrested her, the happiest day of her life.

Downfall of Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey

It seems likely that if Mary had adopted a moderate Catholic

olicy, taking her stand upon the platform of her father, Henry, her eign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had othing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood alled upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her aith. She therefore planned nothing less than a return f England to the pope's fold — a full Catholic restoration. And that was a delusion. For however the English eople were attached to the ancient worship, the Act of Supremacy, roclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the nation almost olidly behind it.

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration

The first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The arliament, obedient to a word from the throne, rescinded the religious legislation of Edward's reign, thus bringing the Church back o the condition in which it was at Henry's death. The mass was again celebrated in the Latin language, altars ere set up, and the married clergy were expelled from heir livings. So much was probably acceptable to the ation. But doubtful and impolitic measures followed. Urged on y Mary, the parliament next abolished all the legislation of Henry's eign pertaining to the pope, and ended by voting the unconditional eturn of England to the papal obedience. To crown this policy of ecantation, Cardinal Pole, an Englishman of royal blood, who had een sent to England as the legate of the pope, in November, 1554, xtended absolution to the nation and received it back into the papal old. Even so, England had not been quite brought back to the religious status that obtained when Henry began his memorable conflict. 'here were still the alienated monastic lands. Mary in her honest eal would have restored them to their owners, but here the parament, made up largely of landholders who had profited by the poliation of the Church, showed itself intractable.

England returns to the Catholic fold

If the uncompromising Catholic policy of Mary alienated many ympathizers, she hurt herself still more in popular estimation when he rejected marriage with one of her own countrymen and accepted he proffered hand of her kinsman Philip, son and heir f Charles V. Such a union could not but inspire vague ears of a foreign domination, and although every provision was made in the marriage contract to insure the independence of England, the country was nevertheless drawn into he Spanish system. In the summer of 1554 the marriage was celerated, and although Philip proved himself afterward in his Spanish

Mary marries Philip of Spain, 1554

realm to be an unbending autocrat and fanatic, it must be set down to his credit that during his occasional visits to England he comported himself with much discretion.

Although the religious persecutions which gave the finishing stroke to Mary's dying popularity and won for her from bigoted Protestant enemies the terrible title of "Bloody Mary" date from about the time of her marriage, they can not be fairly ascribed to her Spanish consort. If Mary persecuted, the incentive was chiefly furnished by her own fiery enthusiasm. It was she who stimulated the parliament to reënact the old ferocious statutes against heresy and it was she who urged the bishops to carry them out. Soon the prisons were filled with the Protestant leaders of Edward's time, and soon, too, the fires of persecution were lighted over the realm. It is the period of the Protestant martyrs. Less than four hundred died by the fagot — a number inconsiderable compared with the slaughter in France or the Netherlands, but enough to rack the nerves of a people whose religious vacillation, as reflected in the legislation of the preceding decades, led them to favor a more gentle procedure. The stanchness of the victims in death contributed more toward establishing Protestantism than could have been done by the doctrinal fervor of an army of Calvinist preachers. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, the perfect embodiment of the religious irresolution of the age, flinched when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there, said resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation; therefore it first shall suffer punishment."

The persecutions under Mary

If Edward's violent Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's violent Catholicism produced much the same result. She was at bottom a quiet, tender woman, whose intolerance was a habit of her age shared by Catholics and Protestants alike, and who found it hard to face the hatred her policy aroused. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but Philip

Her unpopularity

cared little for her and did not much trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and ill-favored woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honor and Mary suffered all the disgrace by the loss of the last French foothold remaining to England from its former large possessions across the channel, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to Englishmen of that day the capture seemed an insufferable dishonor. No one felt it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

ELIZABETH (1558–1603)

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death, and inaugurated a reign which proved to be one of the most glorious in English annals. Under her, Protestantism was firmly established in England; the great Catholic sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated; and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly than ever before or since. To the national greatness to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has lent her name. She appeared to the English people, and still appears, mirrored in a great time; and their generous loyalty, which gave her in her lifetime the title of Good Queen Bess, has also encouraged them in the view that she was the fountain and the sum of all the glories of her day. Modern historians have modified this judgment. They have separated the woman from her time, and it is a very human Elizabeth who appears to the eye now that the curtain of the myths which concealed her from view has been withdrawn.

The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth had few of the graces of womanhood and many of its customary weaknesses. Her vanity was so great that, though a very plain-featured person, she conceived herself to be a beauty of a particularly rare type. She could not live without flattery and flirtations, and accepting the compliments of the courtiers for true coin, allowed herself to be persuaded to dance and sing in her maladroit manner before a brilliant court of

Elizabeth as woman and statesman

gentlemen and ladies, who could hardly hide their amusement behind their handkerchiefs. Her manners were rude, especially at the council board, and her ministers were frequently annihilated by language which would have done honor to the camp and the fishmarket. However, if Elizabeth failed to meet the stereotyped ideal of feminine perfection, she certainly possessed what are usually called masculine talents, for she had an inflexible will and an exceptional intelligence. Above all, she loved her country to the point of completely identifying herself with its interests. Her statesmanship, supreme of its kind, took the form of consistently promoting, though less by martial than by diplomatic means, the greatness of England.

Elizabeth's religion

One of the qualities by which she rendered England perhaps her greatest service her contemporaries would have been quick to condemn if they had been more clearly informed about it: she was lukewarm in matters of faith. Regardless of our theoretic view of this state of mind, we can not but agree that in the England of that day, shaken by religious passions, the sovereign's religious indifference was an undisguised blessing to the commonwealth. By reason of it Elizabeth was delivered from the destructive radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and being unusually disinterested, was peculiarly fitted to play her royal part of mediator between antagonistic faiths. Let us not forget that the sixteenth century was the century not only of the Reformation but also of the Renaissance. Elizabeth had been brought up to read Latin and Greek and was not unacquainted with the languages and literatures of the continent. It is, therefore, not so very strange that, like Shakespeare, Jonson, and the poets of her time generally, she gave more heed to the voices coming from Italy than to the messages of Luther and of Calvin. In sum, she is a Renaissance rather than a Reformation personality.

The Privy Council and the parliament

The chief organ of Elizabeth's government was the Privy Council the advice of which she regularly heard before she arrived at a decision. In this body was gathered the best political talent which the country boasted. It is no small credit to Elizabeth that she have exhibited such discernment in the choice of her ministers. Most prominent among them was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who devoted a life of exemplary service to advance the twin causes with which England came to be identified: Protestantism and sea-power. But, though Elizabeth was willing to consult in her affairs the Privy Council, which was

body of her own choice, she was not inclined to grant much political influence to parliament, composed of the representatives of the people. Parliament remained, therefore, what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient recorder of the royal will. During the queen's life the undivided sovereignty of England rested on her shoulders.

As might be expected, the leading question of Elizabeth's reign proved to be the question of religion. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and Mary a policy of radical Catholicism; after these two uncompromising programs it was plain that extremes were dangerous. Elizabeth showed her sound judgment by steering deliberately and from the first a middle course. When her first parliament assembled in 1559 she had it pass a new Act of Supremacy, asserting the English independence of Rome and declaring the sovereign the highest authority in the realm in religious as well as in civil matters. This she had followed up by an Act of Uniformity which imposed upon every minister the forms of worship laid down in a new Book of Common Prayer. The new book was nothing but the second Prayer-Book (1552) of Edward's reign with some few revisions. The plan was to make the national Church thus reëstablished a rallying-ground for average men and women averse to the zealotry of either party. Such was Elizabeth's politic and shifty moderation that for a time even the pope nursed the fond hope of her return to the fold; but after waiting for ten years in vain, he lost patience and issued a bull excommunicating and deposing her (1570).

Elizabeth steers a middle course

From that moment Elizabeth became definitely pledged to the Protestant cause and was forced into a more active hostility against Catholicism. As a result severe measures were passed against the adherents of the pope, but never in blind passion or without recognition of varying degrees of culpability. Catholics who refused to attend service in the national Church were visited with money fines, while heavier fines, culminating in imprisonment, were inflicted for saying or attending mass. Finally, those Catholics, whose enthusiasm led them to engage in political plots, were repressed by special treason bills authorizing the seizure and execution of conspirators and sufficiently elastic to strike down any inconvenient Catholic fanatic. Under this repressive legislation a considerable number of Catholics were put to death, and all of them, by the system of fines, were gravely mo-

Her persecution political rather than religious

lested; but compared with the contemporary persecutions in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Elizabeth's methods may truthfully be said to bear an unmistakable imprint of moderation.

A church built on these broad foundations must have met the wishes of a majority of Englishmen for they gave it their adherence in increasing numbers, accepted its worship and government, and gradually forgot the Latin mass. Proceeding in her deliberate manner, Elizabeth could, therefore, gradually complete her structure by new legislation. The most important of the supplementary acts is the publication of a confession of faith under the name of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (1563). These, too, like the Book of Common Prayer, were based upon the enactments of Edward's time and mark a considerable departure from Catholic doctrinal tradition. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles are still in our own day the essential features of the Anglican or English national Church, which may, therefore, claim Elizabeth much more truly than Henry as its founder.

Elizabeth is the real founder of the Anglican Church

Throughout Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics decreased in numbers. But as they diminished, there rose into prominence another body of religious opponents, Protestant radicals, who were dissatisfied with what they called Elizabeth's half measures and clamored for a thorough Protestant revolution. These radicals, it soon developed, were of two kinds, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were the more moderate opponents, who, while accepting the national Church and attending its services, hoped to eliminate from it certain ceremonial features, such as the elaborate vestments of the clergy, which they despised as "Romish" trappings. Their demand for what they called a purer worship won them as a nickname, in the first instance, the party designation of Puritans. The Separatists, on the other hand (also called Brownists, after their founder Robert Brown), were radicals of the most thorough-going sort. The national Church with its bishops, its surplices, its ceremonies, was hardly better to them than the Roman Church, and they refused to attend it. As their propaganda spread, they were sharply persecuted, while the Puritans, who in the main yielded obedience and worshipped as demanded by the law, were left comparatively undisturbed.

Puritans and Separatists

On turning to the foreign developments of Elizabeth's reign we are immediately struck by the fact that they are so intimately asso-

iated with her religious policy that we are forced to conclude that one an not be understood without the other. Exactly as in matters of eligion the whole tenor of her conduct in the foreign field was cau-ion, a daring caution if one may venture the expression. n consequence, she remained for a surprisingly long time n reasonably good terms with both the pope and Philip f Spain. But in measure as her Protestant policy took a nore definite shape, a coolness sprang up which the ull of excommunication of 1570 converted into open hostility. Turn s Elizabeth would in her shifty manner, there was now no way by vhich she could avoid being identified with the general Protestant novement. With the closing of the ranks effected by the Council of Trent (1563) the Catholic Counter-Reformation, waxing stronger very day, became more resolutely set on winning back the lost round; and unless the Protestants closed their ranks in their turn, was only too likely that their forces would be broken and routed. The great fact of the last quarter of the sixteenth century is that nexorably Catholicism and Protestantism were drawn into a world truggle, in which Philip of Spain eagerly stepped forward as the hampion of Rome and Elizabeth with characteristic manifest re-uctance became the paladin of the newer faith.

Caution the chief note of Elizabeth's foreign policy

Every event of Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the nevitable struggle, notably the queen's relation with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's oe for centuries. We have seen that Henry VII, with a view to a better understanding and possible union of the wo countries, had married his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV and James V both ympathized with France and both died while fighting England, the atter (1542) when his successor, Mary, was but a few days old. As ne royal Scottish infant grew to maidenhood, owing to her descent rom Henry VII, she came to be regarded as a possible eventual uccessor to the English throne; and when in 1558 Elizabeth, the ast direct heir of Henry VIII assumed the scepter, the opinion was enerally entertained that unless Elizabeth married and had children, ne crown would in due course devolve on the Scottish queen. Nor nould it be overlooked that to passionate Catholics, Mary Stuart ad a claim that took precedence even over that of Elizabeth, since to nem the daughter of Anne Boleyn was an illegitimate child. Out of nis relation of the two women to the English throne sprang their

The affairs of Scotland

instinctive aversion for each other and the long and bloody drama of their rivalry, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland, she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from a threatening English control sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne, who bore the title dauphin. Thus in spite of all the Tudors had been able to do, the interests of France and Scotland had become more closely knit than ever.

Queen Mary sent to France when a child

Mary of Guise, as Scottish regent, soon met with the difficulties which beset every government in her time. Toward the middle of the century the voices of the Reformation began to be heard in the land. Conversions grew apace, and presently the struggle between the old and the new faiths was joined with the customary vehemence. But nowhere was it so brief and nowhere was the victory of the new teachings so decisive. Scotland was still a backward, feudal land, where the chief power rested with a lawless nobility. The clergy, too, had considerable wealth and power, but the religious indifference and luxurious living of the prelates had undermined the affections of the people. So slight was the hold of the Church on Scotland that the fiery Calvinist preachers, among whom John Knox (1505–72) was the leading spirit, had only to spread their propaganda for a few years in order to draw the common people completely to their side. When the nobility, lured by the bait of the rich Church lands, threw in their lot with the preachers, the success of the Reformation in Scotland was assured.

The Protestant movement in Scotland

The French gentlewoman who held the regency of Scotland viewed these developments with consternation. She had lost her hold on the country and could think of no other way of getting it back than by the aid of French troops. At her request France sent soldiers, who had put themselves in possession of a number of important places and were on the road to repressing the Protestant movement altogether at the very moment when Elizabeth had given a Protestant turn to English affairs by establishing her national Church. The wisdom of aiding the northern Protestants as a means of ousting France from Scotland was so obvious that Elizabeth resolved to send men and ships to their aid. These forces succeeded in bringing the French to terms, and by the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) the latter agreed to abandon

The regent calls in the French to put down Protestantism

Scotland. As at this juncture, the regent fell ill and died, and as Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestants suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a parliament composed of the friends of Knox they abolished the papal supremacy, forbade the mass, and laid the foundations of a new church of their own (1560).

The church that thus came into being only a year after Elizabeth had set up her Anglican establishment was based, like it, on independence from Rome; but this general Protestant feature apart, it bore little resemblance to its southern neighbor. John Knox, the chief organizing genius of the Scottish church, had sat at the feet of Calvin at Geneva, and was resolved to model it, as nearly as the differences between a small city-state and an extensive kingdom permitted, according to Calvin's theory of church organization. In consequence each congregation governed itself democratically, that is, was ruled by the pastor in connection with elected laymen called presbyters, while the national church, being the sum of the separate congregations, was ruled by a body of delegates representing the local groups and called the general assembly. Together with these self-governing features the doctrines and worship of Geneva were taken over by the new institution practically without a change. Because of the important place conceded to the presbyters (or elders) the new church came generally to be known as the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland.

Calvanism dominates the government, doctrines, and service of the new church

Up to the time of this religious revolution the absent Queen Mary had not concerned herself much with the doings of rude and far-away Scotland. By the accession (1559) of her husband, Francis II, to the French throne she had recently become queen of France; and ever since the death of Mary Tudor (1558) she had, supported by a good part of the Catholic world, looked upon herself also as the rightful queen of England. But the year 1560 perceptibly darkened her outlook. The feeble sovereign, Francis II, died, and Elizabeth made herself tolerably secure at home. Scotland alone seemed to be left to Mary, and as Scotland needed its sovereign, she suddenly (1561) hurried thither.

Mary returns to Scotland, 1561

When Mary landed in Scotland she was only nineteen years old and no better than a stranger. Add to this fact the circumstance that she was confronted by a lawless nobility, and, as a Catholic, was an object of intense suspicion to her Protestant subjects, and

one has the elements of a problem that even a better and wiser person than Mary might not have solved. But though she proved unequal to the situation, she was a woman of many admirable gifts. Grace of body and spirit were joined to a nimble wit and a keen intelligence. The chance that tossed her to France had furnished her with a rare opportunity for development, for the court of the Valois had become the home of all the exquisite influences of the Renaissance, and the people she met there, the very air she breathed, tingled with the joy of living. She soon became the ruling genius of a bright circle and the hours revolved for her amid dancing, music, and poetry. Her contemporaries never tired of praising her beauty; but better than formal beauty, she possessed a subtle charm which appealed to the chivalry of men and raises partisans for her even in our day. Thus endowed, she was called to be a great queen, on one condition: she must subordinate her personal wishes to her duty as a sovereign. And here it was that she failed. Her cousin Elizabeth, who did not fail in this particular, proved herself thereby, if not the better woman, at least the greater queen. Comparing the two cousins, who inevitably force a comparison upon us standing as they do on the stage of history flashing challenge at each other, we are moved to subscribe to the familiar judgment: Elizabeth was first a statesman and then a woman, Mary was first a woman and then a statesman.

Her difficulties and character

Mary began well enough. She made no difficulties about the Presbyterian Kirk, merely reserving to herself as sovereign the right of Catholic worship. For four years Scotland enjoyed an unusual degree of peace. But in the year 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and by that event she and all Scotland were plunged into troubles involving a succession of climaxes unique in history.

Mary marries Lord Darnley

Lord Darnley, who was hardly more than an over-grown boy, turned out to be proud, silly, and dissolute. He was no sooner married than he became the tool of the party of nobles opposed to Mary. They represented to him that if he did not enjoy full authority with the queen, it was due to one of Mary's foreign secretaries, an Italian, David Riccio. Darnley, egged on by the nobles, resolved to have revenge. One night while Mary was sitting at supper, the conspirators burst into the room, fell upon Riccio, and in spite of the queen's frantic efforts to save him dragged him from the chamber and slew him at the door

The murders of Riccio and Darnley

1566). Much of what followed is uncertain. Certain it is that such ove as Mary may have had for her husband was henceforth turned to ate. She planned revenge. For the moment Darnley and his iends held the reins in their hands and she was forced to resort to issimulation. By cleverly feigning an affection which she did not eel, she brought her husband to his knees before her, separated him om her enemies, and quickly reacquired control. Thenceforth she ook few pains to hide her loathing for the wretched prince. In ebruary, 1567, the house where Darnley was staying just outside ne walls of Edinburgh was shattered by an explosion of gunpowder nd Darnley was found dead the next morning. We know beyond doubt that the murderer was the earl of Bothwell, a dare-devil obleman of evil repute who was in love with the queen, but we hould also like to know whether or not the queen was his accomplice. Historical investigation has not yet supplied a definite answer to his question, but certainly by what followed the murder Mary has ompromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she permit Bothwell's trial for the death of her consort to degenerate into a arce, but shortly after the earl's acquittal she married him.

Obliged to defend her hasty nuptials, Mary alleged that in marrying Bothwell she had not consulted her free will but had yielded o violence. The apology has little inherent probability and was ejected with scorn by her subjects. Filled with horror and resentment, they revolted against her, and although she rallied repeatedly from defeat, by the year 1568 she found herself without further resources. Despairing of success without English help, she crossed the border to appeal to Elizabeth. She would have done better to have risked the perils of the sea, for she became her cousin's prisoner and won her release only after nineteen years by laying her head upon the block.

The revolt against Mary

Before we take up Elizabeth's conduct, let us take note that, tragic as Mary's fate was, her country profited by her downfall. Her infant son was crowned king as James VI, while her half-brother, he earl of Moray, assumed the regency. Moray represented the Protestant party, and his rule meant religious peace for Scotland on the basis of the complete triumph of the Presbyterian church.

James VI king and Moray regent

It is not difficult to account for the harsh policy which Elizabeth dopted toward her royal cousin. In fairness to the English queen e must acknowledge that imperative considerations of state left no

other course open. Looking out from London over Europe she beheld a perplexing situation. She saw Philip II in arms against the Netherlands, resolved, if necessary, to drown Protestantism in blood; in France she took note of a civil war, in which the Catholic party, in order to achieve its end, did not balk at such revolting measures as the massacre of St. Bartholomew; she was in frequent peril of her life through the plots of her own Catholic subjects who aimed to raise Mary to the throne; and she saw a threatening general concentration of the whole Catholic world for a supreme blow against the Protestant schismatics.

Explanation of Elizabeth's severity with regard to Mary

Under these conditions her conduct could not but be regulated primarily with reference to the Catholic movement now plainly mounting to a climax. By the beginning of the eighties, Philip, through his famous general, Parma, had gone far toward reducing the Netherlands to subjection, while through his alliance with the French Catholic party he so dominated France as to be reasonably sure that that kingdom would not strike him from the rear. He could therefore concentrate his attention upon the dangerous and elusive Elizabeth. But in measure as the blow from Spain became more imminent, the patriotism of her subjects mounted, causing them to rally with increasing enthusiasm about her throne. Without waiting for the Spanish attack, certain bold spirits, such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake, fitted out ships at their own expense and, ranging the Spanish main as pirates, plundered his most Catholic majesty's treasure fleet or burned his trans-Atlantic settlements. While Philip and Elizabeth, cautious spirits both, slow to decide for war, were still protesting friendship in official notes, their subjects had already engaged in combat on their own account. Only when, in 1585, the queen went the length of giving open and armed aid to the revolted Netherlands, did Philip resolve to show his hand. He prepared against England the greatest armament his means permitted.

Prospect of war between England and Spain

It was the rumor of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with the renewed activity of the English supporters of Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. Probably it had little value for her, since, grown old and gray behind prison walls, she knew herself beaten. Elizabeth's ministers succeeded in convincing her that Mary was party to a conspiracy which a man by the name of Babington had directed against the life of the sover-

Execution of Mary

eign, and though hypocritically feigning reluctance, she signed her cousin's death-warrant. With the Spaniards about to descend on the country it was dangerous, nay, suicidal, not to scatter every Catholic nucleus and rallying-point within the kingdom. That at least was the settled view of Burghley, Walsingham, and the strict Protestant group which dominated the Privy Council. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay as a sacrifice to Protestant and national security.

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip having at length got together over one hundred ships, celebrated as the Invincible Armada, despatched them toward the English coasts. The plan was that the Armada should sail first to the Netherlands and by putting itself at the disposal of the duke of Parma, who commanded the Spanish land forces, should enable that great captain to transport them to England. The island-realm was thoroughly alive to its danger. In the face of the foreign invader religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a flaming national enthusiasm, temporarily uniting all parties. In fact, the Armada, more than all the repressive legislative acts put together, weakened the English Catholic ranks, for, from the opening of the war, to be a Catholic meant to be a friend of Philip and but few Englishmen cared to expose themselves to so revolting an imputation. A navy filled with the spirit which is ready to do and die was put at Elizabeth's disposal. With such leaders as Lord Howard, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher, many of whom had spent a lifetime fighting the Spaniards on all known seas, the English were not likely to fail for want of bravery or skill. Nor were they likely to fail for want of ships. They mustered even more vessels than the Spaniards, which, although not so large as the galleons of the enemy, by virtue of their speed, the size and number of their guns, and the capable seamanship of officers and men held the Spaniards at their mercy. Hardly had the slow-sailing Spanish fleet appeared in the English channel (July, 1588), when the more expeditious English vessels fell upon its rear and flank. The injuries suffered by the Spaniards during a running sea-fight lasting eight days forced them to lie off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them drove them from their shelter into the arms of the English lying in wait outside the port, and in the ensuing combat they suffered so much additional damage that the expedition lost its last breath of offensive vigor. Finding the channel blocked

The Armada 1588

behind him, the discouraged Spanish admiral tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland. But he encountered storms, even more devastating than the English; his ships were shattered miserably by waves and rocks; and only an insignificant remnant ever returned to Cadiz to tell the story of the great disaster.

England was safe, and more than England, the cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands and throughout Europe. The English admirals now transferred the scene of action to the Spanish coasts, and soon the disheartened Philip sued for a peace which his triumphant foe would not allow. As for Elizabeth, the overthrow of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her reign. Thenceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her abundant disappointment and sorrow. Essex had been put at the head of an army destined to subdue Ireland, which was just then agitated by the famous rising of O'Neill, but as he mismanaged his campaign and came home without leave, he was dismissed in disgrace. Full of resentment, he now engaged in a treasonable plot, for which he was arrested and executed (1601).

Elizabeth's last years

Elizabeth's relations to the handsome earl were hardly as romantic as historians of a sentimental turn have tried to make out. The tiny seed of romance implanted in her nature was suffocated at an early age by the accident which had tossed her to the throne. Obliged from that moment to regard marriage not as an end in itself but as an affair of state, she deftly fished, with herself as bait, in all the matrimonial waters of Europe only to remain single to the last. Since marriage with a foreign prince would have bound England to the interests of some other country, her refusal to wed promoted English independence, besides making possible the union of England and Scotland through the accession at her death of the son and heir of Mary Stuart. For this wise restraint in the public interest she sought compensation by numerous flirtations with her courtiers such as the earl of Leicester in her youth and the earl of Essex in her old age. But these by no means filled her life which, occupied with the ceaseless agitations of politics, was passed so largely with state business that there was left neither much time nor inclination for the cultivation of the affections. In her last phase she presents the tragic picture of a great and glorious queen

Her stunted affections

who, amidst the acclamations of a grateful people, could not conceal that she was a lonely and embittered woman.

Passing in review the whole Tudor period from the accession of Henry VII in 1485 to the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the observer is struck by the remarkable transformation effected in English politics, society, material well-being, and culture. The unchallenged authority of the sovereign coupled with the weakness of representative institutions is the outstanding political feature and defines the essence of the Tudor system. Largely through this vigorous Tudor leadership the nascent nationalism was so greatly stimulated that it welded the people into a single unit which, marshalled solidly behind Elizabeth, constituted the real secret of her strength. Full of a new confidence thousands of Englishmen ventured upon the seas in search of fortune and, on being thwarted by the maritime preponderance of Spain, began a buccaneering attack, which in due time dragged their reluctant government into a life-and-death struggle with the world power of Philip II. If at Elizabeth's death England had not yet replaced Spain as a colonial power, at least a way had been cleared which the succeeding generations would only have to follow with energy in order to gain an assured success. In short, the English, who, in view of their island position, had hitherto rather strangely neglected the sea, discovered that it was their true element, opening the possibility not only of adventure and colonial conquest but of an enriching trade with all the peoples scattered over the face of the earth. Already by Elizabeth's time a rapidly expanding commerce had greatly increased the wealth of the country and raised the standard of living especially among the gentry and merchants, while the court was distinguished by a splendor and luxury which recall Renaissance Italy and signify an open and complete break with the frugal tradition of the Middle Age.

The progress of the age

But proud navies, numberless merchant ships, abundant trade, and a splendid court are only material manifestations of the underlying human spirit, which is the real achievement of any age. The Tudor spirit was the English version of the energy which poured itself through the occident with the Renaissance and signified the seizure of the earth as an untrammeled field of opportunity. Emboldened by this fresh faith, men conceived of themselves as gods with no perceptible limit to their progress along the upward line of realization of themselves and of their world. And when they turned to the arts, as men always do on having their imagi-

The spirit of the age

nations set aglow, they perforce accumulated a varied and memorable creative product. However, while all the arts registered the stimulating effect of the new outlook, it was, as is well known, chiefly literature, and in literature more particularly the drama, which served as an outlet for the visionary hopes which poured like an electric current through the minds of men. In the plays of Shakespeare, Jonson, and their contemporaries we have the abiding imaginative expression of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth."

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CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

Stadtholders of the House of Orange-Nassau

William I, the Silent (*d.* 1584)

aurice (*d.* 1625) **Frederick Henry** (*d.* 1647)

William II (*d.* 1650) *m.* Mary, daughter of Charles I of England

William III (*d.* 1702) *m.* Mary, daughter of James II of England

The section of Europe known as the Netherlands or Low Countries
es at the mouth of the Rhine and Meuse rivers and in the Middle
ge belonged in the main to the Holy Roman Empire (Germany).
s, however, the western coastal area, called Flanders, was part of the kingdom of France, it followed that France ad an interest in this area and kept a watchful eye upon . The Lowlands were divided among many lords, such the duke of Brabant, the count of Holland, the count Hainault, and the bishop of Liège, who made it their usiness to become increasingly independent of their suzerain and ho, owing to the steady decline of the imperial fortunes, largely cceeded in their object. By the fifteenth century the authority the emperor over these territories had become quite shadowy. ut there were other reasons than the emperor's feebleness for e growing independence of the Netherlands. Favorably located the sea and along rivers that permitted an easy penetration to a opulous hinterland, they had developed a blooming trade and in- ustry which in their turn gave birth to prosperous towns bent on ntrolling their own destinies through charters guaranteeing the ght of self-government. Hence municipal life flourished and a

The Netherlands become independent of the Holy Roman Empire

spirit of communal independence was abroad which, while openly flouting the weak and distant emperor, was strong enough to oblige the local lords to treat the republican system with respect. In short the Netherlands, teeming with commercial enterprise and headed away from feudalism, gradually lost mental contact with the state of which they were geographically and politically a part.

But still another cause for the gradual failure of imperial authority must be recounted. It has to do with the remarkable political experiment inaugurated in the fourteenth century by the duke of Burgundy. The duke, a younger member of the French reigning house enfeoffed with the duchy of Burgundy, conceived the ambitious project of adding the Netherlands to his native duchy, thereby building up a great, independent power between France and Germany and at the expense of both. By marriage, treachery, and force the successive dukes achieved a notable triumph and were visibly on the way toward realizing their ultimate hope when Duke Charles, called the Bold perished in battle against the Swiss (1477), leaving his rich inheritance to his only child, his daughter Mary. Taking advantage of this situation, Louis XI of France quickly seized the duchy of Burgundy on the ground that it had with the death of the last male duke escheated to the crown; but the other Burgundian lands, constituting substantially the Netherlands, were kept intact by Mary's marriage with Maximilian of Hapsburg. From Mary and Maximilian the Netherlands passed to their son Philip (d. 1506) and from him to his son, Charles, who ruled them to his abdication in 1555. Naturally enough the long association of these provinces and cities under a single line of rulers contributed not a little to a sense of separate statehood.

The building up of the Burgundian state

Charles, heir of the house of Burgundy, was, as we are aware, heir also of the houses of Spain and Austria and the dominating figure of his age under the title Emperor Charles V. Born and brought up in the Netherlands, he always retained an affectionate regard for this territory, although in his later life, owing to the exigencies of his great position, he only paid it an occasional visit. As his chief purpose was to carry through as far as possible the policy of his Burgundian ancestors, he tried to round off his possessions territorially and to bring them into an effective political union. In both these respects his success was notable. By acquiring Friesland and other lordships he found himself at the

Charles forms the Netherlands into a federal state

ead of seventeen provinces, which he tried to draw more and more osely together by strengthening the federal institutions created by s predecessors. He instituted as central governing agencies for the hole Netherlands three councils of appointees, of which the Council State was the most important; he raised Brussels, centrally located the province of Brabant, to the dignity of federal capital; and he ovided that the common interests of the provinces, especially in far as they concerned taxation, should be looked after by a com-on parliament, called the States General and made up of delegates om the provincial parliaments. But though Charles did much ward consolidating the seventeen provinces, he at best overlaid id in no sense destroyed the older system of self-government ative to this area. In consequence each province fully retained its vn government composed of officials and a legislature called the ovincial Estates, while the chartered liberties of the many flour-ning towns remained as exuberant as ever, practically constituting em municipal republics.

Speaking summarily, one need not hesitate to call Charles's reign success. The life of the Netherlands was based on commerce and dustry which prospered so prodigiously that this small area easily aintained its reputation as the bee-hive of Europe. Its usy cities, such as Lille, Valenciennes, Antwerp, Ghent, ruges, Amsterdam and a score of others, were the wonder id envy of the rest of the world not only because of eir wealth but also by reason of the intellectual cul-re of their citizens. The sovereign drew heavily on their resources r the support of his Spanish and imperial program, scrupulously specting however the financial privileges of the people by collect-g and spending only such monies as had been previously author-ed by a vote of the States General. There was a fundamentally niable relation built on mutual understanding between Charles id his Netherlanders which was only slightly disturbed by their owing discontent over the obligation to contribute to the many r-reaching enterprises of their ruler in which they had little or no ncern. Nevertheless when in 1555, in connection with a ceremony nducted at Brussels with much pomp and splendor, Charles dicated in favor of his son, Philip, he was the object of a spon-neous demonstration of general affection. While this may have ved some of its fervor to the suspicion with which his successor, ought up in Spain and incapable of speaking the language of the

The prosperity of the Netherlands under Charles

people, was regarded, it is safe to accept it as a popular endorsement of his reign.

However, from one source, the Reformation, a deepening shadow had begun to fall across the land. The religious agitation which centered about Luther was naturally disrespectful of landmarks and at an early point in its history invaded the Low Countries. Charles, whose dependence upon the German princes forced him, as we have seen, to a dilatory policy toward Lutheranism in Germany, was not the man to hesitate where he had the power to act. In the Netherlands therefore the Protestant heresy was from its first appearance met by a relentless hostility which waxed more and more fierce as Charles's reign proceeded. The Inquisition, with its bloody record of triumphs in Spain, not unnaturally appealed to the Spanish monarch as the best way of meeting heresy everywhere. Accordingly it was established in the Netherlands, special inquisitors being appointed for each of the seventeen provinces and the civil authorities being held to a strict execution of the sentences imposed. The usual violences followed; confiscations, imprisonments, burnings at the stake became common occurrences. The edicts of Charles against heresy finally went so far as to impose the penalty of death on persons discovered to have in their possession forbidden writings, as well as on those who conducted secret prayer-meetings or who ventured merely to discuss the Holy Scriptures. The Protestants in the Netherlands were long hardly more than a fraction of the population but Charles's rigor did not exterminate them. The persecution served but to illustrate once again the famous observation that there is no seed like martyr's blood. To the original Lutherans were presently added anabaptists and other extravagantly revolutionary sects, who found the intelligent and liberal society of the Netherlands a fertile soil for the propagation of their tenets; and from the middle of the century the faith of Calvin, destined to give the Prostestantism of the northern Netherlands its peculiar mold, found admission, by way of France, into all the leading cities. The Inquisition, therefore, was enabled to gather a rich harvest. Contemporary guesses placed the figure of its victims during Charles's reign at fifty thousand. This is doubtless an exaggeration; but it is sufficiently correct to testify to Charles's intolerance and to establish his partial responsibility for the disaster which overtook his successor. However, as Charles was regarded by the Netherlanders as one of themselves and as his reign

Charles ruthlessly suppresses Lutheranism

vas in other respects happy, his policy of persecution did not during is life arouse any notable resistance.

Such was the country and such were the questions which were gitating it when the cold, bigoted, and Spanish-bred Philip took up he reins of government. The old heartiness which had obtained be-

Philip and the Inquisition

ween ruler and ruled vanished almost over night to be ucceeded by a deepening chill, of which the first stage vas reached when Philip's demand for money was severely urtailed by the States General. Unable to hide his resentment, he vithdrew into himself, haughtily underscoring more than ever his oreign and Spanish character. If after this exhibition of the demo-ratic resolution of his subjects there remained a single feature of the Netherlands which aroused his spontaneous enthusiasm it was the nquisition. In fairness we must not forget that this institution owed ts presence in the land to his father Charles. Philip felt no need f increasing its already abundantly hideous severities. But, on he other hand, mentally endowed as he was, he was utterly incap-ble of departing from the system of persecution, even in the face of growing opposition. And unmistakably such an opposition was eginning to make itself felt. The uninterrupted flow of blood was etting on peoples' nerves and voices began to be heard in favor of a nore humane and rational treatment of the current heresies. As Philip sternly sealed his ears to all such appeals the discontent already broad in the land seized upon ever new elements of the population.

But during these early years, while he was still residing in the Netherlands, Philip had to meet other problems besides the domestic rievances of the Lowlanders. The greatest issue which, as king of Spain, he had inherited from his father was the ancient eud with France. Charles's last war, largely precipi-

A new war between France and Spain followed by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)

ated by the help conceded by Henry II of France to the German Protestants, had recently (1556) been brought to n unsatisfactory close. With so many matters unsettled etween them both Philip and Henry were ill inclined o peace and looked forward to an early resumption of the rrepressible conflict. Accordingly, in 1557 a new Franco-Spanish war broke out in which, as on several previous occa-ions, England took part on the Spanish side. On this occasion, owever, the most pressing reason for England's Spanish partisan-hip was that the English sovereign, Mary, was the wife of Philip nd that Philip was able to persuade her to cast her lot with him.

Philip's well-trained armies won two brilliant victories over the French forces, the first at St. Quentin (1557), the second at Gravelines (1558), thereby disposing the French to come to a settlement. It took the form of the celebrated peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). As Queen Mary died during the negotiations, Philip refused to concern himself further about allied England and bought, at least in part, the favorable terms conceded by the French by leaving in their hands the port of Calais, the last English possession on French soil. Cateau-Cambrésis is a European landmark. It closed for the present the long rivalry between France and Spain; it once more confirmed Spain in the possession of Italy and the Netherlands; and it assured the Spanish ascendancy in Europe for another generation. With this feather floating from his cap, the proud victor resolved to end his residence in the Netherlands and to return without delay to his native Spain. Leaving behind as regent his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, he sailed away (1559) never to return.

His departure rapidly brought the threatening domestic crisis to maturity. While the government had been nominally entrusted to the Regent Margaret, a woman of some sagacity as well as popularity, the real power was vested in the Council of State and fell within the Council, into the hands of a single individual, Cardinal Granvelle, a trusted servant and confidant of Philip. What Philip expected of Granvelle was strictly to carry out the orders received from Madrid, and as these insisted on maintaining every established measure no matter how hateful, the harassed cardinal was soon the object of a general hatred. The great nobles were particularly vociferous against him, in part no doubt on public grounds, but also because they saw in him the personal favorite whose political omnipotence signified the destruction of that influence in the administration which the politic Charles had been ever prompt to concede them. The most prominent members of this powerful class were Prince William of Orange and the Counts Egmont and Hoorn, who, drawing together in their common disappointment, became the nucleus of an active opposition party. But the waxing discontent made numerous converts also among such other classes as the lesser nobles and the burghers. These latter, the real bearers of the peculiar urban civilization of the country, were exacerbated by a long list of ills which they did not hesitate to bring to Granvelle's notice with the request to forward them to the king. In the main the burghers concentrated on three

The growing discontent with Philip's rule

ievances. Following the recent war with France, the Spanish oops, remaining in the Netherlands much longer than was necesry, were quartered on the inhabitants against the express terms the country's liberties; further, there was the ecclesiastical reorıization which by increasing the number of bishoprics aroused ar not only of new public burdens but also of the increased power of e unbending ecclesiastical element; and finally, the burghers were sulted by the grievance, now a generation old and borne with less d less patience, of the Inquisition and its judicial murders.

Repeatedly the great nobles, acting as spokesmen for the country, dertook to send emissaries all the way to Spain to plead with ilip for a change of system with no result whatever except that e Spanish troops were withdrawn and that the person Granvelle was at last sacrificed (1564). Thereupon the sser nobles, among whom there was an impoverished, adcap, and avowedly Protestant element, took the bit between eir teeth and resolved to stage a more effective protest of their vn. Probably they were secretly encouraged by Prince William Orange, although he did not for the present join them outright. 1565 they formed a league among themselves for the object, nong other matters, of securing the abolition of the Inquisition, erating as they put it, "to the great dishonor of the name of God d to the total ruin of the Netherlands." Though voicing their ievances in no uncertain terms, they also affirmed their continued legiance to their rightful ruler. Plainly they were not yet prepared resort to open rebellion. On April 5, 1566, three hundred of their mber took the fateful step of proceeding in a body to the palace the Regent Margaret at Brussels to put their petition, formally lled the Request, in her hands. In spite of her rage at the imperent demonstration she promised to forward the Request to the ng. At a banquet held by the nobles some days later they were formed that one of the regent's courtiers had slightingly referred them as beggars (*gueux*). Amid a scene of frenzied excitement ey adopted the term as their party name and assumed as honored dges the beggar's wallet and wooden bowl.

The protest of the "beggars"

The picturesque act of the "beggars" set the match to the tinderap and the whole country flamed up in spontaneous rebellion. ne government of the regent was set at naught under the impression at the auspicious moment was at hand for ridding the country of e monstrous incubus of the Inquisition. Its prisoners were forcibly

released and its persecution interdicted, while the Protestants openly avowed their faith and, gathering in bands and multitudes, listened with greedy ears to the revolutionary addresses of fanatic pastors.

The iconoclastic fury of 1566

At length the excitement culminated in a form of madness. The Catholic churches were invaded, their pictured windows, their saintly images were broken, their crosses and altars were shattered to fragments. The ruin of art wrought by these iconoclasts was incalculable. It was weeks before the fury spent itself, and months before the government, rallying the orderly elements about it, succeeded in repressing the insurgents. And now the question rose spontaneously to every tongue: how would Philip treat this outrage on his sacred authority?

It is possible that the abolition of the Inquisition, coupled with the proclamation of the religious tolerance which public sentiment demanded, would have rescued the situation. But these ideas were

The coming of Alva

foreign to the rulers of that day and seemed nothing less than deadly sin to a fanatical Catholic like Philip. Instead of rejoicing at the restoration of civic peace, he planned a fearful vengeance. One of his best generals was the duke of Alva. Soldier and bigot, he was the typical Spaniard of the day, animated with blind devotion to his king and faith. This man of iron was ordered to supercede the regent and to ferret out and punish the participants in the late rebellion. In 1567, accompanied by 10,000 Spanish veterans, he made the long trip from Spain to Brussels via the Mediterranean, Italy, and the Alps. The Spanish troops were the best in Europe and had proved their invincibility on many a battlefield. They were bound for the Netherlands, which country, though Philip was its sovereign, was, we should never forget, not a Spanish province but a separate commonwealth. Alva's coming was therefore an invasion and terror flew before him. It did not require much intelligence to foresee a period of coercion and violence and William of Orange, with a host of those who felt themselves compromised by the recent events, crossed the border into safety.

Alva did not long leave the anxious Netherlanders in doubt as to the meaning of his coming. He set up a special council, called the Council of Troubles, for the discovery of all those who had taken part

The Council of Blood

in the late excesses and who were tinged with disloyalty and heresy. Operating at Alva's pleasure and without the shred of a constitutional warrant, the new governing body soon

eceived from the people the more ominous name of the Council of Blood. It signified a redoubled Inquisition, freed from the delays of aw and the promptings of human pity. Hundreds and probably housands perished at its order; tens of thousands from among the est of the land fled from the country. Among the more illustrious ictims of the executioner were Egmont and Hoorn, whom neither heir Catholic faith nor their conspicuous services to the king could ave. As the greatest men within the reach of Alva's arm they were ent to the block as a warning to their countrymen. Paralyzed by he violence of the attack, the people meekly suffered the atrocious ersecution.

Against this monstrous tyranny one man did not cease to protest — Prince William of Orange. William belonged to an ancient German amily which had its seat in Nassau in western Germany. At an arly age he had inherited from a cousin the tiny princi- **William of Orange**
ality of Orange on the Rhone, which he never thought it vorth while even to visit. However, as he did not scorn the title nhering in his French possession, it has become inseparably attached o his name. His connection with the Netherlands sprung from the act that he was possessed of large estates there, chiefly in Holland nd Brabant, and had been drawn by his early patron, the Emperor Charles V, into the service of the provinces. Disinclined from the rst to Philip's policy, he passed gradually from secret to open opposi- ion until he stood frankly on the platform of his country's liberties. Brought up a Catholic, though his parents had turned Lutheran, he bominated the violences of the Inquisition and focussed his attack on his ferocious institution. Throughout his life he never ceased plead- ng for tolerance, a plea to which all parties alike of that passionate ge were deaf. Out of hatred of Philip and his methods, he gradually assed over into the Protestant camp, casting his lot at last with the Calvinist faith as commanding the most numerous following among nat Dutch element of the Netherlands with which, as the struggle eveloped, he chose more and more to identify himself.

The fame of William rests on his risking life, wealth, and happiness n the cause of a people oppressed by a monstrous tyranny. As general he was mediocre; even as a stateman, though he played ne political game as skillfully and subtly as any of his **The character of William**
ontemporaries, he has superiors among the great names f history. Clearly his chief distinction is his stout, ourageous heart. Sometimes almost single-handed and at best with

but the divided support of his little people, he braved the world power of Spain and through defeat piled on defeat persisted in his purpose. Famed for his eloquence and the most courteous of gentlemen, he became, somewhat inappropriately, known as William the Silent; but if the expression conveys the idea of a fortitude unwearied and uncomplaining, no title could be imagined more aptly defining his peculiar distinction.

William levies war upon Philip, 1568

In the spring of 1568 William, having turned all his available possessions into money and having summoned the most daring exiles around him, began gathering an army for the purpose of invading the Netherlands. His resolution was tantamount to a declaration of war against Philip. As coming from himself such a proceeding was an act of sublime folly. Only in case it succeeded in rousing the Netherlanders against their oppressor would it acquire the altogether different aspect of the rebellion of an outraged people to secure their inalienable rights. To fill the provinces with his own spirit of resistance became William's supreme object, and gradually, although not without grievous disappointments and delays, he succeeded. As a result a small people challenged the greatest power of Europe and, after a dramatic struggle of eighty years (1568–1648), issued from the fight as victor. No more remarkable war than this has ever been waged in the history of the human race.

William and Alva

The first campaign proved the complete superiority of both Spanish generalship and the Spanish soldiery. William's army, largely composed of ill-paid mercenaries, was defeated and scattered. Alva, in consequence, made light of the invasion. It had not been supported, as William had hoped, by an internal rising. To all appearances the country, crushed under the Spanish heel, had fallen into a torpor. But if this was what Alva counted on, he was destined before long to a harsh awakening. The Netherlands had indeed failed from fear to respond to William's first call, but unfortunate as the campaign of 1568 proved, it had had its effect; it had excited the people for a moment with the hope of deliverance and so stiffened them for resistance. Alva's own folly did the rest. Not only did he continue to suspend a pitiless terror over the country, but, in perpetual need of funds to pay his soldiers, he resorted to an extortionate taxation. However, when he attempted to introduce the Spanish *alcabala*, the so-called Tenth Penny, consisting of the levy of ten per cent upon every commercial transaction including the

urchase of daily necessities, he ran into adamant. Though the tax vas abandoned because uncollectable, the whole urban population vas henceforth solidly arrayed against this reckless representative of ilitary despotism.

At last after years of alert and patient waiting the rebels scored heir first notable success. If Spain held the land in her iron grasp, he could not in the same unchallenged way hold the sea, peculiarly he element of these coast-dwellers. Ever since William had iven the signal for resistance freebooters, proudly calling hemselves "beggars of the sea" in imitation of the first brotherhood f the enemies of Spain, had done great harm to Spanish trade. At ength, rendered bold by the stern battle with wind and wave and in ore need of shelter, they swept down upon their native coast and, raving the terror of Alva's soldiery, stormed the small port of Brill April 1, 1572). A score of towns, especially in the northern provinces, elt suddenly encouraged to drive the Spaniards out, and Alva unxpectedly found his power limited to Brussels and the south. Thereupon the liberated province of Holland elected William the Silent tadtholder or governor, and Holland and Zealand together, both ituated on the sea, became from this time forth the heart of the esistance.

The seizure of Brill, 1572

Thrown into the fiercest mood by this new phase of the struggle, lva prepared to win back the lost ground. Pity henceforth was xcluded from his thoughts. Malines, Zutphen, Naarden, and many ther towns which he recaptured were delivered to the nbridled excesses of the Spanish soldiery. Women and hildren were slaughtered in cold blood. In 1573, after heroic resistance of eight months, Haarlem was retaken amidst cenes of unbelievable ferocity. The war entered upon a new stage, n which oppressors and oppressed thirsted for each other's blood like ild beasts and neither sought nor gave quarter. It was a fight to ne last ditch and of unexampled fury.

Barbarous character of the war

The costly and exhausting struggle shook even Philip's faith, if ot in himself at least in his agent, and he resolved on Alva's recall. serious reverse suffered by the Spaniards before the walls of Alkaar clinched his resolution. In December, 1573, the an who six years before had come to the Netherlands to ow the dragon-teeth of war took his departure amidst the execraons of both friend and foe.

The recall of Alva

The arrival of a new governor-general, Requesens (1573–76), was

marked by a belated effort at negotiations. But as Requesens was not authorized to offer any substantial concessions and as William insisted as his minimum on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops and on religious toleration, nothing came of these exchanges and Requesens had perforce to proceed with the reduction of the still unsubdued province of Holland. The outstanding event of his governorship was the siege of Leyden (1574). When, owing to the failure of provisions, the city was on the point of surrender, William, who had made futile efforts to succor the inhabitants, resolved on an extreme measure: he ordered the cutting of the dykes built to protect the land against the invasion of the sea. To those who objected to this stern measure he answered with a shrug: "Better to ruin the land than lose it." As the water rushed over the fields, the "beggars of the sea" pressed on in their ships, sailing past trees and houses till they reached the walls of the city. For the drowning Spaniards there was no alternative but retreat. Thus was famished Leyden saved. Wishing to reward the brave inhabitants for their heroism, William founded a university in their midst which rapidly rose to the front rank and has made the name of Leyden illustrious in the history of modern learning.

The unsuccessful siege of Leyden, 1574

With the sudden death of Requesens in 1576 came a notable extension of the revolt, to understand which we must examine for a moment the peoples inhabiting the seventeen provinces. Acquired by the house of Burgundy more or less by haphazard and subjected to a partial centralization, the Netherlands none the less lacked the main qualification of a successful union, the consciousness of a common nationality. The seven northern provinces, of which Holland and Zealand were the chief, together with the two central territories of Brabant and Flanders, were inhabited by a people of Teutonic stock. The southern provinces, such as Namur, Hainault, and Artois, were inhabited by Walloons, a Celtic people using the French language. The population of the Netherlands was therefore predominantly Teutonic, though with a notable Celto-French admixture. But the Teutonic group was to its misfortune not fused into a solid mass, for the inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant were Flemings, while the people of Holland and the neighboring provinces were Dutch. The differences between Flemings and Dutch in speech, customs, and mentality were inconsiderable and would, under favorable circumstances, have proved no

The people of the Netherlands

bstacle to close political association. Nationalism, as we are aware, as as yet a relatively new force in the world. Certainly it had thus ar hardly made itself felt in this area nor had it interfered with the urgundian-Hapsburg program of uniting Walloons, Flemings, and Dutch in a single state. However, awakened by religious and economic differences, nationalism might easily prove a source of serious ivision.

Up to 1576 the revolt had been confined to the northern or Dutch rovinces, which had steeled their rebel spirit by immersion in the alvinist faith. However, it had also penetrated to such occasional ities of the Flemish area as inclined to the same or to a elated form of Protestantism. Plainly revolt from Spain nd from the Catholic Church showed a tendency to go and in hand. The purely political grievances of the central and southern provinces were as great as those of the orth, but as they clung to the Catholic faith, they never ave up the hope of an ultimate accommodation with heir Catholic ruler, Philip. For a brief moment however, following he death of Requesens, north, center, and south, Dutch, Flemings, nd Walloons — in a word, the United Netherlands — presented a ingle and unbroken front to the oppressor. The occasion for this xtraordinary display was furnished by the general horror inspired y the Spanish soldiery, which, left on the death of Requesens without a leader and without pay, indulged in a wild orgy of theft, murer, and pillage. The "Spanish Fury," as the mutinous outbreak as called, reached its peak at Antwerp. In this, the greatest trading ity of the Atlantic seaboard, some seven thousand inhabitants were ut to the sword while property of untold value was carried off or antonly destroyed. At these outrages a vast indignation against he Spanish rule swept the whole country and in an agreement of November, 1576, called the Pacification of Ghent, representatives of ll the seventeen provinces declared that they would not rest until he foreign troops had been withdrawn from the land and all the old berties restored.

The common declaration against Spain in the Pacification of Ghent, 1576

This, the most auspicious moment of the revolution, held out a lorious promise which was never realized. True, the successor of equesens, who was Don John of Austria, the famous victor of epanto, found himself so isolated on his arrival that he accomlished nothing in his governorship (1576–78). But with the coming f Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (1578–92), the situation

gradually changed. Son of the former regent, Margaret of Parma, and a nephew of King Philip, this Italian prince possessed military and diplomatic gifts of a high order and may without hesitation be accepted as one of the greatest men of his generation. If the historian Motley ironically acclaims him the equal in deceit and double-dealing of Queen Elizabeth, against whom, as well as against William of Orange, he was perpetually engaged in matching his wits, this left-handed compliment must not be taken too seriously, for subterfuge and concealment were the stock-in-trade of diplomats then as now. The quality possessed by the duke of Parma which was of the very essence of statesmanship was that he could set himself a goal for his onward march and never lose it from sight even when he stood still or temporarily retreated. With regard to the Netherlands he resolved to save what he could from the wreck left by his predecessors and to use force or cajolery according to the situation. Above all, he relied on the suspicions inevitable between Protestants and Catholics in that day, sure that if he for his part firmly identified himself with the Catholic cause, he would sooner or later find the Catholic provinces behind him. The only basis on which the program of the Pacification of Ghent of a free and united Netherlands could have been realized would have been religious toleration. While William of Orange never ceased advocating this broad measure, he was in his enlightenment far ahead of his age and stood, a helpless arbiter, between venomously contentious groups. By establishing himself in the French or Walloon provinces, in the midst of a solidly Catholic population, the clever duke of Parma once more gained a foothold in the Netherlands and was not long in breaking up the harmony represented by the Pacification of Ghent. In January, 1579, he persuaded Artois, Hainault, and Douay to sign the treaty of Arras whereby they undertook to defend the Catholic religion and, in return for a guarantee of their ancient rights, to renew their allegiance to Philip.

The tactful policy of the duke of Parma enables him to create a Catholic league in the southern Netherlands

As soon as the Union of Arras, as the Catholic league was called, had created a rallying-ground for Catholicism, it became necessary for William of Orange, however reluctantly, to draw the Protestants together into a counter-league. This was effected in the same year (1579) at Utrecht, where the northern provinces established a union in their turn. Holland and Zealand, as the centers of the rebellion, led the way but were joined by their immediate neighbors finally five

n number, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Friesnd. The Union of Utrecht was substantially a declaration of inependence, although the sovereignty of Philip was not definitely enounced till two years later. The new state took the nodest name of the Seven United Provinces, but before ne world it became known under the more sonorous title f the Dutch Republic, representative of what henceforth gures in history as a distinct nation. The articles of the nion of Utrecht served as the constitution of the neworn state. This constitution had a typically federal character, nat is, while leaving the self-governing powers of the seven memberrovinces intact, it created a certain amount of central machinery o handle the common interests. As these were rather narrowly nterpreted to embrace nothing more than defensive action against hilip, and as, moreover, the provinces were hotly jealous of their raditional rights, the new federal institutions were not given suffiient strength to make them effective. This becomes clear when we iscover that, instead of a single federal head, the executive power as vested in a weak Council of State, and that the central legislative ody, called the States General, could impose taxes only with the onsent of the several Provincial Estates. This cumbersome machinry slowed up federal business considerably and could, on occasion, ring it to a dead stop. For the present, however, the personal scendancy of William of Orange, who was stadtholder of both Iolland and Zealand and who exercised a broad influence in all ne other provinces as well, made up for the imperfect and impracticable federal arrangements.

The Union of Utrecht (1579) marks the birth of the Dutch Republic

In this new form, expressive of a definite Catholic-Protestant chism in the Netherlands, the struggle went on. Parma, planted n the Walloon south, faced William of Orange established in the Dutch north, while between them lay the rich Flemish rovinces of Flanders and Brabant, which, flattered and ssaulted by both sides, wavered irresolutely and might all either way. However, the skill of Parma, backed by ne resources of Spain, began gradually to tell. In his eliberate way, sometimes by a successful siege, sometimes by egotiations, he increased steadily the area under his control. To ll the world, and more particularly to Philip and his governoreneral, it seemed that only William's leadership and resolution ood between Parma and ultimate success. Often the prayer must

The struggle between William and the duke of Parma

have risen to Philip's lips that some happy chance might clear his path of his determined enemy.

Finally, since fate seemed reluctant, Philip resolved to come to its assistance and in 1580 published a ban against his rebellious subject, offering gold and a patent of nobility to whoever "should deliver this pest to us, dead or alive." William justified himself against Philip's charges in a pamphlet called the "Apology," wherein he drew a stinging portrait of the patron of assassins. Nevertheless, the ban proved to be William's death-warrant. Many abortive attempts had already been made upon his life, when a Burgundian, Balthasar Gérard by name, one of those unflinching religious fanatics in which the age abounded, pierced his breast with a bullet. The murder occurred on July 10, 1584, as the prince was descending the stairway of his palace at Delft. The victim's last thoughts turned toward the struggle in which his country was engaged. "Lord have pity on my soul," he said, "and on this poor people." Gérard was executed amid atrocities against which every act of William's life was a protest, while Philip exulted in the deed and rewarded the heirs of the murderer according to his promise.

The murder of William, 1584

While William's death did not break down the resistance of the Dutch, as Philip had calculated, it encouraged the Catholic party and shook the resolution of the merely half-hearted defenders of independence. Parma was able to occupy most of the disputed area of Flanders and Brabant, capping the climax with the capture (1585), after a long and memorable siege, of the great port of Antwerp. It now only remained to conquer the indomitable provinces of Holland and Zealand. If, in the face of so many disasters, they were able to continue their resistance, it was for the single reason that, as from the beginning of the conflict, they still commanded the sea with their navies. But obliged to face the forces of Spain under an extraordinarily versatile general, the Dutch were often despondent. Their dead leader had held that independence could be won only with the help of foreign powers and had long directed passionate appeals for assistance to France and England. But these states, fearful of the power of Philip, had hesitated. Although Elizabeth occasionally sent secret encouragement in the form of money, she would not commit herself openly. France, too, vacillated, but shortly (1582) before William's death, went the length of permitting the duke of Anjou, brother of the king, to come to the aid of the insurgents. An-

The Dutch Republic appeals for help to France and England

ou was offered the crown of the Netherlands on the understanding
hat he would rid the country of the Spaniards; but he proved a
roken reed, intrigued and quarrelled with everybody, and happily
or all concerned died exactly one month before William's tragic end.
here was now no chance of help except from Elizabeth, and the
Dutch, at the end of their tether, made her a pressing tender of the
oung republic. Although the prospect was inviting, moved by her
ustomary caution she declined the dangerous honor. Nevertheless,
he could no longer with due regard to her own safety refuse to grant
ubstantial help. Spain and England had already begun to clash
pon the sea, while the sentiment of the English people had declared
ehemently for the hard-pressed Protestants of the Netherlands. For
ears Sir Francis Drake and others had been engaged in piratical
aids, which they maliciously called singeing the beard of the king of
pain. Philip was nursing a just grievance in silence, but if ever he
ecovered the Low Countries, it was certain to go hard with England.
Ungenerous as Elizabeth was where others were concerned, she had a
harp eye for her own interests, and therefore in December, 1585,
igned a treaty with the Dutch, whereby she promised to send 6,000
oldiers to their aid.

When the Englishmen came, under the command of the earl of
eicester, the queen's favorite, they did perhaps more harm than
ood, for Leicester seemed to consider it his chief business to create
ivisions among the Dutch themselves (1586–87). His entrance upon the war none the less marks an epoch, for by this step England definitely took sides in the struggle, and Philip came to the conclusion that the conquest of the island-kingdom was an unavoidable preliminary to the reduction of his revolted provinces. Therefore he began to collect all his resources for an attack upon the English. Parma did not cease to warn him against this diversion of his energies and to plead for the support that would enable the Spanish armies to give the finishing blow to Dutch resistance. His eloquent exhortations were not listened to by Philip, who, stubbornly bent on his own purpose, in the year 1588 sent the Invincible Armada against England only to have it ruined by Elizabeth's valiant fleet and scattered by the tempests. Almost at the same time the Protestant Henry of Navarre succeeded to the French throne (1589), and Philip, alarmed at this new peril, resolved to move heaven and earth to save the neighbor-ingdom for Catholicism. Thus fate, or chance, or a too unbridled

Philip's attack directed against England and France

ambition led him to direct his power on enterprises which carried him far afield and obliged him to relax his hold upon the Netherlands. His exhausting wars, on the water against England, on the land against the Huguenot king of France, weakened him to such an extent that he pursued the struggle against the Dutch with less and less vigor; and when, in 1592, the duke of Parma died, worn out even more by his disappointments than his labors, the Spanish game was up.

The respite due to the wars waged by Spain against England and France was fully utilized by the Dutch. They found in John of Oldenbarneveldt, trained in the school of William of Orange, a statesman not unworthy of the master. As chief official of Holland, the province which was the real backbone of the republic, and as a representative of the great merchant class, he was enabled to impress that unity of purpose on the nation which it had lost with the passing of its first great leader. To supplement the diplomatic work of Oldenbarneveldt there rose to the front, in the military field, William's son and heir, Maurice of Nassau. Only seventeen years old at his father's death, he exhibited such intelligence and dedicated himself to the study of war with such whole-hearted zeal that at the age of twenty-one he was made captain-general and admiral of the republic. Aware of the decline of the Spanish monarchy through the wanton dispersion of its strength, he boldly took (1590) the offensive and was soon able not only to clear the Dutch soil of the enemy by successful siege operations but also occasionally to defeat the Spaniards in the open field. At the same time the Dutch fleets, riding the waters more triumphantly than ever, drove the Spanish merchantmen like frightened birds before them.

John of Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice of Nassau

Thus matters stood, with the Spaniards now clearly fighting with their backs to the wall, as Philip II neared his end. He tried to open negotiations with the enemy, but too proud to acknowledge defeat, he made no headway toward an accommodation. On his death in 1598, his successor, Philip III, persisted in his father's wasteful and impracticable course. Only when utterly exhausted, did he humble himself sufficiently to agree (1609) not to a peace, but to a Twelve Years' Truce. Incomplete as the truce was, it contained a veiled acknowledgment of the Seven United Provinces as a free and independent state. At the same time, however, it confirmed the hold of Spain on the ten central and

The Twelve Years' Truce, 1609

THE
NETHERLANDS
AT THE TRUCE OF 1609.
Longitude 4° East from 6° Greenwich
3°
6°
SCALE OF MILES.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
KILOMETERS.
0 25 50 75 100
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo N. Y.
53°
52°
51°
50°
49°
Ameland
Terschelling
Vlieland
The Texel
Leeuwarden
Friesland
Groningen
Groningen
Overyssel
Alkmaar
Zuyder
Zee
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Naarden
Deventer
Leyden
The Hague
Delft
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Zutphen
Gelderland
Dort
Nimwegen
Mook
Grave
Hertogenbosch
Gertruydenberg
Breda
Flushing
Goes
Bergen-op-Zoom
Upper
Gelderland
Venloo
Rhine
Ostend
Sluys
Hulst
Antwerp
Bruges
Ghent
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Mechlin
Ypres
Brussels
Maastricht
Liege
Maas
Gembloux
Namur
Mons
Valenciennes
Hesdin
Arras
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
Luxemburg
Luxemburg
Picardy
FRANCE
R. Aisne
NORTH SEA
Zeeland
Flanders
Brabant
Limburg
Artois
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
GERMANY

southern provinces, which henceforth figure in history as the Spanish Netherlands. When the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg failed in the year 1700, its Netherland possessions, as we shall see in due time, were transferred to the Austrian Hapsburgs to become in the nineteenth century, after many interesting vicissitudes, the independent kingdom of Belgium. Thus out of the Netherlands, birthplace and pride of Emperor Charles V, issued eventually two distinct European states.

If the truce of 1609 was not the end, it signified the beginning of the end. When it expired (1621), the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe, and although Spain tried to make the confusion serve her purpose and again attacked the Dutch, the firm resistance of the hardy little nation rendered the second effort at subjugation even more vain than the first. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the long German war, Spain at last declared herself ready for the great renunciation and signed a peace with the Dutch Republic which acknowledged its unqualified independence.

Futile renewal of the war by Spain

Returning to the landmark of the Twelve Years' Truce, let us throw a glance at the problems of the new state. Maurice of Nassau and John of Oldenbarneveldt, to whose excellent teamwork the recent triumph had been largely due, developed a dangerous rivalry closely expressive of the many difficulties and divisions that characterized the country. Although some of these have already been mentioned, it behooves us at this juncture to get a fuller view of the Dutch internal situation. First to consider is the poor adjustment between the federal machinery, of which the States General was the leading feature, and the sovereign provinces represented by the Provincial Estates. As already noted, such was the power of these latter local bodies that they could at their pleasure paralyze the States General. The second disturbing element was the superiority in resources of the single province of Holland with its many flourishing municipalities, such as Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, and Rotterdam, over the other six provinces put together. This circumstance accounts for the fact that the decision of Holland was usually the decision of the country and that its very name came to be synonymous with the Dutch Republic. The third factor causing trouble was of a social order and acquaints us with the circumstance that the control in the great municipalities rested exclusively in the hands of the leading merchant oligarchs or

Factors making for domestic disharmony

"burghers," who alone possessed the franchise. As Oldenbarneveldt was identified with Holland on the one hand, and with the burgher oligarchy on the other, it followed that his rival, Maurice of Nassau, received the backing of the other provinces as well as of the disfranchised and disgruntled masses.

The inflammable religious issue

Perilous as these divisions were, they might not have led to civil war if a religious issue had not poured oil upon the fire. The Reformed church of Calvin had been made the sole legal religion of the country, while the Catholics, though after a time no longer persecuted with fire and sword, were denied the right of public worship. But the dominant and domineering Calvinists were themselves not an unbroken unit. In the days of Maurice and Oldenbarneveldt a sect arose among them which refused to subscribe to the doctrine of predestination with its many harsh implications and which, because of a remonstrance issued on this head, became known as the Remonstrants. Because the strict constructionists answered with a prompt and vigorous counterblast, they received the name of Counter-Remonstrants. The quarrel, abstruse and irrelevant to our present-day way of thinking, rocked the country and led to the demand for a national synod to decide the issue. Such an assembly Oldenbarneveldt, who was identified with the tolerant party of the Remonstrants and who feared the rock-ribbed intolerance of the fierce Calvinists, opposed with the result that both parties finally appealed to force. But before the struggle had fairly begun, Maurice by a quick stroke disarmed the opposition. He arrested Oldenbarneveldt, who, tried on trumped-up charges of treason, was found guilty and beheaded (1619). At the same time a national synod called at Dort (Dordrecht) condemned the lax views of the Remonstrants and imposed the most unbending definition of predestination on the Dutch Reformed church.

Dutch domestic history a see-saw between the Orange and the Republican parties

Thus Maurice and the elements behind him, forming the Orange party, had triumphed, while the burgher oligarchs suffered a complete eclipse. Had Maurice been recklessly ambitious — which he was not — he might now quite probably have made himself king. But he died (1625) like his father before him, a mere stadtholder. His titles and honors passed to his younger brother, Frederick Henry, who proved himself a leader of the Orange party as capable and even more moderate and conciliatory than Maurice. However, from the nature of the case the Orange party with its acknowl-

lged single head had a monarchial tinge, while the defeated burgher igarchs formed what they called the republican party. For the llowing generations, in fact as long as the Dutch Republic lasted, ese two parties faced each other with the result that sometimes ne and sometimes the other seized and exercised the power.

In conclusion, a word must be said of the remarkable commercial xpansion of the Dutch Republic. It was as if the heroic effort against rranny had released an unmeasured energy, for, in spite of the hausting war with Spain, the country multiplied its merchant-vessels and found occasion through its daring aders to inaugurate a profitable commerce with all the ountries of the world. The Dutch became *the* carrier ation of Europe, commanding the North sea, penetrating the Baltic, nd boldly crowding the Spaniards and Portuguese in the East and Vest Indies. In 1601 was founded the Dutch East India Company, hich, in return for the risks it assumed, was granted a monop- y of trade in the Far East and which gradually succeeded in build- g up a Dutch colonial empire in the Malay archipelago. When dustrial Flanders was reoccupied by Spain, many manufacturers nigrated to the free soil of Holland, where they created linen and oolen works employing thousands of workmen. At the same time ne herring industry, which had from of old been a leading occupa- on of this seaboard people, continued to provide a livelihood for a rge fraction of the population. It was the wealth won in the herring ade that gave rise to the saying that the great city of Amsterdam as built on the carcasses of herrings. During the first half of the venteenth century the upward movement of this prosperity hardly ffered interruption and it was not till the second half of the cen- ury that the powerful neighbors, England and France, long filled ith jealousy of the Dutch success, took commercial and political easures which inaugurated a gradual Dutch decline. But this elongs to a later chapter as does also a consideration of the contri- ution to European culture made by the remarkable little nation hich for a short time acted as the pace-maker of the western orld.

The commercial ascendancy of the Dutch

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CHAPTER X

THE REFORMATION AND THE CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE

Before following the course taken by the Reformation in France t us catch up the threads of French pre-Reformation history in spect first, of the strengthening of the monarchy and second, of e participation of the country in the affairs of Europe.

The king's increased control of the nobles and the Church

egarding the monarchy we have learned that the power the king had become very great because, enjoying a rmanent revenue (the *taille*) not subject to the control the States General, he was enabled to maintain there- th a professional army dependent wholly on himself. His steady increasing stature had brought it about that he more and more cisively overshadowed his two medieval rivals, the nobles and e Church. Although the danger to his authority from either of ese agencies was now much reduced, we shall presently have evidence that they retained considerable influence and that the nobles particular were far removed from giving up the hope of regaining eir ancient feudal independence. As for the relation of the king to e French or Gallican Church an important mile-stone had been ached with the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438). The ostenble purpose of this famous declaration was to eliminate the control the pope; but instead of gaining its independence, as it hoped, the tional Church merely slipped by gradual stages under the dominaon of the king. While Louis XI (1461–83) and Charles VIII (1483–) still made an occasional show of respecting the liberties of the urch, Francis I resolved to bring it definitely under his control. As and Pope Leo X were politically dependent on each other owing to eir common hostility to Spanish domination in Italy, the monarch cceeded in persuading the Holy Father in the Concordat of Bologna 516) to renounce the ancient papal claim to the nomination of the ench bishops and abbots in favor of the crown. Therewith, in a rmal sense at least, the Gallican Church had passed under the yoke the civil ruler.

In recapitulating the part played by France in European politics

we shall be doing well to start with Charles VIII and to remind ourselves that, encouraged by the consolidation of the royal power, he resolved to turn his attention to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In 1494 he invaded Italy and by arousing the jealousy of Spain inaugurated the struggle with that power over the control of the Italian peninsula which was not concluded for over half a hundred years. What a kaleidoscopic succession in that period of time of wasteful wars, shifting leagues, and fragile peace-treaties! Charles VIII conquered and lost Italy in the course of a single year. His successor, Louis XII (1498–1515), returned triumphantly to the attack (1499) but before his death had to let everything he had won slip again from his grasp. On the accession of Francis I the assault on the much-prized peninsula was renewed and, following the victory over Spain at Marignano (1515), brought the French back into possession of the Milanese lands. But the Spaniards would not rest content with this increase of French power and, returning to the attack under Emperor Charles V, once more drove the French out. Though captured at the battle of Pavia (1525) and carried a prisoner to Spain, King Francis had no sooner gained his liberty by signing a humiliating peace with his foe than he reopened the struggle; in fact he reopened it three times without dislodging his stout opponent from Milan and Naples, the two points, the possession of which enabled Charles to hold all Italy as with a pair of giant nippers. Francis's five wars with Spain over Italy constitute a leading feature of his reign but they failed egregiously to achieve their purpose. At the end of his rule Italy was more completely under Spanish domination than at its beginning. However, Francis's unceasing struggle against the mighty Charles V was not wholly without effect. It hindered the emperor from becoming the undisputed master of Europe and maintained that balance of power which was just beginning to emerge as the ruling principle of the political organization of Europe.

Failure of the persistent drive to conquer Italy

During the three reigns just glanced at the Renaissance began its irresistible conquest of the leading minds of France. Since it was by origin an Italian movement, the close contact established with Italy by the recurrent French invasions considerably stimulated the flow of trans-Alpine influences into the kingdom of the Valois. Particularly under Francis I humanism and the arts made rapid progress since the king delighted to exercise a liberal patronage of both scholars and artists. The new

The Renaissance comes to France

earning unfurled its banners at Paris and at other university cen-ers throughout the country, and great humanists like Budé (Bu-aeus, 1467–1540), second only to Erasmus in his command of Latin nd Greek, held aloft a torch of irresistible attraction for the younger eneration. During his Italian visits Francis cultivated the friend-hip of such leading artists as Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, and Andrea el Sarto, and rejoiced not a little when he succeeded in carrying ome of them away to his own country. By this means a direct stimu-us was applied to the followers of the arts in France which led them o break away from the older Gothic inspiration and to found a new chool of Renaissance architecture, sculpture, and painting. The iterary and artistic initiative of Francis, who was a gay, light-hearted vorldling, counted for much in the cultural transformation of his ountry but should not be exaggerated. On the whole our judgment nust be that France, like Germany and England, had reached a oint of development which made it eager to fling wide its doors to he new message.

When the Reformation followed on the heels of the Renaissance rancis I (1515–1547) became greatly puzzled. Prizing social merri-nent, refinement of dress and dwelling, and all the other elements of pleasant, mundane existence, he lacked the moral se-iousness which would enable him to understand the deep ndignation at the bottom of the Reformation protest; nd as for the theological subtleties raised by the reformers hey lay wholly outside the circle of his mind. In con-equence the Reformation did not touch his spirit, and his indiffer-nce in regard to it was not shaken until he made the disconcerting iscovery that the religious agitation had a political side and involved im in difficulties with the pope and the fervently Catholic element f his people. Then indeed he struck at the reformers from what ere clearly not motives of religious enthusiasm but cold reasons of tate.

King Francis indifferent to the Reformation

The Reformation in France, as everywhere else, developed from mall beginnings. The new learning, acting as its forerunner, had pread a longing for the reform of both state and Church, and at the pening of the sixteenth century, exactly as in every other ountry of Europe, certain select spirits began to cast heir protest against existing conditions into more precise erms. One of the humanistic leaders was Jacques Lefèvre 1450–1537). After studying in Italy and occupying himself eagerly

The Reformation comes to France

with the classics, he made the swing toward Christian learning so characteristic of northern scholarship, and in 1512 published a translation of St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary, wherein he promulgated the doctrine of Justification by Faith and certain other positions afterwards championed by Luther. When one of Lefèvre's pupils, Briçonnet by name, became bishop of Meaux, he summoned his old master and other kindred spirits about him and with their help made the town of Meaux the center of the new religious movement and the diocese of Meaux its seed-bed. When after 1517 Luther's writings began to appear they were welcomed, at least at first, as corroborative of the criticism aimed by the Meaux circle at the ecclesiastical abuses of the day. Only when Luther took a radical course and broke entirely away from the Church did his French sympathizers hesitate, for in their majority they were, like the humanists of Germany, firmly opposed to separation. However, as a handful of the more youthful and fiery spirits followed Luther's lead through thick and thin, Lutheranism gained a following in France which showed a tendency of slow but steady growth, chiefly, it would seem, among the artisan class. But that the higher classes were not left entirely unaffected is proved by the case of Margaret of Navarre, sister of the king. Although she never abandoned the Catholic Church, she became the friend and patron of the reforming group and as openly as she dared professed her sympathy with the new ideas. Her attitude, vacillating between the old and the new but not definitely committed to either, is typical of many people in France during the next generation.

From the first the theological faculty of the university of Paris, which was known under the name of the Sorbonne and which had enjoyed an immense reputation in the Middle Age, undertook to combat the movement of criticism and reform. The learned doctors prided themselves on their orthodoxy and raised a great outcry over the spread of heretical ideas. Nevertheless their opposition was not likely to count for much unless they could draw the king to their side. That, owing to the cultured tolerance of Francis, proved difficult until the disastrous battle of Pavia (1525) made him a prisoner and reduced the country to serious straits. The mother of Francis, Louise of Savoy, who acted as regent during his captivity, was ready to go down on her knees for help to almost anybody; and when she discovered that she could have the support of the Catholic clergy only at the cost of persecu-

Francis adopts a policy of repression

ion, she gave her consent. On his return from Madrid Francis traightway quashed the heretical proceedings, but as his need of cclesiastical support continued, he saw himself obliged to return, t least intermittently, to the policy of repression. It was in one of hese periods of persecution, in 1533, that there was banished from rance a young man who was destined to make the world resound ith his name — John Calvin. On the whole the severity of repres-on grew steadily with the passing of the years, for though Francis ontinued to be personally reluctant to punish the heterodox, in onnection with his life-long struggle against Spain it became simply ndispensable to him to command the alliance of the pope as well as he money and influence of the French clergy.

The climax of this repressive violence was reached in the famous Valdensian massacre. The Waldenses were a simple and thrifty easant people who dwelt among the western Alps and who, because hey were half-forgotten in their remote valleys, had re- **The Waldensian massacre**
ained in undisturbed possession of certain doctrines pread by one Peter Waldo as far back as the twelfth cen-
ury. Evangelical and anti-clerical, the Waldensian teachings bore manifest resemblance to Lutheranism. The waxing intolerance of he sixteenth century discovered the neglected and harmless heretics nd the king, yielding at last to long-continued pressure, signed the rder for their extermination. In 1545 the snow-capped Alps wit-essed a terrible scene. Three thousand innocent villagers were utchered, hundreds were dragged from their homes to wear out heir lives in the king's galleys, and many other hundreds were driven to exile. It was a repetition of the fierce crusade against the Albi-enses without the excuse alleged by the earlier crusaders that they ad been obliged to strike in order to save the Church from destruc-on at the hand of active enemies.

Francis was succeeded by his son, Henry II (1547–1559), who had ttle in common with his engaging, if somewhat weak and frivolous redecessor. If Francis persecuted from political necessity, Henry d so from deliberate choice. He had a somber streak in **The systematic persecution of Henry II**
s character, indicative of the shadow which the ap-roaching Catholic reaction was casting before. On the ay of his coronation he took with gusto the traditional ath that he would exterminate from his kingdom all whom the hurch denounced. True to his word, he labored incessantly through-ut his reign to put an end to heresy. He went so far as to desire to

set up the Inquisition after the Spanish pattern with its vigorous machinery of courts, prisons, and police. But here he met with opposition from his supreme law-courts, the *parlements*. Having extended their jurisdiction to heresy on the ground that heresy, being directed as much against the state as against the Church, was a regular statutory offense, they resented the attempt to have their power clipped by means of a new and rival tribunal. Hence the Inquisition was never established in France, but the several parlements, and more particularly the parlement of Paris, urged on by the zealous king, did such thorough work in inflicting death and confiscation of goods on suspected persons that it is not easy to see how an Inquisition on the Spanish model could have been more energetic. When the existing organization of the parlement of Paris no longer sufficed to handle the business, a special criminal section, popularly given the ominous name of *Chambre Ardente* (Court of Fire) was instituted and soon won a deserved infamy as an instrument of persecution.

But neither thoroughness nor ferocity were of avail. The startling success won by the exiled Calvin at Geneva had an incalculable effect on the fellow-believers of his native land. In him they found a leader ever ready to hearten the wavering ranks; in his writings they discovered an ever-flowing fountain of inspiration. In spite of the risks involved, dozens of preachers prepared under Calvin's instruction secretly entered France as missionaries and by the middle of the century had succeeded in giving a uniform Calvinist imprint to the French reform movement. While the chief adherents of the new faith continued to be supplied by the artisan class, the phenomenon was noted that conversions were growing apace among the nobility, particularly among the small nobles of the countryside. Presently an underground organization of the Protestant churches was effected which in 1559 succeeded in holding its first national synod. Its most important act was to adopt a confession of faith prepared by Calvin himself. In the teeth of the law and its brutal champions the French Reformed church had become a fact!

A French Protestant church organized in 1559

If Henry was largely occupied with fighting Protestantism, he did not on this account neglect the foreign interests of France. As the heir of his predecessors he found himself involved in the eternal rivalry with Spain over Italy. As stubbornly determined to contest the issue as his father Francis, he made as little impression on his stalwart adversary and in 1559 signed the treaty of Cateau-

Cambrésis which solemnly acknowledged the Spanish mastery of ne peninsula. None the less the wars of Henry brought certain dis-nct advantages to France. It will be remembered that, fiery atholic though he was, he did not scruple to join with the erman Protestants in their struggle (1552) against mperor Charles V and that he was enabled by virtue of is intervention in the German civil war to occupy the ree border bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Again, ough in the war (1556–1559) which ended in Cateau-Cam-résis he was repeatedly defeated by the forces of Philip II of pain, he scored a triumph over the English, who had joined the ar as Philip's allies, by capturing the port of Calais. The acquisi-on of Calais and the three bishoprics is an interesting indication at French political ambition, balked of its Italian objective, had ncovered a more promising field of expansion toward the east and rtheast. But before the monarchy could take further advantage this discovery it became involved in civil broils and was obliged give up an active foreign policy for many a year.

Henry's failure and success in the foreign field

When Henry signed with Philip of Spain the treaty of Ca-au-Cambrésis, it was with the resolve to adjourn the foreign issue til he had settled the baffling problem of the Reformation. In a se Catholic partnership with Philip he purposed to ex-pate heresy, root and branch. The new alignment was be signalized by the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the anish king. At a tournament, which was a feature of the sump-ous nuptial celebration, Henry rode into the lists against the cap-in of his guard. A chance splinter from his antagonist's lance tered his eye and he died before he could realize his dream of eansing his realm of the Protestant infection.

Death of Henry II

On the death of Henry, his son Francis, who was but sixteen years d and physically and mentally feeble, succeeded to the throne. hen the power in an absolute monarchy, such as France was at is time, is not exercised by the sovereign, it is inevitably zed by some ambitious man or faction. The conditions the court which surrounded the boy-king have therefore an unusual erest.

Francis II

The wife of the feeble Francis was a queen in her own right, Mary Scotland. Although a woman of parts, she was only a little older an her husband and too inexperienced to assume control in his me. Her presence on the throne, however, offered an opportunity

for the ambition of her two uncles, brothers of her mother and heads of the noble house of Guise. The older was Francis, duke of Guise; the younger was a churchman, Cardinal Lorraine. They seized the reins, and because they were ardent Catholics continued Henry II's policy of Protestant persecution.

Queen Mary and the Guises

There were those, however, who looked with jealousy upon the rule of the Guises and called it usurpation. They were the princes of the house of Bourbon, a younger branch of the royal family. The head of the house was sovereign of what was left of the kingdom of Navarre in the Pyrenees and was known as King Anthony. The younger was Louis, prince of Condé. They contended that, as princes of the blood royal, they had a better right to rule for the feeble king than the family of Guise, and naturally everybody at court who had a grudge against the Guises came to their support. Thus the Bourbon princes headed a party of "malcontents" ready to seize every opportunity to rid themselves of their rivals. In casting about for supporters they could not but observe that the Guises were hated also by the Protestants whom they persecuted. Out of this common enmity there soon grew an intimacy and an alliance. Anthony in a faithless, vacillating manner, Condé more firmly, accepted the Reformed faith, and many of the "malcontents" — highplaced courtiers and noblemen for the most part — following their example, it came to pass that French Protestantism became inextricably involved with political intrigue. It was at this period that the party name of Huguenots, a term of uncertain and disputed origin, was fixed upon the French Protestants.

The Bourbons

Between the rival court factions of Bourbon and Guise, and belonging to neither, stood a person not highly regarded at first but destined to become famous — Catherine de' Medici. She was a Florentine princess, widow of Henry II and mother of the young king. Protestant contemporaries came to look upon her as an incarnate fiend, but one of her chief antagonists, who afterward became King Henry IV of France, judged her more leniently and correctly. He once silenced an over-harsh critic by asking what was she to do, an anxious mother, torn hither and thither by the fierce party feuds and with no adviser in whom she could trust. In this apology of the great king lies probably the key to Catherine's career. She was, above all, a mother, a mother of royal children, for whom she desired to preserve the throne of France. Doubtless, too, after she had once tasted the

Catherine de' Medici, the queen-mother

veets of power, she clung to them with selfish tenacity as men and omen will. Armed only with her woman's wit she plunged into ıe conflict of parties, and like other rulers of her time intrigued, ribed, and prevaricated to keep herself afloat. Only a very biased istorian would ascribe to her a code of political conduct essentially ifferent from that of Philip of Spain or Elizabeth of England.

Out of these factions around the throne grew the intrigues which d to the long religious wars in France. It is needless to try to ut the blame for them on one or the other side. Given a weakened oyal executive, the implacable religious temper which larks the society of the sixteenth century, and a horde of owerful, turbulent, and greedy nobles, and civil war is a ecessary consequence. We can notice only the more rominent symptoms of the coming outbreak. The path f the Guises was beset with conspiracies, instigated or connived at y the Bourbon princes. A rising was set for March, 1560, but the uises, getting wind of it, pounced upon their adversaries before they ere ready, scattered them to the winds, and as a warning hanged ıose they succeeding in catching to the battlements of the king's ıstle at Amboise or drowned them in sacks in the river Loire.

The Guises defend their grip upon the government

But the downfall of the Guises was at hand. In December, 1560, ing Francis died, and his widow Mary, finding her role in France xhausted, prepared to leave for Scotland. Thus the props upon hich the power of the Guises depended broke under them. he successor of Francis was his brother Charles IX, weakling like his brother and a minor but ten years old. ing Anthony of Navarre, as nearest of kin, might have ut forward a claim to the regency, but in a fit of pusillanimity yielded ıe honor to the queen-mother. For the first time Catherine held the ins. Desirous, above all, of maintaining her son's authority and led with the sense of the difficulty of her position between Guise ıd Bourbon, she hit upon a policy of balance and moderation, called epresentatives of both hostile factions into her council, and issued conciliatory edict by which she ordered the parlements to put an ıd to religious persecution. Finally, in January, 1562, she went the ngth of conceding to the Protestants a limited right of worship.

Death of Francis; Catherine in control

Here was a decided change of policy, exhibiting Catherine in the ght of a promoter of the cause of religious liberty! But her good tentions, inspired by her desire to avoid civil war, came to naught, ere bound to come to naught among men who, like the Protestants

and Catholics of the sixteenth century, were passionately set on realizing their own religious system without the abatement of one jot or tittle. While the Catholics were embittered by the extent of Catherine's concessions, the Protestants grumbled at the remaining limitations, and among the more fanatical followers of the two parties, sometimes without provocation, there occurred sharp conflicts, frequently ending in terrible excesses.

Catherine resolves on toleration

One of these conflicts, the massacre of Vassy (1562), put an end to hesitation and led to war. The duke of Guise was passing through the country with a company of armed retainers, when he happened, at Vassy, upon a group of Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. Sharp words led to an encounter, and before the duke rode away sixty persons lay dead upon the ground and more than two hundred had been wounded. Fierce indignation seized the Protestants throughout France, and when the duke of Guise was received by Catholic Paris like a hero returning from a successful war and Catherine declared herself unable to call him to account, the prince of Condé, acknowledged head of the Huguenots, issued an appeal and took the field.

The massacre of Vassy, 1562

Thus were inaugurated the religious wars of France which were not brought to a conclusion until 1598 by the Edict of Nantes, and which in their consequences continued to trouble the country well into the next century. For our purpose it is sufficient to look upon the period from 1562 to 1598 as one war, though it is true that there were frequent suspensions of arms supporting themselves upon sham truces and dishonest treaties.[1] The war, like all the religious wars of the century, was waged with inhuman barbarity, and incendiarism, pillage, massacre, and assassination blot every stage of its progress. Protestants and Catholics alike became brutes and vied with each other in their efforts to turn their country into a desert.

Character of the war

When the Treaty of St. Germain (1570), granting the Protestants a somewhat larger measure of toleration than any earlier concession, temporarily closed the chapter of conflicts, many of the original leaders had passed away. King Anthony of Navarre had been killed

[1] Eight wars have been distinguished as follows: First war, 1562–1563; second war, 1567–1568; third war, 1568–1570 (ended by the Peace of St. Germain); fourth war, 1572–1573; fifth war, 1574–1576; sixth war, 1577; seventh war, 1579–1580; eighth war (called the War of the Three Henries), 1585–1589, which continued in another form until the Edict of Nantes (1598).

1562) in battle against his former friends, the Huguenots, whom he ad deserted with characteristic lack of scruple; the duke of Guise ad been assassinated (1563); and Condé had been treacherously lain after surrender in the field (1569). The official head f the Huguenot party was now Anthony's young son, King Henry of Navarre, but the real leadership devolved on he gifted and trusted admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny.

The Peace of St. Germain

The new leader was one of the few high-born noblemen who had oined the Protestant ranks for other reasons than political rancor. While fighting with conviction for the religion of his choice, he never orgot, in the wild broils of partisanship, that he was a Frenchman and owed a duty to his country. He belonged o the great family of Châtillon, was allied through his mother with the till greater family of Montmorency, and without going to sea held, nomalously enough, the honorary post of admiral of France. All hings considered, he rose both by character and ability above all he faction leaders of his time.

Admiral Coligny

The most interesting feature of the Peace of St. Germain was that t expressed the attitude of a group of moderate men desirous to each a genuine pacification. To them it was only too clear that the loodshed, which was draining the country of its strength, uined both parties and brought profit to none except the nemies of France. For the time being King Charles imself, who was now of age and ruled in his own name, nclined to the same view. And yet so persistent were the suspicions nd animosities that the effort to remove all cause of quarrel pre- ipitated the most horrible of all the incidents of the war, the massacre f St. Bartholomew.

Effort at peace after St. Germain, 1570

After the Peace of St. Germain, Coligny joined the court and, eing a man of unusual force of character, rapidly acquired great nfluence with the king. The young monarch seemed to be resolved o put an end for all time to internal dissension, to enforce trictly the terms of the new peace with its provision of a mited right of worship for the Protestants, and to weld ne opponents together by turning their united strength against ne hereditary enemy of France established in the Netherlands. For nis purpose he arranged, as a preliminary step, a marriage between is sister Margaret and young Henry of Navarre. Joyfully respond- ng to the invitation of King Charles, the Huguenots poured in swarms nto Paris to attend the wedding of their chief, which was celebrated n August 18, 1572.

Marriage of Henry and Margaret

The wedding seemed to inaugurate a period of national harmony based on religious toleration and the ascendancy of Coligny in the councils of the king. That was more than the extreme Catholics under the leadership of the Guises could bear. Besides, the head of the house of Guise bore a virulent grudge against Coligny, whom he regarded, probably quite unjustly, as the instigator of his father's murder in 1563. In his desperate mood he hired — at least all the probabilities point that way — an assassin who on August 22 fired at Coligny, as he was leaving the king's palace, and wounded him severely in the arm. The young sovereign, who left a game of tennis unfinished to hurry to the bedside of his councillor, felt or shammed a deep indignation. "Yours the wound, mine the sorrow," he said and swore to bring the assassin and his accomplices to justice.

The attempted assassination of Coligny

Much of what followed is to this day wrapped in mystery. Was there a long-prepared and deep-laid Catholic plot to massacre the Huguenots conveniently assembled in Paris for the wedding of their chief? Was the assassination of Coligny to serve as the signal for the general attack? Or rather was the attempted murder of Coligny the act purely of the faction of the Guise extremists and was the subsequent massacre an improvisation due to their alarm that the Protestants would rise to avenge their chief? Why did the queen-mother, whose voice had been generally on the side of moderation, now throw in her lot with the Guises? And how did she persuade King Charles to abandon the course of reconciliation to which he was committed by his own free act? As space is lacking for the discussion of these vexing questions, we must content ourselves with a bare narrative of events. It is certain that on the day following the attempt on Coligny's life the details of a general massacre of the Huguenots were arranged under Guise inspiration; it is also certain that Catherine took part in the plot and that it was she who wrung his consent to the crime from the feeble king. In the early morning hours of August 24, which was the feast of St. Bartholomew, the bells rang from all the church steeples of Paris. At the signal the fanatically Catholic inhabitants of the capital slipped from their beds, attacked the houses which had been previously designated with a chalk mark as harboring Huguenots, and slaughtered as many of their opponents as they could get into their hands. The wounded Coligny was one of the first victims of the bloody conspiracy, Duke Henry of Guise presiding in person at

The massacre of St Bartholomew

ıe butchery of his rival. That day the streets ran with blood and or many days after the provincial towns, encouraged by the example f the capital, indulged in similar excesses. The grim saying went ıe round that the wedding of the king of Navarre must be enlivened ith a touch of crimson. The bridegroom himself, now Charles's rother-in-law, was in danger of death till he saved himself by de- aring his readiness to renounce his faith. The victims of this orrible orgy numbered some two thousand in Paris and probably ouble that number in the rest of France. We reach some under- anding of the depth and ferocity of the religious division of the me when we hear that at the news of the massacre the jubilant ope Gregory XIII ordered a *Te deum* to be sung and that the omber Philip of Spain emitted his only recorded laugh.

War with all its dreary incidents straightway flamed up again. ı 1574 Charles IX died from natural causes, though the Huguenots ere pleased to ascribe his death to remorse for his share in the reat crime of St. Bartholomew. His brother, Henry III, ıcceeded him on the throne. A new element of interest as introduced into the struggle only when the death of Henry's oungest brother, the duke of Anjou (1584), and his own failure to ave heirs, involved, with the religious dispute, the question of the ıccession.

Henry III, 1574–1589

By the law of the realm the crown would have to pass upon Henry's eath to the nearest male relative, who was Henry of Navarre, head f the collateral branch of Bourbon. But Henry, converted to atholicism in 1572 in order to save his life, had long ago elapsed and was the enemy of the faith of the vast ma- rity of his future subjects. When his succession became robable, Henry of Guise and his followers formed the Holy League, hich pledged itself to maintain the interest of the Roman Church all hazards, to crush Protestantism utterly, and never to suffer heretic on the throne of France. While the Catholics were forming partisan organization regardless of their obligation to their country, ıe Huguenots showed a spirit no less narrow and sectarian. They anned to form themselves into a federal republic, practically inde- endent of the kingdom. It was plain that party was counting for ore and more, country for less and less, and that the outcome of the asteful civil strife would be the ruin and disruption of France. In onsequence of the growing exacerbation Henry III found himself evil straits. As head of the state he was pledged to the interests

The question of the succession

of the country and in a weak, shambling way was inclined to pursue a policy of reconciliation and peace. But the League and the Huguenots would have no peace except on their own terms, and the king, trying to hold his course between Scylla and Charybdis, was finally deserted by all except the handful of men who refused to share in the madness of partisan fury. In the new turn of the civil struggle three parties, each championed by a leader of the name of Henry, disputed the control of France.

War of the Three Henries

The new phase, called the War of the Three Henries (1585–1589), steeped the country in such confusion that men soon indulged in every form of lawlessness without punishment. King Henry, an effeminate dandy with a fondness for lapdogs and earrings, was reduced to such depths that he was unable to maintain even the appearance of authority except by resigning all real power into the hands of Henry of Guise as head of the League. In December, 1588, he indignantly resolved to put an end to this humiliation. Inviting Henry of Guise to an interview in his castle at Blois, he had him treacherously despatched by his guard. Cowardice and rancor could go no further, and the League turned in horror from the murderer, Paris and Catholic France declaring loudly for his deposition. In his despair the royal culprit fled to the camp of Henry of Navarre, and was advancing with his Huguenot subjects upon his capital, when a fanatical Dominican monk forced admission to his presence and slew him with a knife (August, 1589). With him the house of Valois came to an end. The war was now reduced to an issue between Henry of Navarre, the rightful claimant to the crown, and the League, which would have none of him.

Accession of Henry IV

The new Henry, Henry IV, first king of the house of Bourbon, was a brave soldier, an intelligent politician, and a courtly gentleman. He had his faults, springing from a sensuous and mercurial temperament, but intensely human as they were, they actually contributed to his popularity. He was confronted on his accession by the disconcerting fact that his followers were only a small part of France. The attachment of the Catholic majority he knew could only be won slowly, and force, he suspected from the first, would be of no avail. Therefore, he undertook patiently to assure the Catholics of the loyalty of his intentions in order to win their recognition. If the League could only have found a plausible rival for the throne, Henry might have been annihilated; but his claim was incontrovertible and that was his strength. Besides, the circum-

ance that the League leaned upon Spain caused the large body of ose who, though Catholic, hated Spain more than their Huguenot llow-countrymen to rally to Henry's banner. However, for the resent no one thought of disarming. Henry won a number of engements, notably the battle of Ivry (1590), but the League, still anaged by the Guise faction in the person of the late leader's ounger brother and supported by the resources of Philip of Spain, uld not be scattered.

For four years Henry waited for his subjects to hail him as their overeign; then he took a step which, though much debated, is not comprehensible. The universal misery caused by the endless ruggle wrenched his heart; he was in constant alarm lest the League or Philip II or both in agreement should mpose on France a Catholic ruler of their own choice; nally, with his bubbling southern vivacity Henry, who as a typical Gascon, was not really one at heart with the rather im and austere Calvinists constituting his political following. n the light of such considerations, it is not to be wondered at that he ould have come gradually to the conclusion that since only his nversion would reunite and restore France, he would have to andon an unpopular cause. His much quoted remark: Paris is ell worth a mass, reveals by its flippancy his purely political apraisal of the situation. In July, 1593, after cautious preliminary egotiations with the Catholic clergy, he solemnly abjured the uguenot faith and was readmitted to the Roman communion.

Henry returns to the Catholic fold

The effect of the king's action was remarkable. Cities and provinces ade haste to recognize him, the League fell apart, and the civil oils came to an end except for a few lingering fires. By February 594, Henry could proceed with his coronation at Chartres, nd when, a month later, he approached Paris, the gates ere thrown open and he was received like a hero and savior by ose same Parisians who in their intense Catholic fervor had during s apostacy spewed him out of their mouths.

End of the civil war

To complete the work of unifying the country two things remained be done: to punish Spain for interfering in the domestic affairs of rance and to give the Huguenots the security to which they were ntitled if they were ever to become contented citizens. As soon as e felt reasonably secure in his position, Henry declared formal war n Spain (1595), bringing the united Catholic and Protestant forces to the field against the ancient foe. Since the Dutch and the

English were already at war with Philip, Henry allied himself with these peoples, and Philip, beset by three governments, was swiftly reduced to serious straits. However, the Spaniards possessed a brave and veteran army and the attack of France, owing to the terrible exhaustion of the country, lacked a consistent vigor. Though Philip was not crushed by any means, he saw the necessity of giving up his far-ranging schemes of control and presently indicated to Henry his willingness to treat. The result was the Peace of Vervins (1598), in which Henry received formal recognition as king of France and the relations of the two countries were reëstablished on the terms laid down in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).

War with Spain followed by the Peace of Vervins, 1598

With the country at peace with its neighbors Henry could turn to the Huguenot problem. In April, 1598, he issued from the city of Nantes, where he was temporarily residing, an edict by which he hoped to satisfy his Huguenot subjects. The edict granted to the Protestants, still, it should be remembered, a very small minority of the nation, considerable rights classifiable as religious, civil, and political. Let us be clear that the edict contained no such thing as a sweeping individual toleration of a modern kind for the simple reason that Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not yet ready for this idea. As to *religious* rights, Protestant worship was authorized at two places in each bailiwick (*bailliage*, a political division approximately equivalent to a county) as well as — with certain restrictions — in the castles of Huguenot noblemen. As a concession to the uncompromising Catholic fervor of the Parisians the reformed service was expressly excluded from the capital. Remarkably full *civil* rights were conceded by the edict since the Huguenots were guaranteed the protection of the law and declared eligible to all public offices. So far the settlement was intelligible and intelligent and, in spite of its restrictions, far more liberal than any solution found anywhere else up to that date. But in the sections dealing with *political* rights concessions were made to the Huguenots which to the modern student must appear amazing and which, in point of fact, were incompatible with the interests and even the existence of the monarchy. Not only were the Huguenots permitted to hold assemblies in which they might legislate for themselves like an independent power but, as a guarantee of the execution of the treaty, they were put in possession of a certain number of fortified towns, of which La Rochelle was the most im-

The Edict of Nantes, 1598

ortant. They were thus constituted as an armed minority within nd yet outside the state.

From the first it was doubtful whether such an arrangement could st. Owing to the great authority which Henry enjoyed in all circles the pacifier of France and owing to the lingering trust placed in m by his former comrades in the faith, the Edict of antes proved fairly satisfactory so long as the amiable nd magnetic Gascon held the reins. But the king's olerant spirit was shared by only a handful of men and ne mass of Protestants and Catholics continued to eye each other ith contempt and suspicion. Once more we may see how in that ge of religious passion intolerance was not so much the work of the overnments as of rival ecclesiastical organizations and their popular llowing, and how with them it was a thing as spontaneous and ncontrolled as the love of kin or the fear of fire. Hence when the rong hand and even temper of Henry were withdrawn, the re-gious tension almost at once led to a new outbreak.

Continuance of the religious passions

But that was as yet some years off, and while life smiled at him enry gave himself with zeal to the task of utilizing the peace in order heal the wounds of his stricken country. One of his gravest ncerns were the finances which were in hopeless dis-rder. Since for years taxes had been only intermittently llected, the debts of the crown had reached alarming roportions. By putting a friend of his Huguenot days, ne duke of Sully, in charge of the treasury he had the satisfaction seeing how by the vigilance and honesty of his enlightened servant ne royal debt was greatly reduced and the annual deficit converted to a surplus available for further debt reduction. Personally enry was much interested in agriculture and did all in his power encourage this fundamental activity, then as now the chief source French prosperity. In addition he improved the system of com-unication by building roads; he encouraged new industries, es-cially the manufacture of silk; and he made a modest beginning in ne direction of a colonial empire by furthering French enterprise the basin of the St. Lawrence.

Henry begins the reconstruction of France

With all these constructive labors to occupy his time Henry did not glect to keep a sharp eye on Europe and the inter-national situation. s to all his immediate predecessors so also to him the house of apsburg, reigning through its two branches in Spain and Austria, emed the enveloping power which paralyzed the expansion of the

French monarchy. In the period after the Peace of Vervins he therefore cultivated the friendship of all the smaller powers of Europe — the Dutch, the Swiss Confederation, the states of Italy, such as Venice and Tuscany dwelling under the shadow of Spain, and the German Protestant states fearful of their Catholic emperor — until he exercised an informal protectorate over them. Having thus fortified himself with a ring of political outposts, he considered the time to be ripe once more to summon the house of Hapsburg to the field. A quarrel over the succession to a small German state on the Rhine was about to furnish him with the necessary pretext for a general war against the Austro-Spanish power when on May 14, 1610, on the eve of his departure for the army, he was laid low by the dagger of a fanatic who had become persuaded that Henry was a secret traitor to the Catholic cause.

His foreign policy

No sooner had the strong pillar of domestic order fallen than France was threatened with the resumption of the dissension from which she had just recovered. Henry's successor was his son Louis XIII (1610–1643), a lad but nine years old. That circumstance signified a regency which might easily lead to such broils as had marked the days following the demise of Henry II. Largely to clear the atmosphere and concentrate the power in a single hand the young king's mother, Marie de' Medici, was proclaimed regent as soon as the court had recovered from the consternation into which it had been thrown by the sovereign's assassination. A Florentine like the former regent, Catherine de' Medici, Queen Marie was Henry's second wife, to whom he had been joined (1600) on the grant of a divorce from Margaret of Valois, his bride of the stormy period of St. Bartholomew. The new governor of France was a large, coarse-featured woman without distinction of either character or intelligence and therefore wholly incapable of consistently asserting her authority. In consequence the supreme power became the football of favorites and interested groups. Perhaps without her knowing it but no less successfully for all that, Marie was manipulated by some of her Italian fellow-countrymen constituting her personal following; and this situation naturally enough aroused the resentment of the great French nobles who had hoped to gain the controlling influence for themselves. Among the turbulent nobiliary elements the Huguenot aristocracy constituted a specially dangerous group since they had been permitted by the Edict of Nantes to maintain an army and several fortified places. On meeting with less con-

Regency of Marie de' Medici

ideration from the regent than they felt to be their due, they issued call to arms; and though letting themselves, it is true, be bought off with honors and pensions, they continued to suspend the threat f a new religious war over the country.

If France was saved from this confusion, it was due, and solely due, o one man, Armand Jean du Plessis, known to fame as Cardinal Richelieu. When he entered the royal council to become before ong, by the natural ascendancy of his intellect, the lead- ng minister (1624), the authority of the queen-regent ad already been replaced by that of the king; but nder the king, who had much more of his mother than of his father n him and was dull and slothful, the affairs of the realm had not been n the least improved. Richelieu, therefore, found himself confronted y a heavy task. Only the unique authority which he succeeded in ccumulating enabled him to meet it. As a boy he had been destined or the Church, and at a ludicrously early age he had, by reason of is noble birth and the favor of the king, been made bishop of Luçon. On his talents making themselves felt, he was honored by the pope vith the cardinal's hat. Thus it happened that when he became the ing's chief minister, he united in his person a sum of dignities that aised him above attack so long as his sovereign supported him. And his Louis XIII did to the fullest extent. That is this dull ruler's reatest merit in the eyes of history. While Richelieu lived, he re- ained, in spite of intrigues and conspiracies, the power in his hands nd was the real king of France.

Richelieu saves the state

Richelieu was one of those rare statesmen who can form and carry hrough with an iron will a policy suited to the needs of the country. His program, which dovetails accurately with that of Henry IV, falls nto three sections. In the first place, he inherited Henry's olerance, a circumstance the more remarkable as he was leading dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church. He would grant he Huguenots the civil and religious rights laid down in the Edict f Nantes, but their political rights, which made them almost in- ependent of the state, he would ruthlessly destroy. His second aim vas to clip still further the wings of the turbulent nobility; and his hird, to overthrow for the glory of France the power of the house of Hapsburg.

His program

Richelieu first attacked the pressing problem of the Huguenots. Following the death of Henry IV, who enjoyed their trust, they had ecome restless and hung on the horizon like a thunder-cloud ready

to burst at any moment. Richelieu proceeded cautiously, treated with them as long as negotiation was feasible, and suddenly, when the opportunity came, invested their chief town, La Rochelle. A long siege followed, wherein the endurance of the beleaguered citizens proved no match for the skill of the tireless cardinal, who conducted the operations in person. In vain did the English fleet, sent by King Charles I at the solicitation of the Huguenots, try to relieve the town. In 1628 La Rochelle, having lost 16,000 inhabitants through hunger and pestilence, surrendered at discretion. The next year the remnant of the Protestant forces in the south was likewise disarmed and Richelieu became master of the situation. And now his remarkable moderation came to light. The average ruler of the time would have compelled the beaten minority to conform to the religion of the majority or else be burned or banished. Not so Richelieu, who cherished a toleration far in advance of his time. He confirmed to the Huguenots the civil and religious rights granted by the Edict of Nantes and merely cancelled their right to hold a number of fortified towns and constitute an *imperium in imperio* (a state within the state).

The Huguenot problem

The turbulent nobles intrenched in the provinces, where they constituted to a certain extent the local government, gave the cardinal much food for thought. With his clear eye he saw that they were an anomaly in a state aspiring to exercise an exclusive authority. They carried on a veritable private warfare by their duelling habits and defied the authorities from behind their fortified castles. Hence Richelieu threw himself upon duels and castles, declaring by edict that the time for them was past and executing a few of the most persistent duellists as an example to their class. But the great cardinal must not be credited with miracles. Battlemented castles and duels did indeed gradually disappear but less, on the whole, because Richelieu frowned upon them than because of the great change which gradually came over the upper classes and which moved them to surrender their crude medieval independence for the pleasures and luxuries associated with the more courtly forms of the new age. In the matter of the feudal strongholds more particularly it is not recorded that Richelieu destroyed many of them. More usually they were voluntarily abandoned in favor of open, villa-like mansions better suited to the softer manners of this and especially of the succeeding century.

The taming of the nobility

With the measures aimed at undermining the prestige of the no-

ility there went hand in hand an effort to create a centralized administration over which the nobles should have no power and which should be responsible exclusively to the king. That this was no new idea originating with Richelieu becomes sufficiently clear when we recall that the vigor of the French king had been intermittently growing for many generations. But in spite of the increasing influence of the crown, the royal officials had not yet been able to make their power felt over all departments of government in a consistent way. Following a lead taken by former rulers but again abandoned, Richelieu appointed agents, called *intendants*, whom he despatched to the provinces to take supreme charge of police, justice, and finance. He selected them exclusively from the commoners (the third estate), because commoners might be expected faithfully to carry out orders and to keep aloof from the intrigues of the local nobles. The intendants set the coping-stone on the historical structure of French administrative centralization, which however, far from inventing, Richelieu merely brought to a logical completion.

Richelieu strengthens the central administration

In the face of this increase of the royal power what became of the States General and the parlements, two institutions which had thus far in some part shared in the government of France and which the king regarded as more or less dangerous rivals? That their position would be impaired by Richelieu's policy of making the king the exclusive arbiter of the French destiny was highly probable. Though the States General, composed of the three estates, clergy, nobles, and commoners, had not succeeded in achieving a place in the French political system comparable to that occupied in England by the parliament, they had been irregularly consulted as late as the sixteenth century and had served to maintain a certain valuable contact between king and people. Summoned in 1614, during the regency of Marie de' Medici, the three groups had quarreled impotently with the government and with each other and had been dismissed not to be summoned again for one hundred and seventy-five years. For this shelving of an ancient institution Richelieu was largely responsible since, owing to his suspicion of everything that might challenge the omnipotence of the king, he carefully refrained during his control from issuing a call for a new session. In this way he set an example which was followed by the rulers after his day until the breakdown of absolutism in 1789 forced a resort to the barely remembered in-

Richelieu's relation to the States General and the parlements

stitution which had proved such an insufficient pillar of popular liberties. The parlements, supreme courts of justice, ten in number in Richelieu's day, could not be shelved like the States General, since they were the apex of the system of national justice. While Richelieu gave full support to their claims as judicial bodies, he vigilantly quashed every attempt on their part to interfere in politics; and this attitude too became characteristic of the French monarchy until its bankruptcy under Louis XVI. In sum, Richelieu exalted the royal prerogative until the power of the crown seemed to depend on itself alone and the king appeared as an irresponsible agent ruling by Divine Right.

With the Huguenots pacified and the selfish nobility held in check, Richelieu could take up with vigor his foreign plans, looking to the humiliation of the house of Hapsburg. It was a most convenient circumstance that Germany was convulsed at this time with the religious conflict known as the Thirty Years' War. With the instinct of a statesman Richelieu felt that if he interposed to help the German Protestants against the Catholics, represented by the emperor and Spain, he would sooner or later acquire some permanent advantages for France. That he was helping Protestants against Catholics did not disturb him in the least since he was a Frenchman first and a Catholic afterwards. His gradual interference, developing from occasional subsidies of money to the recruitment of large armies, finally secured to his king the balance of power in the German war and made France practical dictator of Europe when the peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. Richelieu did not live to see this result (he died 1642), but the advantages which France secured in that document may be written down to his energetic conduct of the government.

Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War

Many criticisms might be urged against Richelieu's ministry. Having no talent for finance, he permitted the government accounts to fall into confusion and all sorts of abuses to creep into the administration. Then again he exaggerated the centralization of power with consequences that brought heavy disasters in the following century. Finally, his aggressive foreign policy produced an endless harvest of wars for both France and her neighbors. However, when all is said, it was he more than any other single individual who welded France into a solid political unit and prepared the way for her supremacy in Europe.

Debit and credit account of Richelieu's rule

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THE KINGS OF FRANCE

Charles VIII, 1483–1498
Louis XII (nearest male relative of Charles VIII), 1498–1515
Francis I (nearest male relative of Louis XII), 1515–1547
Henry II (son of Francis I, *m.* Catherine de' Medici), 1547–1559
Francis II (son of Henry II, *m.* Mary Stuart), 1559–1560
Charles IX (son of Henry II), 1560–1574
Henry III (son of Henry II) 1574–1589
(Line of Valois extinct; crown passes to head of house of Bourbon, descended from Louis IX, 1226–1270)
Henry IV, 1589–1610
Louis XIII (son of Henry IV), 1610–1643
Louis XIV (son of Louis XIII), 1643–1715

CHAPTER XI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 must undoubtedly be construed as a victory for German Protestantism. But it was also, since it took the control of religion out of the hands of the central authority, the emperor, and gave it to the princes, a victory for the principle of decentralization. The significance of such a development in a Europe whose states were becoming daily more powerful through the opposite movement of centralization must not be overlooked. Weakened and disunited Germany would draw the covetous gaze of her stronger neighbors and would henceforth be exposed to their attack.

The Peace of Augsburg a victory for Protestantism and decentralization

However, though a victory for Protestantism and decentralization, the Peace of Augsburg did not prove to be a final settlement of the German religious conflict. Unfortunately it left many important matters in suspense. For instance, it recognized Lutheranism without extending any rights whatever to the followers of Calvin. But after the middle of the century Calvinism increasingly gained adherents among individuals of a radical and energetic type and was even formally adopted by some princes and free towns. Not only did such converts fail to enjoy any protection from the law but they encountered the vindictive hostility of Catholics as well as of their Protestant rivals, the Lutherans. Even more important as a source of public disturbance were the features of the peace dealing with Church property, and, more particularly, the article called the Ecclesiastical Reservation. In regard to these and all other disputed matters the Catholics took the position that the limit of concession had been reached. Refusing to be impressed by this attitude, the Protestants continued to secularize monasteries and to appropriate bishoprics whenever the opportunity beckoned. In consequence a very considerable body of territory in the actual possession of the Protestants was angrily declared by their adversaries to be illegally held. If we add to difficulties such as these the hot passion which

The Peace of Augsburg does not heal the religious divisions of Germany

very question of religion excited in the sixteenth century, we shall asily persuade ourselves that the country was threatened with an arly renewal of the civil war.

That the domestic conflict was not resumed for over half a century s fairly remarkable and may be ascribed to a variety of causes. In ne first place, the immediate successors of Emperor Charles V, Ferinand I (1556–1564) and Maximilian II (1564–1576), were moderate men, who did their utmost to mediate among the factions. Their peaceful policy was seconded by the leading Lutheran princes, inclined by the natural conservatism of successful men to rest content with what they had won. Besides, these princes entertained the hope that vithout war, by gradual infiltration into all classes of society and hrough all districts, Protestantism might make a clean sweep of Germany. And, really, for some years following the Augsburg settlement the outlook for the religious revolution was brilliant. It possessed youth and confidence, and, in the Lutheran form at least, had cquired a legal sanction. It continued to mount, like a tide, until t had covered the whole center and north of Germany and threatened he great bishoprics along the Rhine and the hitherto staunchly Catholic dominions of Austria and Bavaria in the south. To a dispassionate observer it must have seemed not improbable that the Roman Church, undermined in these, its last strongholds, would soon altogether disappear from Germany. But this culminating catastrophe never took place. For one thing, the dominant Lutherans, n distinction from the Calvinists in Holland and elsewhere, were too elf-satisfied and unenterprising to make the best of their opportunities; and in the second place, in the very nick of time the Catholic evival reached Germany and completely reinvigorated an apparently lying cause.

Adjournment of the issue between the rival faiths

We have already taken note of how the Counter-Reformation ortified by the Jesuits and the Council of Trent steadied the wavering Catholic ranks throughout the world. Its effect did not make itelf felt in Germany until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Rudolph II (1576–1612) was upon the throne. Breaking away from the conciliatory policy of his immediate predecessors, Rudolph resolved to put the Catholic Church again in the saddle and to make use to this end of the Jesuit rder. Operating from the court of Vienna as a center, and also from hat of Bavaria, whose ruling family was, if possible, even more

The Catholic reaction

fervently Catholic than the Hapsburgs, the devoted followers of Ignatius Loyola gradually spread in every direction. Their churches multiplied, and their schools, conducted with energy and intelligence, were largely attended. Before long the Protestant advance was checked all along the line and an energetic Catholic propaganda began to score triumphs in those doubtful regions, chiefly of the south, where Protestantism having but recently gained a foothold was still feeble.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the tension between the religious parties was nearing the danger point and every new incident increased the probability of a rupture. A glance at the affair of Donauwörth will show us from what quarter the wind was now blowing over Germany. Donauwörth, on the upper Danube, was a free imperial city (*freie Reichstadt*) and as such enjoyed representation in the Reichstag. Overwhelmingly Protestant, it had a Protestant town council which, though permitting Catholic worship, refused to tolerate Catholic public demonstrations. In spite of this prohibition some Catholic zealots organized (1606) a religious procession which caused a riot. In hot indignation they appealed to Emperor Rudolph, who, maintaining that Catholic rights had been curtailed, put the city under the ban of the empire and at the same time commissioned Duke Maximilian of Bavaria to occupy it with an armed force. Not content with carrying out the imperial orders, the duke, regarding Donauwörth as conquered territory, forcibly reconverted it to Catholicism.

Increasing tension

This decidedly high-handed act greatly excited the more radical Protestant elements, chiefly adherents of Calvinism. They came together for conference and in 1608 formed a union to hinder a repetition of the Donauwörth outrage. Thereupon Duke Maximilian, considering himself threatened by this move, joined with other Catholic estates, chiefly bishops, in a similar association which took the name of the Catholic League (1609). When people among whom no love is lost begin to go about armed the chances of a bloody clash become excellent. Nevertheless so general was the dread of civil war that, in spite of ever increasing animosity, the peace was preserved for another decade.

The Protestant Union and the Catholic League, 1608–1609

The occasion that finally precipitated the long-expected conflict was furnished by Bohemia. Bohemia was a kingdom which in 1526 had come into possession of the house of Hapsburg, partly through

eritance and partly through election by the Bohemian diet. Its abitants were Germans and Czechs, the Czechs, a Slav people, ng decidedly in the majority. In the fifteenth century Bohemia l risen into European prominence through its great zen John Hus, who initiated a reform movement in the urch and met (1415) a heretic's death at the stake. The d rebellion of the Hussites, as the reformer's followers re called, was put down after a tremendous struggle. None the less province continued to seethe under the surface with revolutionary tation. When, a century after Hus's death, Luther lifted his ce in Saxony, his words raised an answering echo across the hemian border. The Reformation made slow but steady progress was it seriously resisted by the Hapsburg government until nperor Rudolph came to the throne. Devoted son of the Church t he was, he tried to put it down, but, crotchety and more than f insane, he only botched matters and was in the end constrained to nt the Protestants a limited toleration in a charter issued in the r 1609. However, both Rudolph and his successor Emperor tthias (1612–1619) carried out the terms of the charter grudgingly d by a number of irregular acts renewed the animosity of the otestants. On May 23, 1618, resolved to get rid of the Hapsburg nasty and give themselves a ruler of their own faith, they rose revolt. The emperor resided at Vienna and was represented at ague, the capital of his Bohemian kingdom, by a body of gover-rs. These the insurgents attacked, invaded their castle, and mmarily tossed two of them, with a secretary for good measure, t of the window into the moat below. It was a fall of some sixty t but, wonderful to say, beyond the shock to their bones and the re enduring shock to their feelings, had no evil consequences for victims. The rebels crowned the day's work by setting up a volutionary government. While their act was no more than a al Bohemian occurrence, in its consequences it set fire to the lammable German house and precipitated the struggle known the Thirty Years' War.

The outbreak in Bohemia, 1618

Whoever makes a study of the Thirty Years' War will be struck the fact that it is really not so much a single war as an aggre-ion of related wars. It therefore falls naturally into different iods, designated by the issue which is uppermost at the time. ve such periods are clearly distinguishable: the Bohemian Period 18–1620), the Palatine Period (1621–1623), the Danish Period

(1625–1629), the Swedish Period (1630–1635), and the French Period (1635–1648). These divisions indicate how the struggle, beginning in Bohemia, spread like a contagion until it included all Europe.

The periods of the Thirty Years' War

From Bohemia, where, we have seen, it had its origin, it ate its way into southern Germany into the region known as the Palatinate — this is the Palatine Period. Then slowly northern Germany and its nearest Protestant neighbor, Denmark, were drawn into its sphere — this is the Danish Period. And finally one and another foreign country was moved to take part, until the war, while continuing to be a German civil struggle, acquired something of the aspect of a world-clash between Protestantism and Catholicism, and something, too, of a duel between the two greatest reigning houses of Europe, Hapsburg and Bourbon.

THE BOHEMIAN PERIOD (1618–1620)

The revolutionists at Prague had hardly set up their government when they appealed to the German Protestants for help. The Lutherans of the north denied them even their sympathy, while the Calvinists, inhabiting chiefly the south and constituting the leading element of the Protestant Union, offered advice but little help. The fact was that the Bohemians were in rebellion, and rebellion is a matter which conservative men will always treat with caution. There were, however, in the Union a number of flighty, sanguine characters who were bent on striking, through the Bohemian situation, a blow at the Hapsburgs and Catholicism. Chief of these was the president of the Union, the Elector Frederick, ruling over the region which, loosely strung across southern Germany, was called the Palatinate and boasted as its capital the city of Heidelberg, located on the Neckar not far from its confluence with the Rhine. The Elector Frederick was a Calvinist — a circumstance which helps explain his readiness to take the offensive against Catholicism. From the first he gave the Bohemian rebels secret aid and at the same time attempted to commit the Union to an active policy. In this latter purpose he frankly failed. The Union temporized, adopted a few useless measures, and on the approach of danger dissolved itself (1621). Its record is an unmitigated fiasco.

The Bohemians appeal to the German Protestants

Meanwhile hostilities had begun between the emperor and his revolted subjects. They had not advanced far when the feeble Mat-

as, brother and successor of the hare-brained Rudolph, died
larch, 1619), and the Hapsburg dominions passed to a better
n, Ferdinand II. He had been brought up by the Jesuits and
ed by them with their devotion to the Church. He
s small and feeble, with hooked nose, weak eyes, and
n hair — plainly not a captain of men who shakes the
rld with his great purposes. Nevertheless, where his
nvictions were involved this frail sovereign proved him-
f more immovable than men of a more heroic mold.
ving raised an armed force and secured his capital,
enna, against attack by the Bohemian rebels, he set out for Frank-
t, where the assembly of German electors was convened, after the
ual fashion, to name the successor of Matthias. Although three
the seven electors were Protestants, the electoral college so far
cepted the time-honored ascendancy of the house of Hapsburg as
raise Ferdinand to the imperial dignity. With the German crown
ting on his head, the Hapsburg ruler felt that he must strain every
ve to recover Bohemia. The case seemed to him the more urgent
almost at the same moment that he was acclaimed at Frankfort,
Bohemian struggle had entered a new and more dangerous
ase: the revolutionists had made an offer of the crown to the
ector Frederick. Frederick hesitated, torn between anxiety and
pe, but in the end, spurred by ambition, set out for Prague, and
November 4, 1619, was crowned king.

Emperor Ferdinand II (1619–37) and the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate

In the course of his preparations for a vigorous campaign, Fer-
and naturally approached the Catholic League for aid. This
anization, which was destined to play a very considerable role in
Thirty Years' War, was, in distinction from its rival,
Union, most efficiently managed by its president,
ximilian, duke of Bavaria. He proved himself in the course of the
r to be the most capable of the princes of Germany. Brought up,
e Ferdinand, by the Jesuits, he shared the new emperor's devotion
the Church but tempered it with a political intelligence wholly
eign to the imperial dreamer and bigot. From the moment of his
ession to his Bavarian duchy, he prepared for the coming German
is by laying up money and drilling an army. In the hard struggles
his world it is generally such men as Maximilian who succeed, men
o exercise foresight and energetically carry through well-laid plans.
oroughly aroused over what he considered the Elector Frederick's
rpation, Maximilian did not require much coaxing to put his
ces at Ferdinand's disposal.

Maximilian of Bavaria

In the year 1620 there followed the campaign which decided the fate of Bohemia. Was the country to remain Protestant under its new king, Frederick, or to be won back by the Catholics and handed over to Ferdinand? If the Protestants had had a different champion, their outlook might have been more brilliant. Frederick was a man of little brains and such spirit as he had was largely instilled into him by his ambitious spouse Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. What further made greatly against his chances was that he was politically isolated. The Union, in spite of his appeals, did next to nothing while among the Lutherans one man, the powerful elector of Saxony went the length of actually coöperating with Ferdinand. The forces of the League, controlled by Maximilian but under the immediate command of General Tilly, penetrated into Bohemia until they came within sight of the towers of Prague. They found Frederick's army drawn up on the White Hill to the west of the town, and the ensuing battle was a crushing defeat for Frederick, who fled for his life across Germany to Holland. The Jesuits had mockingly foretold that he would prove but a winter king, a man of snow who would vanish at the first ray of the sun, and they were right. Ferdinand, followed by an army of priests and Jesuits, took possession of Bohemia, confiscated the immense estates of the revolted nobles, and proscribing every shade of Protestantism, imposed the Roman faith as the sole religion of the country.

The decisive Bohemian campaign of 1620

THE PALATINE PERIOD (1621–1623)

The Bohemian episode was closed and lovers of peace hoped that the war would now end. They were disappointed chiefly because the elated Catholics could not resist the temptation to make the most of their victory. The war entered a new phase when the emperor, egged on by his Jesuit advisers, put Frederick under the ban of the empire and commissioned his two allies, Duke Maximilian and the Spaniards — these latter operating from the Spanish Netherlands as their base — to take military possession of the Palatinate. This was a direct and wanton provocation since the Palatinate was recognized Protestant territory. But Ferdinand and Maximilian reckoned with the incurable divisions among the Protestants and they were fully justified by the event. Although the Protestants gave free rein to their indignation, when it

Seizure of the Palatinate

ne to helping the Elector Frederick to defend his inheritance
inst the adversary they backed away. In consequence the Palat-
te fell completely into Catholic hands. Victorious beyond his
ams, the emperor now undertook to reward his main supporter.
transferred (1623) the electoral dignity from Frederick to Maxi-
ian, duke and henceforth elector of Bavaria, and in addition made
r to him that part of the Palatinate (the upper Palatinate) which
s contiguous to Bavaria. At the same time the Catholic army
ve the Protestant preachers out of the Palatinate and gradually
ced Catholicism upon the inhabitants.

These Protestant disasters alarmed the other Protestant powers of
rope, such as England, the Dutch, Sweden, and Denmark, and
rted a correspondence among them in favor of a concerted inter-
ition. In any such movement the leadership would naturally fall to England, first, because since the days of Queen Elizabeth England had been the greatest bulwark of the new faith, and second, the reigning sovereign, James I, was, we have seen, the father-in-law of the Elector Frederick. James, to be sure, had not encouraged Frederick's disastrous Bohemian ambitions; but when his son-in-law lost his inherited territories too, he could not fail to be disturbed. Wisely wishing to avoid war, he developed a plan to compose the German troubles in close association with Spain; and in furtherance of this policy he tried to effect an Anglo-Spanish alliance to be clinched by the marriage of his son and heir, Charles, to a Spanish princess. The Spaniards willingly negotiated in order to keep the English king from actively interfering in the struggle; but as soon as the German prizes were safely in Catholic hands, they made it plain to the duped James that they had no interest in either a matrimonial or a political alliance. At this discovery James fell into a rage and made up his mind that only war would readjust the German balance. To this end he planned a great Protestant alliance. But here, too, as in so many of his measures of his reign he was pursued by ill-luck. His possible allies were the Dutch, Sweden, and Denmark. To the Dutch, the Truce of Twelve Years having just expired (1621), the war with Spain had been resumed, and the country, fully occupied with its own problem, had no resources to spare for Germany. The case of Sweden was similar. Gustavus Adolphus, the very capable ruler of Sweden, was involved in difficulties with Russia and Poland which constituted as great a burden

The policy of James I of England

James pushes Denmark into the war

as his shoulders could for the time being bear. There remained Den mark, whose king, Christian IV, declared himself willing to strike a blow for Protestantism, provided James supplied him liberally with money. This James agreed to do, but as he had foolishly involved himself in a quarrel with his parliament — a quarrel which under his son led to civil war — he could not get the funds which he required. The upshot was that James pushed the Danish king into a conflict with triumphant German Catholicism and then deserted, his promises of financial support proving to be broken reeds.

THE DANISH WAR (1625–1629)

With the entrance into the war of Christian IV in the role of champion of threatened Protestantism, the scene of action was transferred from the south to the north of Germany. Tilly, still in command of the army of the League, moved against him, but Christian had for a time the advantage of position and numbers. Just as he thought he had the situation well in hand, a second Catholic army appeared and threatened his flank.

Wallenstein creates an imperial army

Raised in the name of the emperor, this force was the first *imperial* army of importance put forward in this war — Tilly, it must always be remembered, was employed by the League — and was commanded by Wallenstein. Wallenstein was a Bohemian nobleman who, having remained faithful to Ferdinand in the crisis of 1618, had been rewarded with immense estates taken from the defeated rebels. In order to free his sovereign from military dependence on the League he had counselled him to raise an army of his own; and when the emperor pleaded poverty, Wallenstein lured him on with a plan which would make the army self-supporting. The general commissioned by the emperor would simply oblige the magistrates of the districts which the army happened to be occupying to furnish him with the supplies and ready money of which he stood in need. Such a system of forced contributions was not exactly plunder, but it was the next thing to it, and without urgent necessity the legal-minded and scrupulous Ferdinand would never have given his consent to anything so irregular. Wallenstein at first exercised some restraint upon his men; but in measure as the country grew poorer and it became harder to squeeze support out of it, the general took without asking whatever he could find. Naturally his rivals were not slow to imitate him, with the result that there now began that awful

rrying of Germany, the cold facts of which remain incredible to
ears and confirm the concise saying of a famous American general
t war is hell. And this was only the beginning, for there were
tined to be twenty and more years of this slow torture. A French
torian has declared the fact that Germany did not become an
-and-out wilderness to constitute one of the most extraordinary
durance tests which humanity has furnished.

A word at this point concerning the armies of this age will not
ne amiss. To begin with, they were not national but mercenary.
sovereign, wishing to raise a force, first commissioned a number of
cers, who hired men at a fixed price wherever they re to be found. In consequence, an army was likely to k more like an international congress than anything e — all races, costumes, and languages were represented. The pay both officers and privates was liberal, and the cost of an army e, at least in salaries, to a relatively much higher figure than lay. A well-balanced force would be composed of infantry and valry in about equal numbers; the artillery was in process of de-opment and did not yet constitute a decisive factor. The infantry s in part armed with rude muskets, but owing to the fact that a neral still counted on winning a battle by the push of solidly massed n, the more usual weapon of the foot-soldier was a pike, some hteen feet in length. In preparation for a battle the cavalry was wn up on the wings, while the infantry, with the clumsy and ffective artillery corps in front of it, held the center. All this ks rude and primitive from the twentieth century point of view, t it remains a notable fact that great advances were made in this iod, chiefly under the stimulus of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. increased his artillery pieces, turned them to better use, and veloped in his troops a greater mobility both on the march and under .

The organization of an army

To return to the Danish War, Christian IV proved no match for combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein. A single campaign tled his fate. In 1626 Wallenstein defeated Christian's lieutenant, nsfeld, at the Bridge of Dessau, and in the same year ly crushed Christian himself at Lutter. Not only was king obliged to retire from Germany, but he was pur- d into his own dominions and had finally to take refuge the Danish islands. He had every reason to be thankful when, in year 1629, the emperor signed the Peace of Lübeck with him,

Christian defeated by Tilly and Wallenstein

whereby, in return for the abandonment of his German claims and projects, he got back his Danish territories.

Even before the Peace of Lübeck was signed, Wallenstein had overrun the whole Protestant north. Nothing seemed able to resist him. Capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious — the type of the military adventurer — his remarkable mind began to nurse designs so vast and intricate that they have never yet been entirely fathomed. In the main his plan appears to have been to overawe the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, and once again to make the emperor the real master of Germany. As such a revolution in the German political system could be effected only by means of the army of which he was head, he foresaw that in the event of the reëstablishment of German unity the dominant role would be secured to him. However, the plan was bound to encounter powerful obstacles. In the first place Ferdinand soon showed that he had no taste for the part of conqueror which Wallenstein assigned to him; and, further, all the princes, regardless of religion, arrayed themselves in one solid phalanx against the man who tried to diminish their importance.

The revolutionary plans of Wallenstein

If we survey the German situation in the year 1629, the Catholic success seemed to be complete. In the Bohemian and Palatine stage of the war the Union had been scattered and south Germany occupied while in the Danish stage, the victorious Catholic soldiery had penetrated to the shores of the North and Baltic seas. In the length and breadth of Germany there was no force able to resist triumphant Catholicism. Therefore it was now or never if a decisive blow was to fall on the Protestant enemy. In March, 1629, Ferdinand published the Edict of Restitution, by which the Protestants were dispossessed of all Church territories seized by them since the preliminary Peace of Passau of 1552. The measure was a revolution. At a stroke of the pen two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and hundreds of monasteries were reappropriated by the Catholics. The emperor had hitherto cajoled the Lutherans in order to keep them quiet while he crushed the more radical Protestants, but by this step he removed the mask. It was not Calvinism at which he aimed but at Protestantism of every variety. The Edict of Restitution marks the peak of the Catholic tide.

Zenith of the Catholic triumph and Edict of Restitution, 1629

The policy laid down in the Edict of Restitution meant violence perpetrated upon every Protestant prince and city in the land and

uld be carried through only by an army. But almost simultaneusly with its publication the emperor was guilty of the fatal inconstency of reducing his strength. In the year 1630 a meeting of the ectors was held at Ratisbon (Regensburg) where the long pressed indignation of the German princes against allenstein found a voice. His misdemeanors were gion: his army exhausted the country, weighing on atholic and Protestant alike; his imperial plans were volutionary; his personal ambition was dangerous and boundless. unanimous cry went up for his dismissal which the timid emperor uld not face. Repudiating the policy of Wallenstein, he deposed his usty lieutenant at the very moment when the Edict of Restitution r the first time welded the Protestants into a solid mass and when new and threatening power appeared upon the scene.

Imperial inconsistency. Wallenstein dismissed, 1630

THE SWEDISH PERIOD (1630–1635)

In July, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, landed on the ltic coast at the head of an army. We have seen that some years fore, when James I of England attempted to create a great Protstant combination, Gustavus had declined to be a rty to it. He was at the time engaged in securing his sition in the Baltic area against the Poles. Since then allenstein's astonishing triumph against Denmark had ed the mind of the Swedish king with apprehension and rm. He entertained the ambition of securing for himself the first ace on the Baltic, of making, in fact, the Baltic a kind of Swedish ke, and here was Wallenstein apparently reviving the defunct mpire, carrying its banners into the north and talking of launching leet upon the sea with a view to reviving the German naval power. oncerned about his safety, Gustavus slowly made up his mind to ter the war for the purpose of driving the imperial forces out of rthern Germany. But there was more than this in his bold enterse. As an ardent Protestant he had sympathized from the first th the Protestants of Germany, but not till the publication of the ict of Restitution did he feel that, unless a blow were struck for it, otestantism in Germany was doomed. Thus Swedish patriotism well as devotion to his faith spurred him to action. Did he act fishly or unselfishly? An idle question, since human actions can ly rarely be classified under such simple categories as good and bad,

Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany, July, 1630

selfish and unselfish. Naturally he acted as was demanded by his conception of the interests of Sweden. To have done otherwise would have been a disavowal of his responsibilities as Swedish king. But it was perfectly compatible with a broadly national policy to believe that Swedish Protestantism was tied up with German Protestantism and that if the new faith were destroyed in the latter country it would sooner or later be doomed also in the former. Be that as it may, it is clear that he invaded Germany in order to strengthen the Swedish position on the Baltic; but it is also true that, while serving his own country, he rescued German Protestantism from destruction and became a hero in the eyes of Protestants the world over.

Gustavus is the outstanding figure of the Thirty Years' War and succeeded during his brief presence on the stage in bringing into the barren struggle something of an epic movement. Let us follow his brilliant course. His first concern on landing in Germany was to secure the alliance of the Protestant princes, whose salvation, together with the safety of his Swedish kingdom, formed the double object of his coming. And here he straightway encountered difficulties. The Protestant princes had, on account of the Edict of Restitution, little or no affection left for the emperor, but they naturally hesitated about allying themselves with a foreigner and aiding him in getting a foothold in their native land. While Gustavus was in turn coaxing and threatening them, help came to him from another quarter, from France. The French government, since 1624 in the extremely capable hands of Cardinal Richelieu, had followed the German developments with close interest, but owing to domestic troubles with the Huguenots had thus far not been able to interfere. By the year 1629 the Huguenot difficulties had been ironed out and Richelieu became free to pursue a more vigorous foreign policy. Though a great prelate of the Church, he was, above all, a Frenchman eager to advance the power and influence of his country. Clear in his mind that a strong Germany would be a disadvantage to France, he resolved not only to aid the successful plot which at Ratisbon brought about the dismissal of Wallenstein but to welcome with open arms every avowed enemy of the emperor. Expressing therefore from the first his approval of Gustavus's German enterprise, he presently (January, 1631) concluded the Treaty of Bärwalde, wherein he agreed to pay the king of Sweden a considerable annual subsidy toward the prosecution of the war. It was a measure preliminary to entering the conflict in person.

Gustavus, the Protestant princes, and Richelieu

The first operations of Gustavus were directed to the reduction of
e strongholds of Pomerania for the purpose of acquiring a secure
se for his campaign. While he was thus engaged, Tilly, who since
allenstein's dismissal was at the head of the combined
rces of the League and emperor, stormed and utterly
cked the great Protestant city of Magdeburg on the
be. In the course of the assault a fire started, and when
e smoke and fury had passed away only the cathedral
as discovered standing among the blackened ruins.
ear and horror turned Protestant sentiment more strongly than
er toward Gustavus, and when, shortly after, Tilly threatened to
vade Saxony, its ruler, who was the traditional head of the Luther-
s, put an end to his indecision. Together with the elector of Bran-
nburg, and followed by many minor princes, he came to terms
th Sweden. These German alliances so far secured the hold of
ustavus on the north that he was at last able to seek out Tilly for a
cisive encounter. In September, 1631, a great battle took place at
eitenfeld, near Leipzig, in which Swedish generalship and dis-
pline astonished the world by utterly defeating the veteran army
Tilly.

Sack of Magdeburg May, 1631. Saxony and Brandenburg join Sweden

The victory of Breitenfeld laid all Germany at the feet of Gustavus.
ever was there a more dramatic change. The Catholics, who a
ar before had held the reins in their hands, were now in exactly
e same helpless position in which the Protestants had
und themselves. Gustavus, received everywhere by
s co-religionists as a deliverer, marched without oppo-
ion straight across Germany to the Rhine. In the
iscopal town of Mainz he took up his winter quarters. What more
tural than that under the stimulus of a triumph exceeding all
pectations, his plans should now have soared higher? With Sweden
fe and German Protestantism rescued, his expedition had secured
original objects. But as he looked around and saw Germany
lpless at his feet, visions arose of himself as champion and perma-
nt head of the Protestant section of the country. The program was
mpting but much work remained to be done before he could carry
out. As long as Bavaria and Austria were unconquered, he could
t hope to be the arbiter of German destiny.

Gustavus takes winter quarters on the Rhine

In the spring of 1632 he again took the field, aiming straight at the
untry of his enemies. At the river Lech, Tilly tried to block his
ssage into Bavaria. Again unsuccessful against his more versatile

opponent, the veteran general of the League chanced to receive a wound from which he shortly died. Bavaria was now at the great Swede's mercy, who entered its capital, Munich, in triumph. His next and last objective was Vienna, residence of the emperor. If he could enter the Austrian capital, resistance would collapse and Germany be his acknowledged prize. But long before the situation had taken this critical turn, Ferdinand had turned to the one man capable of averting the final doom — Wallenstein. That general, since his dismissal, had been sulking on his Bohemian estates. When Ferdinand's ambassador besought him for aid, he affected indifference, but at length allowed himself to be persuaded to collect an army upon conditions calculated to raise him to a military dictatorship. Protected, as he thought, by the terms secured against a new dismissal, he floated his standards to the wind, and once again the adventurers of all nations and creeds flocked around the famous leader.

Gustavus in Bavaria, 1632

In the summer of 1632 Wallenstein and Gustavus, the two greatest generals of their day, took the field against each other. After long, futile manœuvring around Nürnberg, the two armies met for a decisive encounter at Lützen, not far from Leipzig (November, 1632). After the trumpeters had sounded the hymn of Luther, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," and the whole army had knelt in prayer, Gustavus ordered the attack. The combat was long and furious, but the Swedes won the day; they won, but at a terrible cost. In one of the charges of horse, the impetuosity of Gustavus carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy and he was surrounded and slain.

The battle of Lützen (1632) and death of Gustavus

With the death of the king of Sweden the war degenerated into an abominable scramble for the meanest material advantages. Gustavus's great achievement had been that he had turned back the Catholic tide and saved the German Protestant cause. But he left Germany in hopeless confusion. The rage between Protestants and Catholics, now almost unappeasable, was complicated by the wild territorial greed of the princes; and as if such misery were not enough, foreign powers took advantage of the impotence of the nation to appropriate its fairest provinces.

Degeneration of the war

On the death of Gustavus, Wallenstein was the greatest figure left among the leaders of the war, and Wallenstein, a man not without large views, resolved to aim at a general pacification on the en-

ghtened basis of toleration for the Protestants. As he was per-
uaded that he could never win the emperor and his Jesuit council-
rs to such a plan, he opened secret negotiations with his Protestant
dversaries and thus laid himself open to the suspicion of
eason. If his army would have followed him through
ick and thin, he might have defied the emperor and
ecome the restorer of Germany; but his officers fell
way from him on his renewed dismissal by his master, while some
their number went the length of forming a conspiracy against
s life. In February, 1634, in the Bohemian town of Eger, they
ut an end to him and his grandiose plans.

Wallenstein's treason and death, 1634

Meanwhile the Swedes did not relax their efforts to retain the
ominant position which Gustavus had won for them. The political
rection fell into the capable hands of the Chancellor Oxenstiern,
ho ruled in the name of Gustavus's infant daughter
hristina, while the military affairs were on the whole
ery creditably managed by various generals whom
ustavus had trained. None the less, in September, 1634,
ie Swedes were signally defeated by the Imperialists at Nördlingen
nd had to evacuate southern Germany. With fortune smiling once
ore on the emperor, he resolved to take his first sincere step toward
eace. Calamity had taught him to moderate his demands, and he
eclared to the elector of Saxony, still the recognized head of German
rotestantism, his willingness to sign with him a treaty of peace, to
hich all Protestants should be invited to accede, on the basis of a
rtual withdrawal of the obnoxious Edict of Restitution. The peace
roposal had many imperfections, prominent among them being the
ilure to make express legal provision for the Calvinists. In spite
these drawbacks, in May, 1635, it was in the city of Prague con-
erted into a treaty by the two German principals, and such was
ie longing for peace in the exhausted country that before many
eeks had passed nearly all the princes and free cities had signified
eir acceptance.

Swedish interests directed by Oxenstiern

Had Germany been left to itself peace might now have descended
on the land already tormented by seventeen years of civil warfare.
nfortunately the decision between peace and war no longer lay in
ie hands of the Germans. It now rested with those foreign powers
hom the unhappy divisions of the Germans had drawn across the
order. Securely ensconced in the heart of the country, the Swedes
ughed at the idea that the war was over, especially as France,

which had hitherto supported the Scandinavian power only with money, now entered into a new alliance (April, 1635) providing for full participation in the conflict. The death of their great king followed by the disastrous battle of Nördlingen and the resumption of amicable relations between the Catholic and Protestant factions of Germany were doubtlessly heavy blows to the Swedes, but the French resolution to fight henceforward at their side made up for all these losses. The favorable hour which Cardinal Richelieu had been patiently awaiting to deliver a deadly blow at the house of Hapsburg had struck at last. With the domestic troubles of France allayed, Richelieu issued a declaration of war against Spain (May, 1635) and at the same time entered the German war by dispatching an army to the Rhine to coöperate with the Swedes.

France comes to the aid of Sweden

THE FRENCH PERIOD (1635–1648)

The war now entered a new and last phase characterized by the effort of the allied powers of France and Sweden to effect a permanent lodgment in Germany. That religion was no longer an issue of any consequence is sufficiently indicated by the circumstance that of the two invaders of Germany one was Protestant and the other Catholic. They and the German princes still bandied the word religion when they imagined something might be gained by it, but their intimate thought was all about territorial advantages. From year to year following Richelieu's decisive step of 1635 the French policy tended to fall with increasing weight into the balance, chiefly owing to the broad outlook and concentrated resolution of the great cardinal. Taking in with statesman-like vision the whole European scene, he sought the friendship and help of every power, great or small, capable of being mobilized against either of the Hapsburg houses, though it was the Spanish house which his interpretation of French history prompted him to honor with a particular aversion. His most immediate object was to weaken the hold of Spain on the Spanish Netherlands, since from this vantage-ground, as the map will show, a perpetual threat was suspended over the French capital. At the very time (1635) that he drew closer to the Swedes, he entered into alliance with the Dutch, who in 1621, when the Twelve Years' Truce expired, had renewed their war of inde-

The world struggle between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg

endence. Joined to Sweden and the Dutch Republic, he prepared meet the Austro-Spanish armies. Thus in its last phase the hirty Years' War is less a German conflict than an immense inter-ational struggle for supremacy between the house of Bourbon, on e one hand, and the two branches of the house of Hapsburg, on e other.

The fighting in Germany during the last or French Period took e form of a stubborn forward thrust across the Rhine on the part France and a steady movement southward from its Baltic base the part of Sweden. The object of the allies was to **The Franco-Swedish plan of campaign** ush the emperor between them. It remains a matter astonishment that that sovereign, exhausted as he was d ill-supported by the German people, who had fallen to a mortal languor, should have made so stubborn a resistance. the early years he even won some notable successes. But year ter year the French and Swedes fastened upon his flanks and with ch season he found it more difficult to shake them off. The tion meanwhile, sucked dry by a soldiery which had grown insen-ble to every appeal of justice and pity, was dying by inches. The ties fell into decay, the country became a desert. In view of the rtainty that the product of labor would become the booty of ma-uders, nobody cared to work. Hence the people fell into idleness, ere butchered, or died of hunger or of pestilence. The only pro-ssion which afforded a semblance of security was that of the ldier, and soldier signified robber and murderer. Armies became med bands organized for pillage and marched up and down the untry, followed by immense hordes of starved camp-followers, omen and children, who hoped, in this way, to get a sustenance hich they could not find at home.

Accumulated disaster finally brought the emperor to terms. The rces of France had been growing gradually stronger and at last, der the leadership of the fiery prince of Condé and the gifted ategist Turenne, penetrated far into southern Ger- **French and Swedish victories bring the emperor to terms** any. The honors of the last campaigns rested chiefly th them, though the Swedes also added to their laurels. eing that it was useless to attempt to turn these stran-rs from the gates, the emperor finally accepted the cree of fate. But it was not Ferdinand II who bared his head to ceive the blow. He had been succeeded, on his death in 1637, by s son, Ferdinand III (1637–1657), who opened negotiations with

France and Sweden, and after wearisome and sheer interminable delays, brought them to a successful termination in 1648, in the Treaty of Westphalia.[1]

The Peace of Westphalia is, from the variety of matter which it treats, one of the most important documents in history. First, it determined with what territorial concessions in Germany France and Sweden were to be persuaded to retire from the war; second, it laid a new basis for the peace between Protestants and Catholics; and third, it authorized an important political and territorial readjustment within Germany. Let us consider these heads in the order named.

The main subheads of the Peace of Westphalia

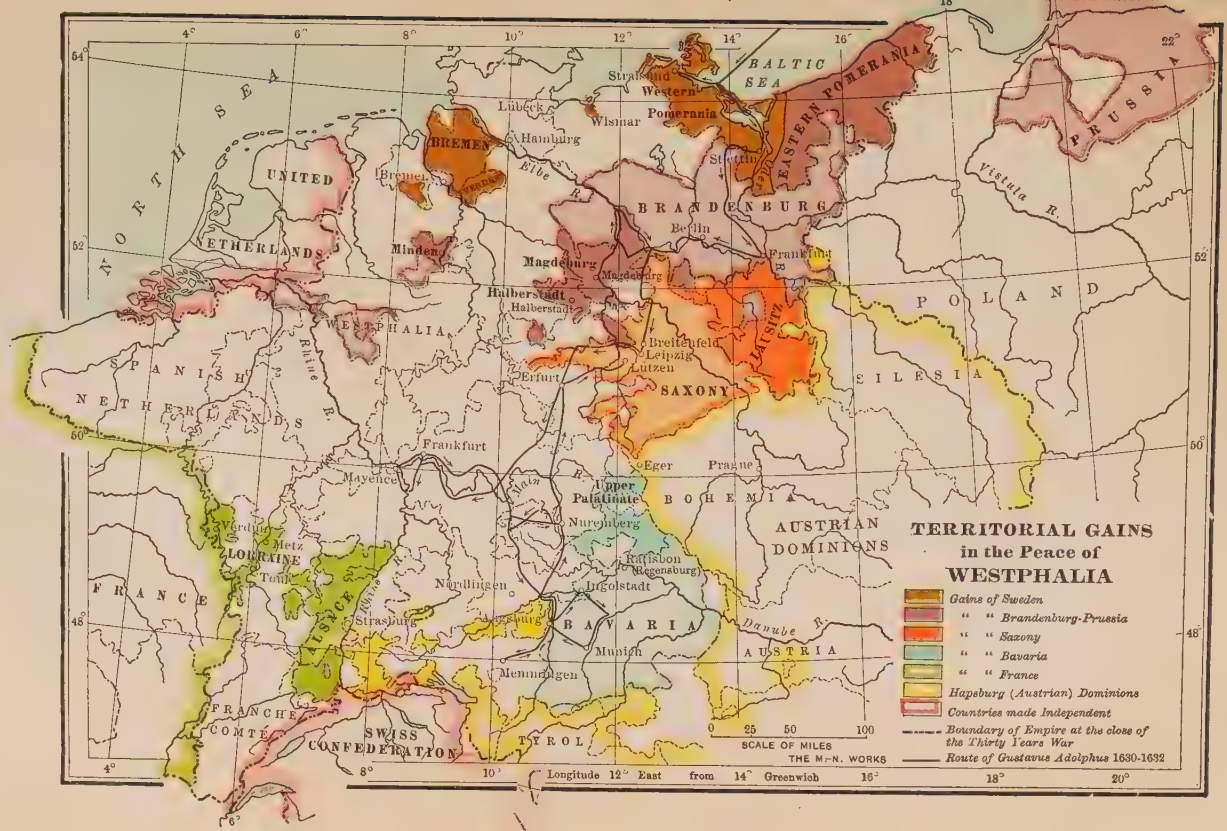
As to the first point, Sweden received the western half of Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. By these possessions she was set as guardian at the mouths of the rivers Oder, Elbe, and Weser and put in substantial control of the German seaboard. As to France, she was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, already occupied since 1552, and received, in addition, the greater part of Alsace, which acquisition carried with it the inestimable advantage of a foothold on the upper Rhine. The free city of Strasburg and a number of other Alsatian towns and lordships were not included in the cession.

Cessions made to Sweden and France

Touching the German religious difficulties, the great question was how to settle the seizures of Church property which the Protestants had effected since the Peace of Augsburg. The Catholics, it will be remembered, had always held that these seizures were illegal, and by the Edict of Restitution of 1629 the emperor had peremptorily ordered their surrender. In the peace negotiations the Protestants demanded that they be restored to all the possessions which they had held in 1618, the year when the war broke out, but they compromised at last on 1624. Such former Catholic possessions as were in Protestant hands on the first of January of that year were to remain Protestant; such as were in Catholic hands were to be reserved to the Catholics. This arrangement settled the question of the disputed lands, in the main, in the Protestant interest, but included a concession to the emperor in so far as it gave the sanction of

Dispute about Church lands settled in favor of the Protestants

[1] The Peace of Westphalia receives its name from the province of Westphalia on the Rhine, embracing the two cities of Münster and Osnabrück, in which the plenipotentiaries of the powers met.


NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
UNITED NETHERLANDS
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
SWISS CONFEDERATION
FRANCHE COMTÉ
LORRAINE
ALSACE
BREMEN
Western Pomerania
EASTERN POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
SILESIA
POLAND
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
TYROL
Lübeck
Hamburg
Wismar
Stralsund
Stettin
Bremen
Minden
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Berlin
Frankfurt
Breitenfeld
Leipzig
Lutzen
Erfurt
Eger
Prague
Mayence
Upper Palatinate
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Ingolstadt
Nordlingen
Strasburg
Munich
Memmingen
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Main R.
Danube R.
Vistula R.
TERRITORIAL GAINS in the Peace of WESTPHALIA
Gains of Swedes
" " Brandenburg-Prussia
" " Saxony
" " Bavaria
" " France
Hapsburg (Austrian) Dominions
Countries made Independent
Boundary of Empire at the close of the Thirty Years War
Route of Gustavus Adolphus 1630-1632
0 25 50 100
SCALE OF MILES
THE M-N. WORKS
Longitude 12° East from 14° Greenwich
4° 6° 8° 10° 12° 14° 16° 18° 20°
54° 52° 50° 48°

v to the Counter-Reformation carried out after 1618 in the reditary possessions of the Hapsburgs. In the matter of Calvinism reasonable solution was found by giving it the same legal standing Lutheranism.

Under the third head it is necessary to note a variety of political d territorial changes within Germany. First, the princes were ven a number of new sovereign rights, among others the right of rming alliances with each other and with foreign powers. Political herewith the decentralization of Germany became com- disruption ete and the single states were made as good as inde- of Germany ndent. If the emperor was weak before, he was now no more an the honorary president of a congress of sovereign powers. Of ur of these constituent states of the Empire, the Palatinate, avaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, a word remains to be said. he Palatinate, confiscated by the emperor in the early stages of e war, was restored in a mutilated condition to the son of Fred- ck, ex-king of Bohemia, who had died in the course of the conflict. the same time this son was recognized as the eighth elector, for aximilian of Bavaria was left in possession of the electoral dignity well as a part of the Palatine territory (the upper Palatinate). admits of no question that under Maximilian Bavaria had played very effective part and deserved the recognition which it received. om this time on Bavaria aspired to the leadership in southern Ger- any, while the leadership of northern Germany, exercised since uther's day by Saxony, passed, largely in consequence of the Peace Westphalia, to the elector of Brandenburg. This prince received ditions of territory — eastern Pomerania and four secularized shoprics — constituting a possession so considerable as to enable n gradually to replace Saxony as the leading state of Protestant rmany. In 1648 Germany lost the last vestige of its claim to be nsidered an effective European state. It was broken into about ree hundred fragments, of which the four electorates named and ustria alone possessed sufficient power to command a modicum of spect. With Germany no longer a political factor of consequence, in- rest in German political development centers henceforth in the large incipalities and more particularly in Brandenburg and Austria.

As a last curious detail of the Westphalian treaty it may be added at the Swiss Confederation and the Dutch Netherlands A curious (even United Provinces), once members of the Empire detail t long since practically independent, became formally sovereign.

Germany, after her insufferable crisis, lay insensible and exhausted. While the contemporary stories of the ruin done by the war contain an element of exaggeration, it is certain that the country took more than a hundred years to recover from its disasters. From its disruptive political effects it did not recover till the nineteenth century. The simple fact is that the material edifice of civilization, together with most of the moral and intellectual savings of an ancient society, had been destroyed, and what was left was barbarism. The generation which survived the war had grown up without schools, almost without pastors and churches, and to its mental and moral degeneracy it added, owing to the long rule of force, a disdain for all simple and honest occupations. Touching the injury wrought by the war, a few data may help us to realize the desolate situation. Augsburg, the great southern center of trade, had had 80,000 inhabitants; the war reduced it to a provincial town of 16,000. Practically all other towns declined in the same ratio. Thousands of villages were destroyed, whole districts were depopulated. In Brandenburg one could travel for days without meeting a peasant; in Saxony bands of wolves took possession of the empty villages. In general, the population of Germany declined from one-half to one-third of the numbers before the war.

Effect of the war on Germany

The Peace of Westphalia dealt with so many matters not only of German but also of international interest that it may be looked upon as the basis of European public law till the French Revolution. We may also take it to mark a turning-point in the relation to each other of hostile Christian faiths. From the time of Luther the chief interest of Europe had been the question of religion. Europe was divided into two camps, Catholicism and Protestantism, which opposed each other with all their might. In the Peace of Westphalia the two parties recorded what they had gradually been learning — which was, that their quarrel was as futile as it was cruel and that since neither adversary could extinguish the other, it was the part of wisdom to ground arms. Almost imperceptibly men's *minds* had grown more tolerant, even if the *laws* maintained as tenaciously as possible the old exclusive viewpoint. The best proof of the improved state of the European mind toward the middle of the seventeenth century is offered by the practical application of this very peace instrument. The toleration therein granted was merely of the old kind — each prince or free city could choose among the legally

The Peace of Westphalia closes the period of religious wars

ognized religions without any obligation of tolerating dissidents — , persecution of individuals was henceforth the exception, not the e. It would be an exaggeration to say that the principle of tolera- n was henceforth dominant in Europe or that squabbles for igion's sake ceased, but it may be asserted, without fear of contra- tion, that toleration had won with the Peace of Westphalia a nding among thinking and liberal-minded men. During the next e hundred and fifty years the principle filtered gradually, through e literary labor of many noble thinkers, to the lower strata of iety and became in the era of the French Revolution a possession all mankind.

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EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG IN SUCCESSION TO CHARLES V

dinand I, 1556–1564
ximilian II (son of Ferdinand I), 1564–1576
dolph II (son of Maximilian II) 1576–1612
tthias I (younger brother of Rudolph II), 1612–1619
dinand II (cousin of Matthias I), 1619–1637
dinand III (son of Ferdinand II), 1637–1657
pold I (son of Ferdinand III), 1658–1705
eph I (son of Leopold I), 1705–1711
rles VI (younger brother of Joseph I), 1711–1740
(House of Hapsburg extinct in male line)

CHAPTER XII

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION TOWARD THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

After bringing the politico-religious movement among the European states down to the middle of the seventeenth century, we may pause to have a look over the whole expanse of western civilization.

The European man breaks with the limitations imposed on him during the Middle Age

We have seen that, beginning with the Renaissance, the European man gradually broke away from his medieval heritage with its primitive social organization, with its backwardness in the arts, and with its emphasis, in the daily affairs of life, on God's marvelous plan of salvation. By imperceptible stages he developed a new viewpoint involving a more experimental existence than had been countenanced by the Middle Age together with the healthy exercise of functions hitherto either forbidden or subject to strict control. A stirring as of stagnant waters followed. Man engaged in trade on an ever enlarging scale, he recovered the ancient art and literature, he reorganized his economic activities, resting them on individual enterprise and capital, he crossed the perilous seas to discover Asia and America, and he did a score of things besides which revealed to him the earth, the heavens over the earth, and finally, himself.

Then from the new ground gained Luther challenged the authority of the Church and precipitated the great struggle of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Judged by its purely mental content,

Did the Reformation smother the Renaissance?

the Reformation had undoubtedly a reactionary flavor since it once more brought theological controversies to the fore. On the other hand, by attacking the prestige of the great institution which sanctioned the medieval scale of values it promoted the liberation of the human spirit by asserting, though often with timid hesitation, the all-important right to private judgment. In the view of certain modern critics by no means moved by Catholic partisanship, the Reformation proved to be, on the whole, a misfortune for Europe since it put an

d to the broad, humanitarian promise inherent in the Erasmian ilosophy. A more just and sober judgment would seem to be that e religious revolution did indeed apply the brakes to some of the erating tendencies of the Renaissance; but that it signified a version to the Middle Age is a prejudiced contention in hopeless nflict with the facts. In this chapter we shall review the evidence ich proves that the expansive forces of the Renaissance, considered the mass, continued steadily to gather strength behind the theo-gical controversies which filled so much of the foreground of the e's consciousness. We shall show conclusively that Europe con-nued with very little interruption its march upon the paths cleared r it by the alert and enterprising spirits who broke through the edieval barriers.

Let us begin with the Fine Arts. As we have already followed eir course in Italy, we are aware that they swung through a cycle of velopment which registered no sudden break at the coming of the formation. Such leading figures as Michael Angelo and tian did not disappear from the scene until well after e middle of the sixteenth century, and from them the tistic movement traveled on in perfectly intelligible stages to ever w communications. True, these later Italian phases, rated by tics as manifestations of decline and designated by the name roque, reflect, particularly in their altarpieces the rather theatrical votion of the Counter-Reformation; but they also indicate by their ntinued attachment to scenes from common life that the naturalis- impulse of the Renaissance was slow to exhaust itself. If art clined in Italy — which can not be denied — it was primarily be-use the wretched political and economic conditions sapped the gor of the nation.

Gradual decline of art in Italy

Elsewhere the Fine Arts showed a similar persistent tendency vard realism. In Germany Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) and Hans lbein (d. 1543) exhibit in their altarpieces much of the old devo-nal feeling, but their saints and Holy Virgins are mani- tly steeped in the earth-loving spirit of the time. In ir many admirable portraits of contemporary worthies all ranks of society this immediacy of living reaches its st varied and unhampered expression. Since Dürer and Holbein d no notable successors, it might in their case be contended that e Reformation controversy served to dampen the artistic impulses Germany, if one could not, as in the case of Italy, point to the de-

Renaissance art in Germany and Spain

pressing effect of an intolerable politico-economic situation. Besides, in Spain, where the narrowest type of religious bigotry prevailed, artistic expression was apparently hardly stifled by it at all. In the Iberian peninsula we are confronted with a remarkable development of painting which, drawing its vigor from a Renaissance tap-root, came to a head in the seventeenth century. Its greatest figure, Velasquez (d. 1660), belongs to the era of Spanish national decline identified with King Philip IV. His extraordinary vitality, which makes Velasquez one of the most enduring influences of pictorial art, must be accepted as evidence of the presence in Spain of liberating and vivifying forces persisting under the pall of the blackest Counter-Reformation achieved anywhere in Europe.

The small northern folk, the Dutch, who ventured to challenge the majesty of Spain, experienced simultaneously with their turning to what to our generation may seem an arid Calvinism, a remarkable expansion of the Fine Arts, and again, in accordance with what appears to be a Renaissance rule, chiefly in painting. Aware that the Renaissance was passionately earth-directed, we are not surprised to learn that the inspiration of Dutch painting was a realism frankly redolent of its native soil. Dutch canvases revel in scenes of every-day life and constitute an unsurpassed record of contemporary activities on land and water, in shop and tavern. In Frans Hals of Haarlem (d. 1666) and Rembrandt of Amsterdam (d. 1669) these tendencies reached their supreme expression, although the labor of a score of artists, hardly inferior to these masters, should be borne in mind if we wish to be just to the multiplication of artistic genius in the heroic age of the republic. And, as if to dissuade us from making too much of the theological din of the period, the southern provinces of the Netherlands, which remained faithful to Catholicism and Spain and therefore, according to current stereotyped judgment, suffered their light to be extinguished, put forth hardly less notable flowers of art, as the distinguished names of Rubens (d. 1640) and Van Dyck (d. 1641) sufficiently attest.

Renaissance art in Holland and Flanders

These swift indications will have served their purpose if they have convinced the reader that the spirit of the rebirth did not perish with the Reformation, at least so far as the Fine Arts are concerned. The same is true of literature. In France Rabelais (d. 1555) produced *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, tales which deal satirically with struggling and deluded man and of which it may be said

marily that rarely has there been more zest of life crowded
hin the covers of a book. A little later Montaigne (d. 1592) ex-
ssed in his *Essays* an attitude toward life which, if more temperate
sceptical than that of Rabelais, is none the less a noble
rtion of man's intellectual freedom. True, both of
se writers were impatient of the barren dogmatism
ching predestination and similar matters which threw
pell over their contemporaries; but their case would seem con-
ively to prove that neither their country nor their time ever
olly succumbed to the absorbing folly of doctrinal warfare. And
en in the days of Richelieu the religious pettifogging began to go
nitely out of fashion, French literature took a fresh start and in
works of Corneille (*Le Cid*, 1636) asserted the characteristic
naissance theme of the dignity of life. There followed on the heels
Corneille the great outburst connected with the reign of Louis
V. It lies outside the scope of this chapter, but that it is a de-
ed expression of sixteenth century energy hardly admits of doubt.

The Renaissance spirit in French literature

The case of Spanish literature, like that of Spanish art, is peculiar
no other reason than that we are disinclined to admit that Spain
at all touched by the Renaissance spirit. But as soon as we
ee that in Spain, too, the modern spirit found en-
nce, though always in subordination to certain domi-
t national ideas, we have smooth sailing ahead. The
at figure of Spanish letters is Cervantes (d. 1617), who
his romance of *Don Quixote* aimed a dart compact of
nor, satire, and pathos at the declining chivalry of the Middle
and drove it, a contemptible wraith, out of the world of living
n. Lope de Vega (d. 1632) and Calderon (d. 1681) devoted them-
es chiefly to the drama, which, in spite of the ever watchful
uisition, served as the outlet of a mental life remarkably alert
hin a narrow compass. Richer however, and of far wider range
n the Spanish drama was that of Spain's chief foeman, England.
the "spacious times of great Elizabeth" the English drama
ieved its full stature almost at a single leap. If it was Christopher
rlowe (d. 1593), who in such plays as *Tamberlane* and *Faustus*
sounded the majestic note to which the English stage was
ined to be keyed, it was William Shakespeare (d. 1616), who in
ncomparable succession of tragedies and comedies measured all
heights and depths of life. We are sometimes inclined to forget
Shakespeare made his appearance amidst a galaxy of lesser but

The Renaissance spirit in Spanish and English literature

still brilliant luminaries, such as Ben Jonson, Webster, and the usually inseparable collaborators, Beaumont and Fletcher. The English drama was therefore a general and national assertion of the love of life. But even while these singers were lifting their triumphant voices there slowly rose and gathered round them the somber mists prophetic of that Puritanic eclipse which in the succeeding generation blotted the theater from view and caused Shakespeare himself to become for a time hardly more than a myth. In England more sweepingly perhaps than anywhere else the Reformation, when it conquered, stifled that free and untrammeled self-expression which is the soul of art; but even in England the Puritanic righteousness proved only a phase which before the seventeenth century came to a close was already passing.

The Renaissance development of music: opera and oratorio

Another art, destined to become an especial glory of the Modern Age, owes much to the enlivening touch of the Renaissance, even though its origin and youth fell within the medieval period. Music is the daughter, certainly not the least noble, of the Catholic Church, and was developed, beginning as far back as the seventh century, in order to lend to the service of the Lord the solemn dignity of the organ and the moving expressiveness of the human voice. Its technical means, such as counterpoint and harmony, were so gradually perfected that it was not till the Italian, Palestrina, wrote (1565) his famous *Mass of Pope Marcellus* that ecclesiastical music attained the full command of its resources. A little earlier a development of another kind among the Protestants, under the direct inspiration of Luther, was destined to produce notable consequences, particularly in Germany. This was the publication (1524) of the first hymnal, a collection of admirably simple melodies for congregational singing. But at the very time that these new prospects opened to music in respectively the Catholic and the Protestant Churches the religious exclusiveness of this art, so long maintained, broke down. How could it have been otherwise in an age that lavished all its resources on its love of earthly and familiar things? Far and away the most important turn taken by music in the sixteenth century was that it was gradually appropriated as a vehicle for the common feelings of men and women in their purely human relations. It was characteristically in Italy that this broadening and secularizing were inaugurated by the invention of two new forms, the opera and the oratorio, the opera being conceived as a musical accompaniment to

trictly worldly tale and the oratorio as a tonal setting to a sacred eme embodying a spiritual conflict. While the oratorio, religiously pired, sought to retain an ecclesiastical connection, the opera nkly abandoned itself to entertainment. It was in the year 1600 at the first productions in both kinds saw the light, simple and itative sketches which in the subsequent decades were steadily borated. So great was the favor that both new forms, but es-cially the opera, elicited that they quickly established themselves roughout Europe. Even so, toward the middle of the seventeenth ntury the secular expansion of music had no more than begun. e great conquests of the art in the field both of technical equip-nt and of subject matter do not take place till the eighteenth and neteenth centuries. However, the step here indicated, taken under alian prompting, deserves to be set down since it opened still other path to the adventuring spirit of the modern man.

Owing to the undisputed preëminence of science in our time there e those who would be content to evalue the successive advances of stern civilization by the phases of this single factor. Although e application of so simple a measuring rod is not in cord with the views propounded in this book, we may mit that science is so determining a feature of our odern life that we must give the closest scrutiny to its folding through the centuries. Having learned that e scientific beginnings made in the Renaissance affected chiefly ography, medicine, and astronomy, we are prepared for further nquests, first of all, in these fields. Geography was particularly vored by the new outlook and activities. So continuously was it riched by the voyages of discovery that by the time of the Thirty ears' War the main land-masses of the earth had been located and eir contours determined with reasonable accuracy. As the car-grapher's art eagerly kept pace with these acquisitions of new aterial, Europeans enjoyed the advantage of maps and globuses of steadily improved quality. Presently a movement of specializa-on set in which has continued uninterruptedly down to our own y. The geographers found themselves in possession of such im-ense masses of information covering the plants, animals, and inerals of the different continents of the earth that their efforts at e mastery of their data necessarily led to the staking off of the lds of botany, zoölogy, and mineralogy. Many other studies, ch as chemistry and pharmacology, began to outline themselves

Progress in geography and the related sciences

and claim each one its own particular band of devotees. In this way an intensification of nature study, prompted by the abundance of new facts, was indicated in more refined subdivisions of knowledge, without however leading to the discovery of any great classificatory principles within the time embraced in this chapter.

Progress in surgery and physiology

The imposing anatomical advance, due to the practice of dissection and brought to a high level by the work of Vesalius, gave, as we are aware, medicine its first scientific foothold. The increased knowledge of body-structure redounded to the advantage, in the first instance, of the surgeons, as the case of the Frenchman, Ambrose Paré, would seem to prove. Living in the second half of the sixteenth century, Paré was enabled to publish a book (with illustrations), which, dealing with his actual practice in amputation, put the surgeon's art on a broad and promising basis. Before long anatomy stimulated the related study of physiology, where slow accumulations of discovery culminated at last in the notable disclosure made (1628) by Harvey, a London doctor, of the circulation of the blood. Fruitful as these advances were, they were slow to affect that department of medicine which is called therapy and deals with the actual treatment of disease. A stubborn traditionalism moved the physicians to cling to the remedies and procedures of the Greek authorities and accounts for the persistence of barbarous practices, such as cupping (blood-letting), which offer reasonable ground for the suspicion that the physicians were a leading cause of the disconcertingly high European death-rate.

Progress in mathematics

However, the really memorable and decisive advance made by science in this period was in astronomy and the related subjects of mathematics and physics. The bold achievement of Copernicus, of which we have already spoken, proved to be tremendously stimulating to the imagination. As the Copernican hypothesis needed for the confirmation of its propositions the support of mathematics, the work, already inaugurated in the fifteenth century, of recovering the mathematics of the Greeks and Arabs was continued until there had been completely mastered not only the geometry of Euclid but also the arithmetic and algebra invented by the Moslems. The incorporation in the Arab arithmetic of that ingenious device, the decimal system, made possible much more accurate calculations than had ever been dreamed of by the Greeks. On these borrowings, as a foundation, the Europeans proceeded to build up their own mathematical structure with the result

at by the middle of the seventeenth century they had greatly im-
oved upon the algebra and geometry of their teachers, besides add-
g wholly new tools to their resources such as logarithms and
gonometry.

When all is said it is the remarkable development of physics and
ronomy, the Siamese twins of science, which lends a particular
ter to this period; for out of the occupation with these fields came
at invaluable conquest, a scientific method, the applica- **Primacy of physics and astronomy**
n of which in later times to other fields has procured us
at amazing control of nature which is in our day our
ief pride. The main advances made are connected with the great
mes of Kepler and Galileo, the scientists, and Bacon and Descartes,
e philosophers. Not that this classification is to be taken too
erally, for the former pair had philosophic inclinations and the
ter were certainly concerned with natural science. In the seven-
nth century, when specialization of knowledge was just beginning,
one as yet dreamed of confining himself to a single type of study
d investigation. In respect, however, to the main contribution, on
e one hand, of Kepler and Galileo, and on the other, of Bacon and
scartes, their classification respectively as scientists and philoso-
ers is incontrovertible.

John Kepler (1571–1630), a German, was called at an early age
Prague, where the Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, had, at the
dding of the Emperor Rudolph II, created the most scientifically
uipped astronomical observatory then in the world. **Kepler and Galileo; birth of a scientific method**
fore long Kepler had elaborated the celebrated three
ws of planetary motion which bear his name and fittingly
mplete the system of Copernicus. It will serve our
rpose if we reduce these laws to the simple statement
at Kepler, taking advantage of the new mathematical resources,
oved that the planets describe not a circle but an ellipse around
e sun and that their distance from the sun is in a determinable
ationship to the time of their revolution. While the German
olar was making these discoveries, Galileo, an Italian, (1564–1642)
s carrying on experiments in physics which so fully established
command of a practicable scientific method that it could be
scribed and recommended to others. With Galileo science shook
the last medieval and ancient chains and stood forth like an
lete stripped and ready for the race. Galileo's most famous
hievement in the immediate realm of physics was his discovery

and formulation of the laws of falling bodies. That he invented or shared in inventing the telescope is hardly less interesting, since it shows that he was throughout his life concerned in perfecting mechanical devices capable of supplementing man's limited powers of observation. But his most valuable contribution was, as already noted, a scientific method of universal applicability in dealing with natural phenomena. Its outstanding parts or features are four in number: (1) observation brought to perfection by special training; (2) the isolation of phenomena in laboratories for the purpose of experimentation; (3) the appeal to precision instruments such as scales, barometer, telescope etc.; (4) the hypothesis as an avenue for penetrating into the unknown but conscientiously treated as merely a hypothesis until fully confirmed by the evidence. This method proved so fruitful and generally valid that it needed only to be refined in its details in order to revolutionize in the course of time the whole body of human knowledge. And indeed the enormous advance since the seventeenth century in our command of scientific fact may unhesitatingly be declared to have its source in the Galilean method.

In turning to the Englishman, Francis Bacon (1561–1624), we take up a many-sided man who, although he practised law and rose to the highest office under the king, the office of Lord Chancellor, remained animated all his life by a passionate interest in purely intellectual problems. To Bacon it became clear that the old method of treating human experience followed by the medieval philosophers and enjoying the weighty sanction of Aristotle, was essentially barren because it began with metaphysical assumptions, from which it descended to the particular phenomena of nature by a process of logical deduction. Instead of such an unprofitable subjection to general propositions, Bacon recommended in his *Novum Organum* that the searcher for knowledge begin modestly with his personal experience, that is, with the objects close at hand, in order, on the strength of accumulated instances, to rise at last to general conclusions. He advocated an inversion of the thinking process familiar to the logic of his age, the process of *deduction*, by the adoption of the *inductive* method. This was tantamount to the proposal slowly and patiently to accumulate minute evidence in the hope that the abundance of instances might stimulate Nature, as it were, to explain herself. That this was exactly what Galileo had been actually doing in his work in physics Bacon never even took the trouble to

Francis Bacon

arn, for he was a philosophical thinker rather than a professional ientist and therefore not abreast of the discoveries of his day. evertheless the advocacy by a Lord Chancellor of England of a w, the inductive method in the sciences — a method essentially at of Galileo — was enormously helpful in securing for it an authoritive standing among the intellectual classes of Europe.

The effect of the new discoveries in the world of nature together with e elaboration and adoption of a new method which could not be aved aside because it was so extraordinarily fruitful was to discredit e inherited medieval philosophy based on the articles of e Christian faith. Not that the truths of Christianity emselves became subject to doubt — for so fundamental a allenge the seventeenth century was not yet prepared — ut the old intellectual props hewn and set in place by e scholastic carpenters began to give way. In fact the time was pe for a new philosophy which would take account of the new scienfic data; and the significance of the Frenchman, Descartes, lies in the rcumstance that he was moved to act on this situation, thus fairly rning the title of the first modern philosopher. In distinction from s philosophical predecessors as well as from the theologians of his vn day, Descartes (1596–1650) based his philosophical system, the rpose of which was to explain the universe in accordance with ntemporary intellectual criteria, not on Christian revelation but on nat was to him simple, incontrovertible experience: *the reality of the dividual.* Of this reality Descartes claimed every man has ample surance on the strength of the simple proposition: *cogito ergo sum* think, therefore I am). On this (seeming) rock set in an uncertain a, he built up by the deductive resources of the human reason the sential truths of life, which, it was found, in no way quarreled with e recent discoveries of natural science. Since he boldly exalted ason, he was not so far removed from the despised scholastics as he ought, for they also had exalted it within its proper sphere; notwithanding it is certain that by frankly abandoning the basis of the old ilosophy and by detaching his system entirely from the dogmas of ith, which however he did not dream of disputing, he enabled ropean philosophy to keep abreast or nearly abreast of the movent of science.

Descartes and the birth of modern philosophy

We have seen that the agency which brought flux into the stationy medieval society was the town and that the town remained a ndamental phenomenon of the Renaissance. We have looked

into its commerce and industry and noticed how these activities, gradually multiplied, led, on the one hand, to the voyages of discovery and, on the other, to the more effective economic organization denoted by capitalism. That the urban movement was in any way halted by the spirit of the Reformation would be ridiculous to pretend. The contrary is clearly indicated by the fact that it was the towns which chiefly took up the Reformation, largely no doubt because this movement, especially in its Calvinistic form, favored the increased power of the townsmen by transferring the control of religion from the ancient order of the clergy to themselves. The towns, meaning particularly the leaders of trade and industry, the burghers, rose throughout the period here under consideration to an ever-expanding importance.

The Reformation largely a town movement

In turning to the vast social-economic changes, which belong to the Reformation period and chiefly turn about the towns, we may profitably look first at the colonial movement. As a result of the conditions under which the oceanic discoveries took place, only two European states succeeded, in the first instance, in building up colonial empires, Spain and Portugal. First on the ground, they actually succeeded for a time in their plan of dividing the new world between them. From their earliest fortified outposts in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru, the Spanish adventurers, supported by the armed power of their government, radiated in every direction until the vast area lying between the Gulf of Mexico and the southern tip of South America was substantially in their hands. They settled at important points bodies of their own people sufficient not only to keep the natives in subjection but also to assimilate them gradually to Spanish speech and culture. While Emperor Charles V and his son, Philip II, were with an enormous political and military apparatus asserting their primacy in Europe, their Spanish subjects, a picturesque company of sea-rovers, soldiers of fortune, gold-seekers, and adventurers of every sort, laid the foundations of an empire beyond the Atlantic, beside which the mother-country shrunk to Lilliputian dimensions. In sharp contrast to this territorial empire, Portugal, which the momentum supplied by Prince Henry the Navigator and his successors had carried steadily eastward, was content with a purely commercial enterprise. It claimed and held as its own the fortified route around the Cape of Good Hope to India and the Spice Islands (Moluccas), and by the

The colonial empires of Spain and Portugal

ercise of a jealous monopoly of the rich oriental trade harvested ormous profits. True, by planting a chain of settlements along the azil coast, the kingdom engaged also in the territorial game of ain and no doubt particularly annoyed its larger neighbor by cing a wedge between the northern and southern settlements of anish South America. Though trouble often threatened between e two Iberian rivals, it was in general avoided by each sticking to own vast and well-marked zone. Besides, for a period of sixty ars (1580–1640) Portugal was absorbed by Spain and all rivalry s suspended. And when, in 1640, the smaller state reasserted its dependence, the European situation had become so profoundly ered that, instead of Portugal and Spain crossing swords with each ner, the two declining kingdoms had their hands full defending eir too vast possessions against the youthful impertinence of the glish, French, and Dutch.

It was in the days of Philip II that the colonial monopoly so long aintained by the Spaniards and Portuguese began to give way. The o countries owed the control which they had exercised to their erwhelming sea-power, and when this broke down — the lure (1588) of the Invincible Armada supplies us with approximate date — the English, Dutch, and French re prompt to take advantage of the discomfiture of eir Iberian antagonists, rolled into one since 1580 by cession of Philip II of Spain to the Portuguese throne. e problem for the three assailants was to penetrate her into the Portuguese sphere of the east or into the Spanish here of the west in order to seize and, if possible, keep a firm hold whatever of value came to hand. As the Dutch were fighting for eir lives with Philip, it is not surprising that they gleefully took the d in this invasion. Behind them followed the English and behind e English the French, slowed up by their disastrous civil wars, ich were not wholly terminated till the days of Cardinal Richelieu. With sound commercial logic the Dutch threw themselves first on the oriental trade, in which they had long been interested since, ough the spices were brought in Portuguese bottoms to Lisbon, they re distributed over Europe from the Netherlands, notably from twerp. In the first phase of Dutch expansion numerous mer-ant-adventurers made their way into Asiatic waters in competition h one another and at their own risk; but when this was found to d to disorder and even mutual destruction, the Dutch government

The Dutch, English and French break down the Spanish-Portuguese colonial monopoly

consolidated the various existing enterprises, issued a charter to them under the name of the Dutch East India Company (1602), and promised the company all the naval protection in its power.

The Dutch build up a world trade and a colonial empire

Shortly after, the Dutch fleet drove the Portuguese navy from the waters of the eastern archipelago and at the same time cleared the paths of the Atlantic by administering a signal defeat to the Spanish navy near Gibraltar. By these two victories the Dutch acquired an effective, though constantly challenged, mastery of the oriental route and bit by bit picked up the Portuguese posts and commerce in the Far East. Not content with this triumph, they presently organized (1621) a Dutch West India Company which, while cruelly raiding the Spanish settlements in America, won its greatest glory in wresting, though only for a time, a part of Brazil from its Portuguese masters. Nor was this all. Taking advantage of a North American claim which owed its origin to a voyage, under Dutch auspices, of the famous seaman, Henry Hudson, the West India Company promoted colonial enterprise along the majestic American river to which Hudson had given his name, and in 1626 founded, on the strategic island of Manhattan, the settlement of New Amsterdam. In a word, the Dutch roamed the Seven Seas and when, at the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, their republic achieved its unqualified independence, it had also reached the acme of its power, for it had supplanted Spain as mistress of the seas and created a carrying trade which brought the Dutch flag to every known port and made the Dutch metropolis, Amsterdam, the focus of the world's commerce.

Aware of the potentialities of the eastern trade, Queen Elizabeth had chartered (1600), two years before its Dutch rival, an English East India Company; but the Dutch pursued their opportunities with more unflagging vigor and, having ousted the Portuguese from the East Indies, refused to split their profits with their neighbors from across the channel. Successful in crowding both the English and French competition out of the islands where the spices chiefly grow, they organized them as their exclusive dominion with the capital at Batavia on the island of Java. The English East India Company and, later, a similar French concern were obliged to give up the East Indies as a field of exploitation and to content themselves with edging their way into the Portuguese trade with the Asiatic mainland, more particularly with India. In this way they

The English and French East India companies deflected to the mainland (India)

adually built up the respective Indian interests which in the ghteenth century came into fatal conflict.

The successful preëmption of the eastern spice trade by the Dutch rsuaded England and France to compensate themselves by turning stward. They were the more readily persuaded to this course ce they had already in the age of discoveries established gue claims to the certain coast areas of North America d since, further, the still powerful arm of Spain hardly erfered with projects so far north of actual Spanish erests. With the new, the seventeenth century the o powers at last seriously set themselves the task of securing some rt of the American shore for colonial development under their spices. As though propelled by a secret impulse, both moved nost simultaneously. In 1608 the great explorer, Champlain, nded Quebec as the first permanent settlement of France in the w World and by this act staked off the huge basin of the St. Lawce as prospective French territory. The year before a company English adventurers, chartered by James, King of Great Britain, d cast anchor off the mouth of a river, which in their sovereign's nor they called the James, while to the settlement they planted on river they gave the name of Jamestown. During the difficult riod when this colony was engaged in getting a firm foothold on rginian soil, King James's persecution, in the interest of the glican Church, of the radical Protestants called Puritans, assumed re serious proportions and drove many of them to consider the visability of deserting their native land. In 1620 a small vessel, *Mayflower*, brought the first group of these exiles to the inspitable shore of Massachusetts, where amidst incredible hardps they established the colony of Plymouth. From these two nder beginnings, Jamestown and Plymouth, there came a relaely rapid development which secured to the English ever new tions of the coast. Inevitably the continued extension of English onial enterprise would sooner or later lead to a clash with the tch settlement at Manhattan as well as with French posts disouted along the St. Lawrence. If during the early formative riod, here considered, the conflict was avoided, it was none the less tain that a future age would ring with a colonial struggle of the ee vigorous northern nations with one another as well as with ir oldest competitor, Spain, provided with more territory than it ld properly utilize.

France and England establish themselves in North America

From the colonial expansion here rapidly indicated there flowed tremendous consequences for Europe, some of which must be imperatively enumerated. Most immediately apparent was a change in the goods brought to the European market. What Europe had in the Renaissance chiefly got from the orient was spices, silks, and objects of art which, essentially luxuries, were neither heavy nor of great bulk. As soon as the European ship made an unbroken journey from India, it became possible, on the one hand, to import such quantities of spices that their price was reduced sufficiently to bring them within the reach of the common man, and, on the other hand, to carry bulky goods like rice, sugar, tea, and coffee. Gradually these articles of consumption, unknown in the older, simpler days, became so firmly incorporated in the European diet that, taking rank almost as necessities, the demand for them experienced an unbroken increase. As compared with these cherished eastern or Asiatic articles, the western products furnish by America were at first few. In fact the gold and silver of the mines of Mexico and Peru constituted for a long time the only notable importation, although sugar from the West Indies became an item as soon as the transfer of African slaves to the American soil secured a reliable supply of plantation labor. From approximately the beginning of the seventeenth century tobacco, which with the more useful, if not more esteemed, potato represents the most famous contribution from America's native herbarium to European civilization, leaped into prominence, and in measure as Europeans acquired the tobacco habit, led to a greater and ever greater import trade.

Effect of colonial trade on European diet and habits

American gold and silver, if indicative of a rather undiversified stream of commerce, had at least the startling effect of setting European economy almost on its head. The continent was only just emerging from the system of barter and exchange in kind, and the sudden influx of specie greatly hastened the decline of this primitive system. It did more. Flowing in great quantities into Europe, especially after the middle of the sixteenth century, exactly like any other over-produced commodity it declined in value, causing a rapid appreciation of all articles of use measured in terms of money. No one could remember that any such amazing inflation had ever occurred before. Having not yet taught themselves to think scientifically about economic processes, men were a good deal dazed and manifested considerable

Influx of bullion and revolution of prices

cial unrest, specially among the lower orders, until in response to inevitable adjustment, wages had been advanced sufficiently meet the increased cost of living. All these phenomena taken gether — the new quantity wares from the east, the influx of merican bullion, the more general use of money in place of barter d services, the universal rise in prices — have been often repre-nted as constituting a Commercial Revolution coincident with the vasion of Asia and America. It is a serviceable suggestion, pro-ded we are not led to regard the Commercial Revolution of the xteenth century so much in the light of an isolated event as a rfectly natural consequence of the tremendous economic reorganiza-on inaugurated in the Renaissance and signalized preëminently the advent of capitalism.

In treating of capitalism in its Renaissance phase we noted that was heralded by such outstanding features as these: the coming the merchant-adventurer and the merchant company; the break-wn of medieval town economy by reason of a growing dominance of the national and world market; and the dissolution or at least weakening of the gild system. All these tendencies continued to make themselves felt in the era of e Reformation, strengthened and accelerated by the contemporary ommercial Revolution. Manifestly the waxing trans-oceanic ade conducted by merchant-adventurers would cause this class d the trading and banking companies through which they operated bulk more largely than ever in the daily affairs of men. The pital which they commanded grew by leaps and bounds. If the edici of Florence represented the richest company of the last lf of the fifteenth century with resources equivalent in our money about $8,000,000, they were in the first half of the sixteenth ntury completely outstripped by the Fuggers of Augsburg, who erated with a capital calculated at about $40,000,000. While ese latter formidable figures reflect the larger dimensions of the eformation world, they do much more since they also attest that e center of world trade and finance had moved across the Alps to uthern Germany. Before the middle of the sixteenth century it ifted again, this time to the Netherland seaboard and, more par-cularly, to Antwerp. This Flemish city, favorably located on the heldt, at a point where important river, sea, and land routes con-rged, assumed around 1550 an unchallenged trade primacy until, ward the end of the sixteenth century, it suffered an eclipse

Growth of capitalist enterprises

through its conquest at the hands of Alexander of Parma (1585). It was then replaced by the near-by Dutch metropolis of Amsterdam, to be succeeded in its turn, but not within the period here considered, by London.

By the time business had reached the development indicated by the ascendancy of Antwerp and Amsterdam, the form in which the original merchant-companies had been cast was found to be no longer serviceable. The old companies had been a family partnership, which, subject to sudden dissolution through death or withdrawal, lacked that security and permanence which capital instinctively covets. To replace the family partnership there was invented the joint stock company, which, based on negotiable shares, secured continuous operation and was entrusted to a manager of outstanding business talent chosen by a board of directors. After 1600 all the great trading companies, as, for instance, the Dutch and English East India Companies, were joint stock concerns. The negotiability of shares gave birth to that eminently modern institution, the stock exchange, while the small size of the individual shares made it possible for men with even trifling savings to become stock-holders and so contribute their part toward turning the mills of capitalism.

New organization of business; the Joint Stock Company

By the first half of the seventeenth century it had become clear that it was the Dutch, the English, and, to a somewhat less extent, the French, who were taking full advantage of the new economic developments. The Latin countries, Italy, Spain and Portugal, had been left behind, as was also the case with Teutonic Germany, where fatal divisions precipitated the destructive Thirty Years' War and almost wiped the nation off the earth. It is therefore to the group of three powers around the English Channel and the North Sea that we must turn if we would study at close range the economic aspect of the most advanced section of European society. Here capitalism had become most firmly rooted, and here a body of men, called burghers in Holland, bourgeoisie in France, and middle or upper middle class in England, came to the front, who, no longer merchant-adventurers of the earlier type but increasingly specialized as wholesalers, bankers, and shippers, handled all business of a national and international character, employed thousands of clerks, seamen, stevedores, and other laborers, and wielded a tremendous, if indefinable, social influence. That this could at need be converted

Growing control of the business element in England, France, and Holland

o political power was conclusively proved first, in the case of the itch Republic and afterwards, during the Puritan Revolution, in gland. In the following century, in the great upheaval of 1789, was also proved in France. That the established governments the three countries under consideration would not find it easy, h their lingering feudal and ecclesiastical traditions, to adjust mselves to the demands of the rising business class was no more an to be expected. The point to note is that in every instance y either came to terms with the representatives of capital or ed to see themselves overthrown by revolutionary action.

But let us guard against exaggerating the importance either economic or political of the "big" business men. They were in the enteenth century still in process of formation and from long habit ked upon themselves as inferior to the landed gentry. Besides, the landed gentry often possessed a political perience which the bourgeoisie lacked. And the men "big" business faced another, by no means insignificant al in the "little" business men (shopkeepers and craftsn) organized in the gilds. To the new men, the great rchants and capitalists, the gilds with their charters, their privies, and their regulations touching every phase of production and e, represented so many economic shackles which would have to got rid of if enterprise was ever to become free. The masters and ier beneficiaries of the gilds, however, wished to retain the system d were everywhere influential enough to gain their point with the gle exception of England. In England alone the free contract tem came into vogue and gradually reduced the gilds to hollow lls. By the new system, also called the *domestic* or *putting-out* tem, the capitalist gained control by buying the raw product, let say, wool, and *putting it out* among workmen on terms mutually eptable. Plainly such workers, though owning their tools and lizing their homes as a workshop, were wage-earners, much reced from the status and dignity of medieval gildsmen. But as new system, because conducted by trained and responsible cialists, produced more and cheaper goods than the gild system h its conservative attachment to time-hallowed methods and h its elaborate restrictive regulations, it was destined to win out erywhere, though in the seventeenth century it was victorious only England. The advantage gradually acquired by England over the tinent in all departments of manufacture (an advantage patent

England replaces the gilds with the capitalist system of production

even to casual observers by the eighteenth century) must be ascribed to the virtues of the new system, which put at the disposal of the English capitalists a mass of free labor entirely unprotected by the gild or any other form of workingman organization. On the continent, in sharp contrast to England, the gild system, although showing many evidences of dissolution, continued to weigh upon production until the coming of that hurricane called the French Revolution, which, destructive to so many vested interests, shook also to the ground the long since hollow edifice of the gilds.

The Europe of the seventeenth century, dedicated to the rapid multiplication of wealth and dominated increasingly by the middle classes, continued to be constantly and terribly devastated by wars, the immediate effect of which was to destroy wealth and to deliver authority into the hands of professional soldiers. Here was a striking anomaly which would not fail to trouble the middle and intellectual classes, chiefly identified with the forward movement of civilization; and, as might be expected, they raised their voices in moving lament over the political disorganization which kept the sword of Damocles suspended over the unfolding and promising society of their time. While they were ready to admit that an advance had been made by the development of treaties of peace and commerce constituting a growing body of international law,[1] they were distressed to discover that the international system proved so little effective. Undeniably it had a makeshift character and often crumbled suddenly and without warning because it rested on no principle of right enjoying a general European recognition. The first step to formulate such a universal principle was taken by Hugo Grotius.

War a permanent feature of European civilization

Grotius (1583–1645) was a Dutchman identified by birth and interest with that burgherdom which had beaten the might and majesty of Spain. A philosophical and legal thinker of rare genius, he was enabled to transcend his class and nation and to raise himself to a level from which he could survey Europe as a whole and ponder its mutually destructive rivalries. Thus prompted to broad thinking, he took over from the ideology of the Middle Age the concept of a united Christian society living in peace and concord. That leading school of humanists which claimed Erasmus as its head had championed the same dream. But since both the medieval and

Grotius and the modern revival of international law

[1] See p. 89.

ısmian programs were to be realized through the authority of the versal Church, they had with the Reformation, if not already h the Renaissance, become utterly impracticable. For, let us in remind ourselves, as soon as Europe had abandoned the dieval transcendentalism and turned to earth and man, it set lf the task of elaborating a worldly type of civilization which ıld refuse to accept revelation and the Bible as the basis and supposition of international amity. The formulation of a new is in better accord with the modern outlook on life is the merit Grotius's famous work, *De jure belli et pacis*, published in 1625. chief proposition is that there exists behind the appearances ng the foreground of experience an immutable law of nature, to ch all men are subject and which, so far as the relations among es are concerned, operates as the law of nations. Grotius was tious about drawing conclusions of too sweeping a nature from doctrine but he did envisage a European and even a world ety, the constitutive units of which pursued their ends in mutual pearance on the basis of a universally valid system of natural ıts. In the eyes of the great jurist these natural rights were the ral counterpart of the body of physical laws discovered by the onomers from Copernicus to Galileo and equally binding and scapable. Reducing his achievement to its simplest terms, we y say that Grotius attempted to provide a modern and generally eptable sanction for those longings of unity and concord which been eclipsed but not extinguished with the passing of the ideas institutions of the Middle Age. The mere proposal of a new ction was an important step forward; but let us in this connec- observe that "just measure" extolled by the Greek philosophers agree that, in spite of a general and unbinding theoretical eptance, the new principle of natural rights did little toward ging Europe to a practical realization of fraternal living. So ıt at all times has been the chasm yawning between the visaged l and the hard and cruel facts of life!

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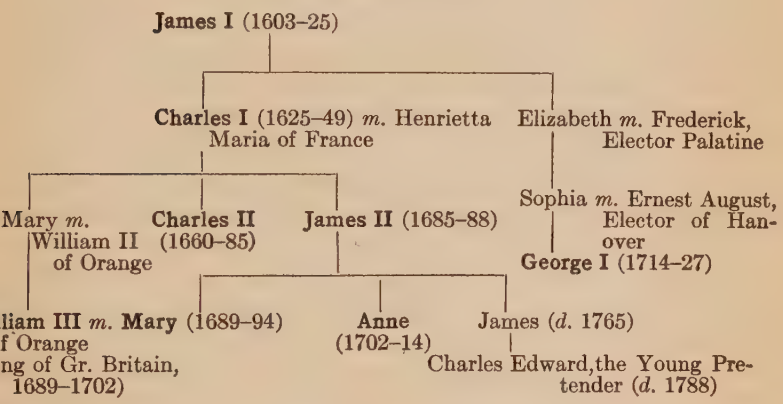
SECTION III

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY FROM 1648 TO 1789

CHAPTER XIII

THE STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

The House of Stuart


James I (1603–25)
Charles I (1625–49) m. Henrietta Maria of France
Elizabeth m. Frederick, Elector Palatine
Mary m. William II of Orange
Charles II (1660–85)
James II (1685–88)
Sophia m. Ernest August, Elector of Hanover
George I (1714–27)
liam III m. Mary (1689–94)
f Orange
ng of Gr. Britain, 1689–1702)
Anne (1702–14)
James (d. 1765)
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender (d. 1788)

When Elizabeth died in March, 1603, she was succeeded by the
of Mary Stuart, who had been king of Scotland almost from
birth under the name of James VI and who figures among English
narchs as the first of that name. James's accession **The Scottish king becomes king of England** ened the prospect of that union between England and otland for which several far-sighted statesmen begin- g with Henry VII had carefully prepared the ground. wever, the plan still encountered opposition. So deep- ted were the long-standing antagonisms and jealousies of the two ions that they refused to consolidate their institutions and for- nes, though James himself gave his ardent adhesion to the project. consequence, Scotland kept its own parliament, laws, and officials, l the accession of James did little more for the present than give gland and Scotland a common sovereign.

It was unfortunate that at a time when the sovereign exercised enormous power the crown should have descended to such a man as James. He had an ungainly figure, a shuffling gait, distasteful personal habits, and was obstinate, weak, and cowardly. A person less royal to look upon had not sat upon the English throne in many a century. He had crammed himself with a considerable stock of knowledge which had not matured into wisdom and which his vanity prompted him to exhibit on every occasion in order to hear himself acclaimed by the flattering courtiers as the British Solomon. His display of pedantic information brought down upon him from Henry IV of France the remark that he was the wisest fool of Christendom.

Character of James

All this would have merely exposed him to more or less amiable ridicule if he had not made himself really dangerous by holding the most exaggerated idea of his royal office. It was he who first carried into English political discussion the theory of the Divine Right of kings. The English constitution, which was the product of custom and certain specific enactments like Magna Charta, vested the government in king and parliament. While the king was undoubtedly the head of the state, the parliament had exercised a considerable, though varying amount of control. During the Tudor period its rights and claims had considerably declined; but it was highly probable that they would be brought forward again the moment the sovereign lost touch with the nation. And that is exactly what happened under James. Not content with the *substance* of absolutism inherited by him from the Tudors, he craved its open acknowledgment and asserted his claims in terms so boundless that he seemed almost to be set on rousing opposition. On one occasion he edified his hearers with the following typical pronouncement: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." The Tudors, as has been said, held this identical theory; but they came at the time of a great national crisis and acted in the main in close accord with the people. Should the first Stuart undertake to act against the people and their real or supposed interests, it might well be that he would find his power challenged and the nation prepared to fall back on that older conception of the role of parliament which the Tudor absolutism had supplanted. This is the precise turn James brought about, thereby precipitating a struggle between

His conception of his office

nself and his people destined to put an end to the "strong" mon-chy of the Tudors and to inaugurate a parliamentary régime.

The accession of James occurred amid circumstances which gured a happy reign. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had aced the independence of England beyond question, and subse-ent events on the sea and in the Netherlands had so akened Spain as to remove all danger from that arter. In consequence, James wisely enough nego-ted with Spain a treaty of peace (1604). In domestic airs the chief interest revolved around the Anglican urch established by Elizabeth on the basis of the Acts of Suprem-y and Uniformity (1559). By the time of her death her creation d acquired an air of permanence. The Catholics were a waning wer and the Puritans, influenced but not yet dominated by Cal-nism, demanded certain concessions, based chiefly on their aversion the surplice, kneeling in service, and similar externals. It must remembered that they were as yet, in overwhelming majority, endly to the national Establishment, accepted the religious head-ip of the sovereign and the episcopal form of government, and erely advocated the simplification or purification, as they called of divine service. If James would know how to conciliate them, e religious troubles of England might be accounted as over.

The foreign and domestic situation at James's accession

But James did not know how to conciliate them. Shortly after his cession, in 1604, he called a religious conference at Hampton urt for the purpose of discussing a Puritan document, called the llenary Petition from the fact that almost a thousand rgymen had given their adhesion to it. Unfortunately lost his temper during the debate and flared up wildly against the itioners. He declared that they were the enemies of episcopacy which was not yet the case — and affirmed with unnecessary phasis that that system of church government had his unwaver-support. His personal spite becomes explicable when we re-mber that he had been brought up in Scotland, where he had de the acquaintance of the Presbyterian system, by which the urch was withdrawn from the control of the king and bishops and t in the hands of the ministers and the people. Having made pleasing discovery that in England the sovereign ruled the church ough the bishops, he was jealously on the lookout against the portation of Presbyterian ideas. He went the length of identify-episcopacy with monarchy and formulated his opinion in the

James and the Puritans

epigrammatic assertion, "No bishop, no king." [illegible] n the unjustified assumption that the English Puritans were Scotch Presbyterians in disguise, he dismissed the Millenary petitioners gruffly and shortly after issued a proclamation ordering every clergyman who refused to meet exactly and literally the prescriptions of the Book of Common Prayer to be removed from his living. In this way the king made it clear that, instead of conciliating the Puritans, he intended to drive them from the church.

Toward the Catholics, whom James to his credit regarded with a tolerance much in advance of his time, he initiated a temperate but unsuccessful policy. He began by lightening some of their burdens of persecution, but when, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon him by his Protestant subjects, he faltered in his resolution, a group of disappointed and desperate Catholics resolved to destroy the whole Protestant government — king, Lords, and Commons — by one gigantic stroke. They heaped gunpowder in barrels in the cellars beneath the parliament buildings and set November 5, 1605 — the day of the opening in state of a new session — for the monstrous crime. Suspicion, however, had been awakened by hints thrown out by some of the conspirators; and luckily, on the eve of the planned disaster, Guy Fawkes, the hardiest of the conspirators, was discovered keeping watch among the explosives. While he and his associates were hunted down and executed with all the barbarity characteristic of the period, a much more regrettable consequence of the plot was that the English people were confirmed in that intense distrust and hatred of the Catholic faith which long remained the leading article of their religious and political creed.

The gunpowder plot, 1605

Such was the relation of James to the religious question — the ritualistic wing of the national Church was vigorously sustained, the Puritan or reform wing was opposed and actively repressed, and the Catholics, not without a decent reluctance, were persecuted and crushed. However, the religious situation might of itself not have provoked a crisis, if James had not created a second difficulty by antagonizing his parliament. To understand this new development we have but to recall to mind that to the practical absolutism of the Tudors he wished to give the force of theory and of law.

James and the parliament

The quarrel began almost immediately. James needed money, partly for legitimate reasons due to the mounting costs of govern-

ent, partly because he was extravagant. The required revenues d, of course, to be voted by parliament, and if that body had en managed after the Tudor fashion, it might have granted supplies readily as in the days of Henry or Elizabeth. But **The question of the finances** nes's talk about a monarch being above the law had oused suspicion and moved the parliament to ask in urn for a redress of grievances. The king, thereupon, in a huff, gan to help himself to funds by arbitrarily increasing the imposi- ns on certain articles of import and export. Undoubtedly the ality of the measure was open to question. When a merchant, med Bate, refused to pay the imposition on a consignment of rants from the Near East, he was tried and sentenced by the lges. Thus, technically, James triumphed, but the victory only ded a limited amount to his revenue, did not settle his financial ficulties, and exasperated the parliament so greatly that it epared to oppose every demand, reasonable or unreasonable, ich the king might make. On the angered James dissolving one rliament, he found its successor still more unwilling to bow to his tation. Out of what was originally a simple matter of supplying venue for the crown's legitimate outlay had grown by James's rogance and tactlessness an issue, at the core of which was e all-important question as to who had the last say in matters of xation: king or parliament.

Over impositions and related revenue issues James quarrelled with parliament throughout his reign, with the result of an increasing tation on both sides. In the year 1621 the wrath of the Com- ns reached the point of a savage attack on the whole **Impeachment of Bacon, 1621** ministration, culminating in the impeachment of the hest official of the realm, the Lord Chancellor. This s none other than the philosopher, Francis Bacon, one of the atest Englishmen of the period. By taking fees from suitors ile their cases were still pending in his court, he had become hnically guilty of bribery. His excuse was that the acceptance gifts was a long-established custom of his office, but with a dis- ning candor he avowed that the practice was indefensible. "I eech your Lordships," he added, "to be merciful to a broken d." Bacon was fined and dismissed from office, the sentence ng declared by himself "just, and for reformation's sake fit"; he would not have been attacked at all if the parliament had been set on vicariously striking the king through his leading cial and intimate political adviser.

Bacon's trial took the form of an impeachment, in itself an ominous sign that the parliament was raising its claims as the best answer to the king's attempt to exalt his own position. Impeachment was a means by which, in earlier times, the parliament had exercised control over the king's advisers, but which had become obsolete under the Tudors, when the humbled parliament was obliged to abandon all influence upon the royal ministers. Its revival at this juncture meant that the parliament was furbishing up the old weapons with which it had once held the monarchy in check. An impeachment was a somewhat complicated process. The house of Commons appeared at the bar of the house of Lords to present to it the offender against the commonwealth, and the house of Lords, after listening to the charges, declared them founded or unfounded and pronounced sentence accordingly. The significance of the impeachment of Bacon was not lost upon James, who vaguely divined that a serious struggle was at hand.

The revival of impeachment

The unpopularity caused by his harsh treatment of the Puritans and his violent quarrel with the parliament was increased by the foreign policy of James. We have remarked that shortly after his accession he had concluded peace with Spain. His general program was to further the cause of religious peace in Europe by maintaining a close relationship with his late enemy. But such a policy, creditable to his Christian temper, would depend for its success on Spain's willingness to meet him half-way. The test came in the year 1618. In that year occurred the Bohemian incident which led to the Thirty Years' War. James was interested in the struggle from the first not only because Protestantism had once more locked horns with Catholicism, but also more immediately because Frederick of the Palatinate, elected king of the Protestant faction of Bohemia, had married his daughter Elizabeth. None the less James looked feebly on when Frederick was driven from Bohemia; and only when Frederick was expelled from the Palatinate, too, was the British sovereign roused sufficiently to make an appeal to Spain to help restore his son-in-law to his inheritance. That power was delighted to find him so docile, made temporizing proposals, but too thoroughly approved of the Catholic success in Germany to do anything to check it.

James's foreign policy

Thus matters dragged on until the year 1623, when the young and handsome duke of Buckingham, who was the king's all-powerful favorite, proposed to take a last step to bind Spain to England in a

se alliance and to secure the settlement of the Palatinate question thout war. He developed the plan of a secret journey with arles, the prince of Wales, to Madrid in order to take the Spanish urt, as it were, by storm. By an impetuous attack he ped to persuade it to affiance the Spanish Infanta to the glish heir and at the same time to sign the desired aty of alliance. It was a plan as hare-brained as it s impolitic, but James, teased and wheedled by the o young men, at last gave his blessing to the enterprise. After ny adventures Charles and Buckingham arrived at Madrid, but ir reception was very different from what they had anticipated, d their hosts, although scrupulously polite, met them with eva- n at every point. Utterly disgusted, they came back resolved to ak with the king's timid policy. James was vigorously plied till consented to essay the reconquest of the Palatinate by war. ough the parliament voted supplies, the monies were insufficient d the expedition, entrusted to a German adventurer, Count nsfeld, proved a disastrous failure. In the midst of these fresh ficulties, the distracted king died (March, 1625).

Charles and Buckingham journey to Madrid

REIGN OF CHARLES I (1625–1649)

The new king, Charles I, was outwardly very unlike his father. s face, familiar to us from Van Dyck's many portraits of the glish royal family, was handsome and his manner gly. Unfortunately he was liberally endowed with Stuart traits of perversity and obstinacy and shared his father's ggerated views of the royal prerogative.

Charles I

The two main difficulties created by James bore immediate and ngerous fruit in the new reign. By antagonizing the Puritans nes had driven them into open opposition to the national Church d by quarreling with parliament he had raised the estion as to who controlled taxation. Determined to ow in his father's footsteps, Charles succeeded in an redibly short time in arousing such opposition to him- that the Commons, who had been servilely docile der Elizabeth and had, even while protesting, been deeply re- ctful under James, plainly put the question: Who was sovereign England, parliament or king?

Charles continues to antagonize Puritans and parliament

Shortly after his accession Charles married Henrietta Maria, a

sister of Louis XIII of France. This marriage with a Catholic, extremely unpopular on its own account, was rendered doubly so by the suspicion, only too well founded, that Charles had entered upon an agreement with Louis to relax the penal laws against the English Catholics. When parliament assembled, it showed immediately signs of restlessness, and presently grew still more excited on discovering that a small party of churchmen, closely associated with the court, was advocating views that savored of Romanism. Not only did they defend an elaborate, ritualistic service but they also attacked some of the teachings of Calvin and in particular the doctrine of predestination. As the king felt the same way about these matters, he naturally gravitated toward them, while they for their part adhered to his theory of the royal prerogative. To the Puritans, whose fervor and numbers were steadily increasing, such an association looked very much like the alliance of popery and tyranny. Maintaining that the Church of England was, in point of doctrine, Calvinist, they permitted themselves to be carried away by their feelings to the point of declaring that the High Church advocates were innovators embarked on a dark intrigue to carry England back to Rome. Heatedly opposed to Charles on ecclesiastical grounds, the Puritans naturally joined forces with those individuals and groups who resented his political claims; and thus it came about that the absolutist and High Church parties had no sooner united than the two oppositions, Puritan and parliamentarian, fused in their turn. Under this alignment Charles's tumultuous reign began; and under it, after fierce and prolonged controversy, the country plunged disastrously into civil war.

The rising tide of Protestant fervor

In view of the strained relations between king and parliament, it is intelligible why the parliament took a most unusual course with regard to the chief revenue of the crown, called Tonnage and Poundage. Tonnage and Poundage was the name given to the customs dues on wines and merchandise commonly voted at the beginning of each reign for the whole period of the sovereign's life. Partly from occupation with other business, partly from desire to bring pressure to bear upon the king, the parliament now failed to make the usual life grant; but Charles, who could not well carry on the government without Tonnage and Poundage, continued, through his officials, to collect it.

Tonnage and Poundage

With the heavens darkening over him by reason of these domestic infelicities, Charles invited additional criticism by his extraordinary

smanagement of foreign affairs. The war with Spain furnished e occasion. Since it was he who had forced it on his father, he s bent on prosecuting it with vigor. Inclined to give him sup-rt, for the war with Catholic Spain was popular, the rliament did, however, expect that the money which granted would be spent in giving the Spaniards a sound ating. But Charles, with his customary lack of insight, trusted the conduct of the war to the duke of Buck-gham, his father's favorite and his own; and the duke of Bucking-m, a handsome, dashing, and romantically minded individual un-for weighty affairs of state, reaped nothing but disaster. We have eady noted that the first campaign, aimed at the immediate object contention, the Palatinate, was a complete failure. Nothing unted, Buckingham resolved to level a blow directly at Spain by expedition to Cadiz. It ended in an ignominious retreat (1625). ereupon the Commons refused to make additional grants until e blundering duke had been removed; and as the king resented as impertinence the attempt to dictate to him his policy and his visers and angrily dissolved (1626) the parliament, the threatening adlock became definite.

Disastrous management of the war with Spain

In the year 1627 matters grew worse. The king, not content with e unsuccessful war with Spain, allowed himself to be dragged into nflict with France in behalf of the French Huguenots, who were ing besieged by Richelieu in La Rochelle. As the Hu-enots were hard pressed and there was no other way of tting money for a rescuing expedition, Charles adopted a perilous vice: he asked first for voluntary gifts; and when the nation led adequately to respond, he levied a forced loan. When citizens uld not pay their quota, he quartered troops upon them, and in der to spread a general terror, threw some of the more conspicuous alcitrants into prison. Not only were these measures dangerous, t the sums thus extorted brought no blessing. A relief expedition ich sailed for La Rochelle under Buckingham failed as miserably the attack upon Cadiz, with the discouraging total result that sh disgrace was added to the ignominy already incurred in the r with Spain.

War with France

The new parliament, which Charles, hard pressed for supplies, s obliged to call in 1628, was amply justified in its outbreak of ath against the government. Before granting another penny, it isted that the wrongs of the nation be redressed, and in a docu-

ment called the Petition of Right it enumerated the most outstanding grievances. The Petition of Right declared gifts, loans, and taxes not voted by parliament illegal; it insisted that no freeman should be imprisoned without cause shown; and it condemned the use of martial law in times of peace as well as the quartering of troops upon householders. As there was no other way of getting money, the king had to swallow the bitter morsel. The Petition of Right, celebrated as a renewal of Magna Charta, was accepted by him and became the law of the land (June, 1628).

The Petition of Right

Unfortunately the Petition of Right did not settle all questions at issue between sovereign and legislature. In the first place Charles continued to collect Tonnage and Poundage, although it had not yet been voted, on the ground that it belonged to the sovereign by right of custom. Secondly, he persisted in showering favors upon the High Church element and in supporting the obnoxious Buckingham. Proof of the unassuaged hatred engendered by the party strife was offered soon enough. While a new expedition to La Rochelle was being prepared at Portsmouth, a fanatic patriot, John Felton by name, assassinated the hated duke (August, 1628). Though deeply shocked by the murder, the king did not for a moment swerve from a policy for which he was passionately enlisted.

Murder of Buckingham

The parliament had no sooner met in the following year (1629) than it reopened the combat. Vehemently the members complained that the king was collecting Tonnage and Poundage, though the duty had not been voted; and they were no less wroth at his continued support of the ritualistic churchmen. In mingled alarm and disgust, Charles determined to break up their session; but before his command to adjourn was read in the house, resolutions expressing the general indignation were put, and, while the speaker was forcibly detained in his chair, carried by acclamation. The resolutions (often called from their proponent the Eliot resolutions) declared that whoever introduced innovations savoring of popery into the national Church, and whoever paid or advised the payment of Tonnage and Poundage, was an enemy of the English people.

The memorable session of 1629

Thus, over the two questions of the ceremonial character of the Church and the control of Tonnage and Poundage, war was virtually declared between king and parliament. All prospect of an amicable

tlement had disappeared. Either the king would impose his system d crush the parliament or the parliament would do e same by the king. Immeasurably embittered, ther side was in a mood for compromise. **The hopelessness of peace**

For the next eleven years (1629–1640) the victory or seeming tory was with the king for the simple reason that by not summon- ; the parliament he gave it no opportunity to contest his preëmi- nce. In this proceeding custom played into his hands, a king was not obliged to summon parliament at ted intervals and usually did not summon it at all less he wanted a money grant. In fact, it should be arly understood that Charles always prided himself upon acting hin his rights as defined by the constitution: not he, but the rliament, had broken with English law and tradition. But his n of getting along without the parliament necessitated extreme nomy and demanded the immediate termination of the expensive rs with France and Spain. Before the end of 1630 Charles had de his peace with both these powers. His outlook was now, on e whole, not unhopeful. Tonnage and Poundage, although con- nned by the Commons, was regularly paid into the exchequer by a ople not yet ready to renounce their king; and Tonnage and Pound- e, with a number of other revenues appertaining to the crown or aped together by hook or by crook, was found to be sufficient or nost sufficient for ordinary current expense. **Charles governs without the parliament**

Charles's chief advisers during this eleven years' interlude of actically absolute government were Thomas Wentworth, for civil tters, and William Laud, for ecclesiastical affairs. As the king's rson was still hedged about with something of divinity, the unpopular measures carried in Church and state ring this period were laid at the door of these two men, who, as the ars came and went without a parliament, became the target of vild, unreasoning hatred. **Wentworth and Laud**

Laud stood for the tendency in the English Church which em- asized dignity and ceremony — the same tendency with which the ng had already identified himself. In fact, it was because of his born love of ceremony and order that the king had stowed his favor upon the inflexible and earnest church- n, had made him, first, bishop of London, and finally, the year 1633, archbishop of Canterbury and primate all England. Therewith Laud was in a position to put his own **The ecclesiastical policy of Laud**

and the king's ecclesiastical convictions into practice. By means of visitations which brought every parish of the kingdom into line and by penalties imposed by the ecclesiastical court, the Court of High Commission, controlled by him, the fiery archbishop forced on all Anglican ministers a strict adherence to prescribed forms. Indeed he did not hesitate to favor the return to partially abandoned features of an older time. At his instigation the communion table was assigned a fixed position in the east end of the church, and by being surrounded with an iron railing was given, at least in Puritan eyes, something of the appearance of a Catholic altar. As part of the same policy the Declaration of Sports was issued authorizing and encouraging games on Sunday. To the strict Sabbatarianism of the Puritans the reëstablishment of the frolicsome medieval Sunday was a tremendous moral shock. The consequence of all these measures was to drive the remaining Puritan ministers from the Church and to bring about the final estrangement of the Puritan population from the national Establishment.

Wentworth was a man of far greater intellectual powers than either Laud or Charles. His theory of government was that a king who governs well is better than a babbling, distraught parliament. As a natural corollary, he held that the executive power should be strong, efficient, and large-minded, and that it should steer its course without fear or favor. This system of a forward-driving, enlightened despotism he designated by the name of "thorough." Admitted to the Privy Council, he uniformly encouraged the king to keep up a bold front; but it would be a mistake to make him responsible for all the measures, many of them ill-advised, which followed the dissolution of 1629, for as early as 1633 he was sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland and was for some years out of touch with English politics.

The political system of Wentworth

Certainly Wentworth can not be charged with the great blunder committed in connection with ship-money. We have seen that Charles's system left him in constant need of funds. So slim were his revenues that he could not even maintain a navy large enough to enforce respect for the English flag upon the waters of the channel. The legal remedy for the inconvenience would have been to call a parliament and ask for supplies, but that step Charles refused to consider. He hit upon a subterfuge. In former times monarchs had, when the country was in danger, ordered the ports and seaboard counties to furnish ships. In issuing such an

Ship-money

der in 1634 he therefore had a measure of legality on his side. It
as against all precedent, however, when in the two following years
ordered the *inland* counties to contribute money to the same end.
Although a navy might be good in itself, plainly Charles's way
getting it was a piece of very sharp practice. Indignation swelled
e an advancing tide, and when a country gentleman, John Hamp-
n by name, preferred, rather than pay his assessment, **The case of John Hampden**
suffer arrest and trial, he made himself the hero of the
ur. When the case came up in court, the judges by a
re majority decided against Hampden, but so general was the
affection following upon his trial, that it required only an occasion
show that the loyalty which had bound England for ages to her
vereign had suffered fatal impairment.

That occasion was furnished by Scotland. We are aware that the
rthern kingdom had established the Presbyterian kirk, which,
sting on the combined action of clergy and laity, was virtually
independent power free of control by the state. While **Charles stirs up a Scotch hornet's nest**
is situation had been highly displeasing to the auto-
atic self-importance of King James, he had contented
mself with a few measures giving the sovereign a larger
minal influence over the Scottish system. Desiring the
bstance as well as the name of power, Charles made the foolhardy
tempt to foist the episcopal and ceremonial features of the Anglican
urch upon the northern establishment. His measures, gradually
roduced, culminated in 1637 in the imposition on the kirk of a
w service book fashioned largely on the English Book of Common
ayer. At once a hurricane was loosed. The Scottish people,
dical Presbyterian Protestants almost to a man, not only refused
bow to the royal decree but answered it with a solemn National
venant which every Scotsman rushed to sign and which pledged
e utmost resistance to any attempt to force religious innovations
the kirk. The unanimity and enthusiasm of the people gave them
irresistible power. In the face of it Charles was moved to open
gotiations; but on discovering that he must either completely
verse his policy or fight, he chose the latter.

There followed the campaign of 1639 against the Scottish Cov-
anters, known as the First Bishops' War in derisive reference to
e bishops whom Charles planned to put over the northern estab-
ment. The campaign was a miserable fiasco. Owing to lack of
nds, the king led northward an undisciplined rabble, and when he

came upon the Scots, found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scottish and his English subjects whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money-help from England, and effective money-help from England involved calling a parliament. In one direction or the other he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scottish matter was more pressing, he summoned the English parliament (1640).

War with Scotland

Thus the long period of government without a parliament had come to an end. When, however, the parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting money for the enslavement of the Scots, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up as of old and dismissed it. Once more, in spite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Scots (1640). But when the second experiment failed more completely than the first, he had to acknowledge himself finally and irrevocably beaten.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640

In November, 1640, he summoned another parliament, which he knew would have him at its mercy. It has received the name of the Long Parliament and is the most famous legislative body in English annals. It sat, though not without an important interruption, for two decades, witnessing, and itself initiating, the transformation of England.

The Long Parliament

The Long Parliament had no sooner assembled than it practically took the whole government into its own hands. The king's innings were over and it was now the turn of his offended rival. Burning for revenge, the Commons turned first upon Laud and Wentworth and ordered them both under arrest. Wentworth, who had lately been created earl of Strafford, was impeached for treason, but when the case against him threatened to break down because the evidences of treason were insufficient, the Commons simply legislated him out of the world by a bill of attainder.[1] The dismayed king reluctantly signed the act, which on May 12, 1641, sent the most energetic defender of the throne to the scaffold. The aged Laud was spared for the present,

Revenge taken on Strafford and Laud

[1] "An impeachment followed, in some sort, legal rules; a bill of attainder was an act of power for which no reasons need be given" (Gardiner).

in 1645 he too paid with his life for having aroused the relentless tility of the Puritans.

At the same time the Commons threw themselves on the accumu- ed grievances of the past. As the Scots, who had invaded the thern counties, would not leave England till their expenses had n made good to them, Charles, to get money, had to ept every proposal. Filled with exultation, the par- nent resolved to leave the swollen power of the king single leg to stand on. The special courts, such as Star Chamber and High Commission, which had furnished arms he tyranny of Charles and Laud, were abolished. Star Chamber, ill be remembered, had been created by the first Tudor in order curb the lawlessness which the common law courts were unable each, but Charles had employed it chiefly to punish the too free ression of Puritan opinions. With act following deliberately on parliament condemned the king's position relating to Tonnage Poundage; declared ship-money illegal; and provided against future elimination of the legislature by the Triennial Act which de it obligatory on the king to summon parliament at least once ry three years. As a crowning measure it decreed that the present liament should not be dissolved without its own consent. If arles in his abasement accepted these intolerable chains, it was fectly certain that he would attempt to cast them off at the first ortunity.

The king is stripped of his authority

That opportunity dawned for the king on the appearance in the ks of the Commons of the first serious division. Admirably ted on the *political* measures at issue between them and the ereign, the Commons ran into difficulties from the ment they proceeded to debate the *ecclesiastical* settle- nt. The inevitable consequence of the Laudian tyranny the concomitant growth of a vengeful, persecuted itanism was that a decisive majority of the Com- ns desired to destroy episcopacy and all its works. No sooner, ever, had this project been bruited than it was found that inority, cherishing a natural sentiment of loyalty toward the urch of their youth, deprecated sweeping changes. Alarmed at wild agitation which threatened to turn the country topsy- vy, they manifested a certain conservatism and prepared to end not only the remaining rights of the king but, first and most, the national Establishment. The emergence of a royal-

The Commons split over the religious issue

ist and Episcopalian party within the Commons not only delighted the king but moved him to resume his former policy and to engage in plots against the parliament. Such dangerous manœuvres that body resolved at last to crush by a frank disclosure of them to the nation. It drew up (December, 1641) the Grand Remonstrance, wherein it enumerated article by article all the abusive and deceitful acts by reason of which Charles had lost the confidence of the people's representatives. It was ominous that the Grand Remonstrance passed the Commons only by a small majority. That fact seemed to indicate that at the close of its first year of power, parliament and the nation which it represented were hopelessly and almost evenly divided.

This knowledge was enough to spur the incautious king to the attempt to force the parliament to its knees. On January 4, 1642, he marched at the head of his guard to Westminster Hall, the meeting-place of the parliament, and entering the house of Commons, attempted to seize the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode, in order to bring them to trial on the charge of treason. But forewarned, the intended victims had fled and the king was balked. London rose clamorously to express its indignation, and fearful of their safety, the king and royal family withdrew into the country.

The king's attempted *coup d'état*

The dramatic invasion of the house of Commons by the king was tantamount to the declaration that rather than continue to wear the yoke of the Puritan majority he would resort to force. That diplomatic relations were not at once broken off blinded no one to the fact that the die had been cast. On August 22, 1642, Charles, unfurling the royal banner at Nottingham, bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.

The civil war begins, 1642

The parties thus about to engage were at first rather evenly matched. The king's party, known by the proud name of the Cavaliers, held most of the northern and western counties, while the adherents of the parliament, derisively dubbed Roundheads because many of them, in order to show their contempt for the fashionable curls of their opponents, cropped their hair close, held the south and the east, with London for their center. Neither side was really prepared for war; but the fact that the slashing, fox-hunting country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side at first the advantage. In the early cam-

Early successes of the king

gns the armies of the parliament suffered many reverses, and on
e occasion London, the chief parliamentary stronghold, almost
into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that
parliament began to develop anything resembling an efficient
ny. Simultaneously there rose into prominence the man who
s destined to overthrow the king and bring the war to a conclu-
n — Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up themselves a whole period of their nation's history. He was a intry gentleman of the east of England whose life had become ind up in the Puritan cause. With moral firmness and religious enthusiasm he combined an extraordinary count of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things ctly as they were. When everybody else was in consternation r the victories of the king, he went straight to the core of the itary problem with which the Commons, in which he sat, was nly wrestling. He thus expressed himself to his cousin, John mpden: "Your troops are, most of them, old, decayed serving-n and tapsters. . . . Their troops are gentlemen. Do you think t the spirit of such base fellows will ever be able to encounter ntlemen? You must get men of spirit or else you will be beaten l." His sound judgment had discovered the thing needful and love of action urged him to go about it without delay. He took field and gradually collected about himself a special cavalry op of men of his own mind — earnest Puritans who had their rts in the cause; and his troop soon won for itself the grim title Cromwell's Ironsides. **Oliver Cromwell**

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently owed their metal. On July 2, 1644, at Marston Moor, near York, s decided the fate of the northern counties, and here for the first ne Cromwell's troopers broke the charge of the hitherto incible royal cavalry commanded by Prince Rupert, king's nephew. When night descended upon Marston oor, the king had lost his hold upon the north. At the ttle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is prob-e that the king himself would have been captured, if Cromwell d not been thwarted by a sluggish and incapable superior. **The Ironsides at Marston Moor**

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in parliament the lax thod of carrying on the war which had hitherto prevailed; and convincing were his criticisms that both houses agreed at last to

vote a sweeping military reform. By means of two ordinances, the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model, the army was completely reorganized. By the Self-denying Ordinance all members of parliament agreed to surrender their commands in favor of men exclusively concerned with the conduct of the war; and by the New Model the army was adequately financed from national revenues and put on a strictly professional basis. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces and the fiery Cromwell in command of the horse.

Army reforms

The effect of the change made itself felt at once; the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort. The gallant Rupert plunged, as so often before, through the squadrons of horse opposed to him, but his reckless pursuit took him miles away from the battlefield, and before he could return, Cromwell had broken the king's left and center and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping for relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scottish army in possession of the English north.

Naseby, June 14, 1645

How had the Scots been drawn upon the scene? Aware of the king's continued secret opposition to the Presbyterian system, they had followed with sympathy the struggle of the English Puritans, and in September, 1643, yielding to the solicitations of the parliament, had signed a treaty of alliance called the Solemn League and Covenant, and taken the field. However, in return for their help against the king, they had exacted a grave concession: the parliament was obliged to promise to reorganize the English Church on a Presbyterian basis. Since the outbreak of the civil war, the situation in the parliament in respect of the religious settlement had in so far suffered a change as the Episcopalian minority had surrendered its seats and deserted to the king. Hence the Puritans were in now unchallenged control, and as a religious solution other than episcopacy had to be found, many looked with favor on Presbyterianism. Others inclined the same way on the purely political ground that a Presbyterian England was the only certain guarantee of continued Scottish support. A majority of the Commons therefore was ready to come to the Presbyterian solution; but a minority, calling themselves Independents, voiced a determined protest on the ground that the possibili-

Alliance of England and Scotland

of tyranny under a Presbyterian establishment were every whit
great as under Episcopalianism. What the Independents desired
the authorization of free, congregational units under an act of
ration covering all Protestant sects — a project frankly repulsive
he Presbyterians, who were as little inclined as their Episcopalian
ls to tolerate the slightest departure from their system.

Though the Independents were at first no more than a handful in
Commons, they enjoyed an influence out of proportion to their
e through the circumstance that they commanded the powerful
king of Cromwell and the army. As a result the Presbyterian majority was obliged to proceed with cau-, especially so long as the war continued and the ops had to be kept in fighting humor. But no sooner the battle of Naseby been won and the enemy scattered than quarrel asserted itself with irrepressible vehemence.

Presbyterians and Independents

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well informed of
se differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped, in his
ty way, to find his profit in them. Let the army, representing
Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall quarrelling with the majority of parliament, repre-ing the Presbyterians and their system of religious uniformity, his turn would come. As soon as his enemies took each other the throat, he would step in and seize the spoils.

The king's calculation

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647
Scots, after trying in vain to bring him to a settlement with
mselves, surrendered him, on the payment of their campaign
enses, to the parliament. When the Commons, ing him in their power, tried to hurry through a Pres-erian settlement with him, the watchful army plucked him from hands of parliament and negotiated with him on the basis of an
ependent program. Meanwhile the Scots resumed negotiations
heir own behalf and in their resentful anger with the anti-Presby-
an army plotted with the king to invade England in conjunction
a new royalist rising. As a result of all these intrigues, of which
rles was alike the cause and manipulator, a second Civil War
ke out in the summer of 1648 with the Scots perversely fighting
the king. If this support seemed to promise success to the royal
se, the Stuart trickster none the less fared ill, for the army had be-
e an irresistible power which it was folly to arouse. In a brief
paign Cromwell scattered the invading Scots like chaff, while

The Second Civil War

Fairfax suppressed the unimportant rising of their allies among the English royalists.

Unquestionable masters of the situation, Cromwell and his friends resolved to tolerate no further negotiations with "that man of blood," Charles Stuart, but to bring him to his trial and death; and when the Presbyterian majority, incurably addicted to compromise, again resumed negotiations with the perfidious monarch, the army leaders no longer scrupled to attack the parliament. On December 6, 1648, they stationed a troop under the command of Colonel Pride at the door of Westminster Hall with orders to exclude one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members from the Commons. The "Rump" that remained was no longer a truly representative body and continued its enfeebled existence at the mercy of the army.

Pride's Purge and the triumph of the army

With the army in unchallenged control the trial of the king could have begun at once, except for the fact that the army leaders desired to give their proceedings the appearance of legality. They had the servile Rump pass an act redefining treason in such manner as to embrace the misdeeds of the king, and followed this up with the creation of a special High Court of Justice. Its sentence was a foregone conclusion. It found the king guilty of treason as defined for this particular occasion, and, on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold erected in front of his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died not without dignity in that belief. No sooner had he been laid in his tomb than his partisans invested him with the halo of a saint and martyr, who had come to his tragic end through devotion to the cause of the true Church and the true constitution.

Trial and death of the king

The violent events connected with Charles's death had dispersed the English government. King and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay exclusively with the army, and the burning question of the day was whether the military leaders would be able to build a new constitution grounded in sound principles and acceptable to the country.

The army in power

For eleven years the army and, more particularly, Cromwell attempted with unquestionable zeal and sincerity to realize their ideal of government. That ideal was born of the deep religious conviction that every man must indeed be a follower of Christ, but

t he should be allowed to worship after his own fashion. In sequence, Cromwell and his friends desired a government of right Puritan men which tolerated every belief but popery. fortunately the vast majority of contemporary English- n were either Episcopalian or Presbyterian and royalist the core. Therefore the Puritan experiment, though ignobly inspired, was doomed to end in failure.

The ideal of the Puritan republicans

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649–1660)

On the death of the king, the Rump voted that England was a mmonwealth without king or Lords, and appointed, visionally, a Council of State to act as the executive nch of the government.

The Commonwealth

There was work enough ahead for the young republic. In Ireland, ich had been in rebellion since 1641, the rebels refused to recognize new government, while in Scotland Charles II, the oldest son of dead sovereign, had been proclaimed king. In the ar recognition that the Commonwealth could not live h Ireland and Scotland ranged against it, Cromwell s despatched to reduce the neighboring kingdoms to omission. In an irresistible campaign of the year 1649, he disposed he Irish, not scrupling to break their spirit by two bloody massacres Drogheda and Wexford. Then a rule of force was established such Ireland had not seen before, while a project was set afoot which nfiscated vast tracts of land for the benefit of the conquerors. is done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Crom- l's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they ote, scattered the Scottish army; and when a second army, with arles II in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring an English rebellion, Cromwell, starting in pursuit, met it at rcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory his life (1651). Charles II escaped after many romantic adventures the continent; but the Scots, with whose kirk Cromwell was too e to meddle, were compelled to align themselves politically with victorious Commonwealth.

Cromwell conquers Ireland and Scotland

With peace reëstablished throughout the British isles, the question a permanent government became more pressing than ever. Every- ly clamored for a settlement and the termination of the long order. Only the Rump was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty

members who composed it not only clung to office, but even planned to perpetuate their power. With the characteristic impatience of soldiers the army grew ever more restive over the long delay. In April, 1653, Cromwell, despairing of good from so narrow and legalistic a body of men, resolved to have done with them. He invaded the Rump with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old constitution vanished from the scene.

Dismissal of the Rump

A new parliament, freely elected by the nation, would have been the normal solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a parliament would have immediately called back the Stuarts, and Cromwell was ready to try all other means before he declared that the great Puritan cause, which to his fervid mind was that of God Himself, had failed. In conjunction with a number of officers he, therefore, *nominated* an assembly of Puritan partisans who were to discuss the bases of a new government. In an opening speech he told them that they were called to service because they were godly men. Undoubtedly well meaning, they were inexperienced and crotchety. The town wags, immensely amused at their provincial manners and ideas, called them Barebone's Parliament, from a certain worthy member whose excessively evangelical name of Praise-God Barebone invited their ridicule. Luckily, after a few weeks a party among the nominees recognized its own unfitness and brought about the end of the session (December, 1653).

Barebone's Parliament, 1653

It was now the turn of the officers to try their hand with a plan. Accordingly, they drew up a constitution in forty-one articles, called the Instrument of Government, which placed the chief power in the hands of Oliver Cromwell under the title of Lord Protector. By the new constitution the Lord Protector, together with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive power, while a parliament of a single house, from which all partisans of the Stuarts were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The Instrument of Government came nearer to being a workable scheme than anything tried by England since the outbreak of the civil war; but it must not be overlooked that it was grounded on the disfranchisement of the royalists and that such success as it achieved should be attributed to the fact that it placed in supreme control a man of extraordinary natural gifts.

The Protectorate

The five years (1653–1658) of Oliver's rule as Protector were beset h ever-recurring difficulties. His very first parliament insisted revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver in h dudgeon dissolved the parliament (January, 1655). over a year following this disappointment he ruled hout a legislature. There were frequent attempts on his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the es and annoyances inseparable from rule. The Protectorate, with one-man power, was, if possible, even more offensive to the strong ublican element which had come to the front in England than to royal adherents of the Stuarts. Oliver confessed with sorrow that was easier to keep sheep than to govern men." But his brave it was undaunted and he met every difficulty as it arose. In the r 1656 he called a second parliament and with this he got along re smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism ne to the front in this assembly and it tried to get back to the forms he old constitution. It created a second house to take the place he abolished house of Lords and offered to make Oliver hereditary g. But Oliver, who had no love of baubles and who, besides, eady exercised a virtual kingship as Protector, wisely declined a e repugnant to the republican sentiments of his army adherents. en this same parliament came up to London for a second session l attempted to limit the powers of the executive, Cromwell re- achfully dismissed it, like its predecessor (February, 1658). His er experience with his successive parliaments must have con- ced him, if he stood in need of proof, that the nation was not with . Disguise the fact as he might, his rule rested upon the army was a military despotism.

The domestic difficulties of the Protector

n all this time the great principle of toleration, which Oliver had nly at heart, made no progress. His original plan, laid down in Instrument of Government, was to give to all Christians, except h as adhered to "popery or prelacy," the protection the law. That meant state support for the whole ersified body of Protestant sects. He even conceded the private of the Prayer Book and, while excluding the Catholic mass, tly relaxed the penalties in force against the Catholics. But he ld not put out the fierce religious fires that, in accordance with the per of the time, kept flaring up all over the country. Like all o march too far ahead of the mass of mankind he was left without

The failure of toleration

support, and long before his life closed he had the bitter conviction that the government of his beloved Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation.

At best but moderately successful at home, Oliver heaped triumph upon triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there was a war with the Dutch, caused by English jealousy of the immense commerce of the rival republic. In a measure passed by the Rump in 1651 and known as the Navigation Act this English attitude found vigorous expression. As this act declared that foreign ships were permitted to bring to England only such goods as were produced in their own country, the Dutch, who were carriers for the whole world, were dealt a severe blow. In the course of the war the English, after a few preliminary losses, got command of the channel, thus enabling Cromwell to sign (1654) a favorable peace which greatly strengthened his credit in the eyes of the world.

War with the Dutch, 1652–1654

Soon after, in 1655, Oliver engaged in a war with Spain, finally joining in an alliance with France against the common foe. By the seizure of Jamaica England gained a firm foothold in the West Indies, and by defeating, in conjunction with the French, the Spanish forces in the Netherlands, the English army was enabled to occupy Dunkirk,[1] one of the best ports in Flanders (1658). Not since the days of Elizabeth had England held so lofty a position in the councils of Europe. Oliver's arm reached even to the Alps, and at his command the duke of Savoy ceased persecuting the Protestant peasants and herders of the upper Alpine valleys.

Oliver makes war upon Spain

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibilities and on the third day of September, 1658, he passed away. It had been his "fortunate day," the day of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and was to his mind, heavy with the disappointments of office, perhaps no less fortunate because it brought the end of tribulation. His last prayer, which breathes his peculiar Puritan fervor, has been recorded for us. "Lord," ran a part of it, "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too."

The death of Oliver

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of anarchy. As the Commonwealth was founded on the power of the army and not on the

[1] Dunkirk was held only till 1662, when Charles II sold it to France.

nsent of the people, its continuance depended on the army's find- a successor of the same metal as the great Protector. But that s impossible. Oliver was succeeded in the protectorate by his offensive and incapable son, Richard, who in May, 1659, igned an office calling for powers which he did not ssess. Then the Rump came back, arrogantly insisting that it was e true and authentic English government. At the same time the nerals, who with the death of their leader had lost their cohesion, arreled with the Rump and with each other. Clearly the only way t of the intolerable confusion was to call back the son of the dead ng. The people themselves were more than willing, but to insure ccess a resolute man at the head of an armed force would have to ke the enterprise in hand.

Anarchy

The savior wanted was found in General George Monk, one of omwell's most capable lieutenants and his representative in otland. At the head of his army Monk marched to London and, alling the Long Parliament, obliged it to dissolve er issuing writs for a new election. With the way thus ared, Charles II from his exile in Holland issued a neral pardon, and when the new parliament met was thusiastically invited to mount the throne of his ancestors. The w parliament declared that "the government of this kingdom is, d ought to be, by king, Lords, and Commons." When Charles tered London on May 28, 1660, the houses emptied their eager pulation upon street and square and the reimpatriated king was eered like a conqueror.

General Monk brings back the Stuarts

THE RESTORATION. CHARLES II (1660–1685)

Charles II was one of the most popular monarchs England ever d, but, as has happened before and since in history, his popularity s due not so much to his virtues as to his vices. In this connection us remember that the Restoration signified a sweeping neral reaction. Not only did it mark the abandonment the republican political experiment but also a sharp revulsion m the austere and somber scheme of life which the Puritans had posed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the glishman of the Restoration threw himself greedily upon splendor d distractions. As for the restored Stuart, he had lived long in ance, where his self-indulgent nature had drunk its fill of the

Character of Charles II

gayety and licentiousness which characterized the sumptuous court of Louis XIV. Upon his return to England he became the advocate of French manners and, making profligacy fashionable, added to his constitutional function of sovereign the far more congenial role of master of the revels. The country, out of sorts with the Puritan ideals, applauded, admired Charles's witty sallies and studied courtesy, and joined the dance and sounded the pipe around the "Merry Monarch" of an England passionately resolved to be likewise merry.

His political opportunism

Charles, though endowed with a good deal of natural sagacity, had little mental energy and not the faintest suspicion of that rectitude which we define as character. His pleasures went before everything else, and when a conflict threatened with either ministers or parliament, he was in the habit of giving way, with the jocose fling that whatever happened he did not care to start again upon his travels. Intelligent, supple, and unencumbered with either the obstinacy or the principles of his father, he succeeded in making himself both popular and secure.

The reaction

No sooner was the monarchy restored than the desire seized the victors to be revenged upon their Puritan adversaries. The king's general pardon issued from Holland was subject to parliamentary revision, and the parliament, far more vindictive than the sovereign, resolved to punish all who had been instrumental in bringing Charles I to death. Thirteen regicides were executed, and a contemptible and revolting vengeance was wreaked upon the body of the great Cromwell. Dragged from the tomb, it was for the length of a day suspended with iron chains from the gallows on Tyburn hill.

The revolution not in vain

Such scenes apart, the Restoration was far less violent than similar reactionary occurrences in history, owing largely, it must be admitted, to the lack of rancor of the king. Yet to the defeated and dejected Puritans, whose leading survivor was the great poet Milton, it looked as if the return of Charles had closed upon them the gates of paradise and rendered vain both the civil and religious struggle of the past generation. But such was not quite the case. As the Petition of Right and most of the early enactments of the Long Parliament had received the royal assent, they remained in vigor, thereby substantially reducing the royal prerogative. Never again did an English king dispute the right of parliament to control taxation. Nevertheless, the royal power was still so great that an energetic monarch might feel encouraged to

ry through a personal program in the teeth of the opposition of th parliament and people. In that case a new conflict was certain. t that so unenterprising a reveller as Charles II would undertake, d having undertaken, would sustain such a conflict was far from bable.

The Cavalier Parliament, as Charles's second parliament, con- ned in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was nificantly called, exuberantly expressed the reaction which had ken hold of the country. It was, at least so far as the pression of its sentiments went, more royal than the g. One of its earliest acts was to vote that no one ld lawfully take arms against the sovereign, that is, proclaimed the late civil war a felony and a rebellion and affirmed unqualified doctrine of non-resistance. The most pressing issue ich confronted it was the question of religion. During the last enty years every conceivable form of Protestant dissent had rung into existence and Presbyterians, Congregationalists (Inde- ndents), Baptists, and Quakers disputed the ground with Anglicans d Catholics.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–1679

Were all these denominations to be tolerated or was England to go ck to a uniform national Church? In the Cavalier Parliament — a dy of royalist reactionaries — there was only one nion: the Church of England and nothing but the urch of England. It undertook, therefore, to restore historical Church and persecute every deviation from with relentless severity.

Intolerance of the Cavalier Parliament

In the year 1662 the parliament imposed a new Act of Uniformity the reëstablished Church. By its provisions the Prayer Book was de obligatory, and two thousand clergymen who would not bend ir necks to the yoke were ejected from their livings. ong the dismissed ministers were many zealous and norable men of all denominations who were henceforth ssed together as Dissenters. In the religious history England this formal and definite ejection of the Puritan ment from the Church marks a notable mile-stone. It will be nembered that the Puritans in general had not wished to separate m the national Church, but desired rather to modify its forms in h a way that it might include or "comprehend" them. From now all hope of comprehension was given up. Accepting their exclusion m the national Church as an irrevocable fact, the Dissenters

A new Act of Uniformity; the Dissenters

henceforth directed all their efforts toward acquiring toleration for their own distinct forms of worship.

But the Cavalier Parliament was the last body in the world to give ear to a request for religious liberty. As in its opinion the proper way to treat Dissenters was to suppress them, it developed a highly perfected system of persecution. Already in 1661 it had enacted the Corporation Act, providing that no man could hold office in a corporate town unless he took the sacrament according to the Church of England. In 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed, by which the meetings of Dissenters for religious purposes were punished with fines culminating in transportation; and a year later (1665) there followed the Five Mile Act, by the terms of which no Dissenting minister was allowed to live within five miles of any corporate town unless he made submission in a form which, as an honest man, he was bound to reject.

Repressive legislation against Dissenters

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dissenters would open a loop-hole for the Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Catholicism was stronger in the land than ever because of the machinations of the king and his intimates in its behalf. Indeed with each passing year the atmosphere of the court became more markedly Catholic. Before long many courtiers, with the king's younger brother, James, duke of York, at the head, openly avowed their return to Rome, while Charles was restrained from taking the same step by nothing more noble than his fear of what might happen to him at the hands of his people.

Catholicism is the enemy

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in the foreign field. In fact, his guidance of England was of a piece with his superficial and selfish view of life. Disliking the bluff, republican Dutch and admiring the sumptuous Louis XIV of France, he permitted this question of taste to play a large part in determining his public conduct.

The foreign policy of Charles

We have noticed the growing commercial rivalry between the Dutch and the English. The Navigation Act, passed in 1651 by the Rump, and the short war that followed gave ample evidence of it. When to conflicting colonial claims in the East Indies and along the American coast going back to the beginning of the century was added the animosity created by the reënactment (1660) of the

noxious Navigation Act, war could not long be averted. For ee years (1664–1667) the adversaries engaged each other upon all seas; but when peace was signed, the Dutch were iged to cede their American colony with its capital of w Amsterdam. Renamed New York in honor of the ke of York, head of the English navy, it soon gave dence of commanding one of the most favorable com- rcial sites in the western world.

First Dutch War of the Restoration, 1664–1667

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European itics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis V was planning to extend his territory and power at the expense his neighbors. The logical policy for England, as the al of France, would have been to support the victim inst the aggressor; but it was the peculiarity of arles that he looked at the situation from a personal her than a national angle. Since he led a riotous and disordered , flinging fortunes away on entertainments and mistresses, he s in perpetual financial straits. To get money, therefore, and re money became his great object in life; and Louis XIV, who s not without a shrewd streak amid his lavishness, was perfectly ling to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means y England's aid, or even her neutrality in the conflicts he antici- ed. Now the French king began his systematic aggression in the r 1667 by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a towns he was forced to desist, chiefly owing to the energetic test of the Dutch, supported temporarily by England and Sweden. wonder that the haughty Louis resolved to have revenge on this ion of traders and republicans. By the Treaty of Dover (1670) won over Charles by means of an annual grant to join him in projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, pulated to avow himself a Catholic, as soon as the occasion served, d to call on Louis for military aid in case his subjects, on the news his conversion, rose in revolt.

Charles leans toward France

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready, Louis d Charles fell suddenly like two highwaymen upon the Dutch, gaging in what in England is known as the Second Dutch War of Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, yet daring to go the whole length of announcing his return to me, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of dulgence, which, overriding the statutes of parliament, suspended

the execution of all penal laws against both Catholics and Dissenters. While the measure was a movement in behalf of a broad toleration, it is necessary to remember, in judging it, that its motives were impure and that it nullified the laws of England by an arbitrary royal act. The outcry was general; and when parliament met it vehemently insisted on the king's withdrawing his Declaration. Reluctantly Charles yielded (1673), but with this retreat the war had lost its interest for him; and as at the same time the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy was France and not the Dutch, he further gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the treason hatched out in the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic struggle for life and liberty. So stubborn was their defense under their stadtholder, William III of Orange, that Louis XIV, baffled and discouraged, finally followed Charles's example and ended the war (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

Second Dutch War of the Restoration, 1672–1674

Though triumphant in the matter of the Declaration, parliament was not satisfied with its victory. Thoroughly suspicious of the pro-Catholic policy of the court, it added (1673) a crowning act to its intolerant religious legislation, the Test Act, which provided that all persons holding civil or military office under the crown should publicly receive the sacrament according to the national Church. In consequence, only avowed adherents of the Church of England could henceforth hold office, and no less a person than the duke of York, the king's brother and prospective successor, had to resign the post of Lord High Admiral because he was a Catholic.

The Test Act

Unfortunately the specter of Catholicism, aroused by the king's secret cabals, continued to stalk through the land, leading at times to outbreaks which would have been ludicrous, if they had not been so profoundly tragical. The most famous of them belongs to the year 1678 and is known as the "Popish Plot." A certain Titus Oates, a discredited adventurer and confessed scoundrel, told a rambling story before a magistrate to the effect that he had discovered a conspiracy on the part of the Catholics to institute in England a second and more terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew. Although Oates's story was palpably absurd, it won general credence; and as a result of the frantic agitation which seized the country a score of prominent Catholics were executed on

The "Popish Plot"

se and trumped-up charges, while a corollary was added to the st Act by which Catholics were barred from sitting in either house parliament.

Charles died in the year 1685 after a reign of twenty-five years. his death-bed he received first, privately the sacrament according the Church of Rome; and then, keeping up his life- **The death** g comedy to the last, died, as it were, publicly and a **of Charles** ond time according to the prescriptions of the Anglican Church which he was the official head.

The reign of Charles is marked by an advance in the political life the nation which merits close attention. The gushing loyalty ich accompanied the first acts of the Cavalier Parliament did not t. The distrust engendered by the Catholic tendencies **Whigs and** the court had already impaired it, when the prospect **Tories** he succession of the Catholic James, duke of York, gave it a staging blow. A party, called the Whigs, arose which aimed to exclude king's brother from the throne on the ground of religion; a second rty, called the Tories,[1] stood stanchly by the principle of legitimate cession. By adroitly taking advantage of the extreme violence the Whigs, Charles managed to arouse a strong Tory sentiment the country which made him more powerful at the close than any time during his reign. While the king undoubtedly on this asion secured a personal triumph, the real historic import of the cession controversy lies in the circumstance that for the first ne in English experience two opposed parliamentary parties came o being with a definite program and something like a permanent anization. For over two hundred years after their appearance the igs and Tories (latterly under the names of Liberals and Conservves) were destined to dispute the government of England beeen them. As for the succession issue, over which the two parties ginated, its intimate connection with the question of religion will escape the reader's attention. The Tories, defending the succsion of the Catholic James, drew their strength from the uncompromising supporters of the Church of England, while the Whigs, nding for an exclusively Protestant succession, found it profitable lean upon the Dissenters and to advocate religious toleration

[1] These names were originally taunts, flung by excited orators at the heads heir opponents. Tory is derived from the Irish and signifies robber. Whig es probably from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scotch peasants exhorted r horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a llious Covenanter.

for every variety of Protestant. If ever the Whigs came to power the Dissenters could count on something being done for them, while as long as Tory opinion ruled the state they were sure to be oppressed.

JAMES II (1685–1688)

James II, who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only an open and avowed Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was resolved, if possible, to bring England back to the Roman fold. Sincere and honest, he scorned to resort to the political trickery of his predecessor. He was cordially acclaimed on first mounting the throne but by a succession of rash and ill-judged measures was with extraordinary rapidity reduced to a state of icy isolation.

James II

As James was a Catholic among suspicious and embittered Protestants, he would have been wisely inspired at the very least to let sleeping dogs lie. But his conscience prompted him to move heaven and earth in behalf of the Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously. Overriding the Test Act, he put his co-religionists into important positions in the army and civil service. Soon after, in 1687, he published, in imitation of an earlier act of his brother's, a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all penalties against Catholics and Dissenters alike. He justified his action in these matters by the *dispensing power* inhering in the kings of England which was supposed to confer the right to suspend in a given case the execution of a law. Regardless of the universal discontent, he published, in 1688, a second and more sweeping Declaration which he ordered to be read from all the pulpits. By this ill-judged measure he mortally offended the Anglican clergy, the main supporters of obedience to the king's will and the backbone of Tory opinion through the country. An overwhelming majority of ministers refused to communicate the royal order to their flocks and seven bishops went the length of presenting a written protest to the king. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial of the seven bishops which occurred in June, 1688.

Catholic measures of James

Meanwhile other irregularities and violences of the king had added to his unpopularity. In the year of his accession, the Protestant duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, had invaded England with a small force, but was defeated, captured, and executed. James

ght have been satisfied with this success. He preferred to institute general persecution. He sent into the west, among the people who d supported Monmouth, the savage and infamous Judge Jeffreys the purpose of ferreting out the adherents of his phew. The mockery of justice engaged in by Jeffreys known as "the Bloody Assizes." The inhuman monster as not satisfied until he had executed three hundred d twenty victims, mostly poor peasants, and transported eight ndred and forty to the West Indies. The odium of these misdeeds l, of course, upon the king.

Monmouth and "the Bloody Assizes"

The distressing situation was for a time put up with by the people cause the next heir to the throne, James's daughter Mary, who was e child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was Protestant. The nation looked forward to her succes- n with the more pleasure as her husband, too, was, rough his mother, of Stuart blood. When, however, James's second fe gave birth, in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would ke precedence over Mary, consternation seized the whole people. ne son, it was forseen, would be educated in the Catholic religion d thus the Catholic succession would be perpetuated. As the birth the son and the trial of the seven bishops befell at the same time une, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. rgetting their differences, a group of Whig and Tory leaders sent ecret letter inviting William of Orange and his wife Mary to come England's rescue.

Birth of a son

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and joyously and ntaneously the people of all classes rallied around him. When ne of James's officers went over to the enemy and the whole army vered in its allegiance, the wretched king could no nger close his eyes to the fact that he stood alone. Sud- nly and utterly discouraged, he sent his wife and child France and shortly after followed in person. All history hardly orts a more swift and bloodless revolution.

William lands in England

When parliament met it was confronted by the difficult task of rvesting the fruits of the popular success. Declaring that the rone had become vacant through desertion, it offered the succes- n conjointly to William and Mary. By this act it plainly com- tted itself to the view that the king did not rule by hereditary vine Right but was the choice of people and parliament. Hence- th a king of England could boast no better claim to the crown

than a statute of the realm. With the succession disposed of, the victorious parliament proceeded to complete the edifice of its power. Throughout the seventeenth century the conflict had raged between king and parliament over their respective spheres of control. The Petition of Right (1628) was the first act which had effectually clipped the wings of the monarchy. The Long Parliament was engaged in completing the work of royal subjection, when the civil war intervened and buried the issue beneath the din of arms. At length the flood of loyalty, once again set in motion by ten years of military rule, brought Charles II back to the throne, without, however, restoring him to the ample prerogative of his grandfather, James I. The only means of tyranny left in his hands was the claim that, as a divinely appointed king, he was above the laws and could suspend their execution at his pleasure. While Charles, a cautious and timorous man, had invoked this traditional right only occasionally, the infatuated James erected on it a sweeping Catholic policy. This last remaining loop-hole of arbitrary rule the parliament now proceeded to stop up by means of a Bill of Rights (1689), wherein the royal dispensing power was declared abolished and the king was in every respect subjected to the law. Further, the Bill of Rights enumerated and condemned all the illegal acts of James and formally and solemnly excluded Roman Catholics from the throne. One may say summarily of this famous measure that it terminated the long constitutional struggle by giving the victory and the fruits thereof to the parliament. With the Bill of Rights England entered on a new era, the era of parliamentary government.

The reorganization of the monarchy. The Bill of Rights

If the revolution of 1688 closed the long political conflict by seating the parliament in the place of power, it also led to a measure which pointed the way toward a solution of the religious troubles. Chiefly with the support of the Whigs, parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act conceding to the Dissenters the right of public worship. Though the intolerant legislation of Charles II's reign was not repealed, non-Anglican Protestants could henceforth serve their God as they pleased, and that, after the long persecution they had suffered, was a very substantial blessing. But to the adherents of the pope the current Anglican bigotry refused to make the slightest concession. Against them tests and penal laws continued in full force. None the less by mollifying the strong Puritan element the Toleration Act greatly promoted

The Toleration Act

gious peace and, taken together with the Bill of Rights, defines historical significance of the "Glorious Revolution."

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CHAPTER XIV

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Louis XIV (1643–1715) *m.* Marie Therese, oldest daughter of Philip IV of Spain

- Louis, the dauphin
  - Louis, duke of Burgundy
    - **Louis XV** (1715–1774)
  - Philip, duke of Anjou, who, as Philip V becomes founder of the Spanish line of the house of Bourbon

The work of Richelieu, as we have seen, cleared the way for the supremacy of France in Europe. By destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots, by reducing the power of the nobility, and by discontinuing the States General he had freed the royal authority from the last restraints which weighed upon it and had rendered it absolute. At the same time the great minister had engaged France in the Thirty Years' War and had reaped for her the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But just at this point, as France was about to assume a dominant position, she was threatened once more, and as it proved for the last time under the old monarchy, by civil war.

The work of Richelieu

Richelieu's king, Louis XIII, died only a few months after him, in 1643, leaving behind a five-year-old son, in whose name the queen, Anne of Austria, assumed the regency. At the same time the post of leading minister, which had been occupied by Richelieu, fell to the confidant of the regent, another churchman and an Italian by birth, Cardinal Mazarin. Trained under the eyes of Richelieu, the new minister tried to carry out faithfully his predecessor's program, and though he achieved fresh and startling successes in the foreign field, he gained them by such reckless expenditures that the financial confusion inherited from Richelieu became intolerable. At last the parlement of Paris resolved to make itself the spokesman of the popular discontent by protesting against the ever new taxes which the government was prolific in inventing in order to meet its crushing obligations. It will be remembered that it was an issue of taxation which had led to the civil war in England,

The regency of Anne of Austria

st then coming to a close with the complete defeat of the self-willed ng. Doubtless the parlement was encouraged to resist financial pression by the English example, but it did not stop to reflect that was not suited either in respect of its personnel or its functions to ay a truly popular role. For the parlement was not only a supreme urt, that is, a judicial body, but its officials were irremovable and reditary, that is, they constituted a close, privileged corporation. spite of these drawbacks the parlement in January, 1648, boldly ened the struggle with the monarchy by demonstrating against fresh series of tax edicts. Encouraged by the acclaim of the Pari- ans, the members thereupon took the further step of drawing up a eeping reform program which aimed at nothing less than the con- rsion of France into a constitutional monarchy. To Regent Anne d her minister Mazarin this meant a revolution to which they ould submit only under duress. In consequence a civil war resulted own in French history as The Fronde.

The Fronde lasted five years (1648–1653) and ended in the com- ete triumph of Mazarin for chiefly two reasons. The first has al- ady been indicated in the fact that the parlement, being neither egislative nor a representative body, was not the natural rallying-point of the French people in a constitutional struggle. It never furnished more than a half-hearted leadership and a surprisingly short time permitted the control of the movement to p into the hands of the nobles. Here lies the second reason for azarin's success. For since this turbulent order cared not a straw r either the people or constitutional government and fought only to cover its ancient power, the citizens rather than see the return of udal disorder rallied once more around the throne. In short, if azarin came out on top it was because when the revolution was flected from its original purpose, the nation, left to choose between ng and nobles, declared unequivocally for a single master. The onde turned out to be the last rebellion of the nobles, who hence- rth accepted the loss of their political influence. True, they tained their great landed estates, their immunity from direct taxa- n, and their immense social prestige, but they degenerated more d more into a body of docile courtiers content to squander their ne and resources upon the games, intrigues, and entertainments of e court. Their story as a proud, self-willed feudal order ends with e Fronde to be succeeded by their record as a soft, pleasure-loving, d purely ornamental aristocracy.

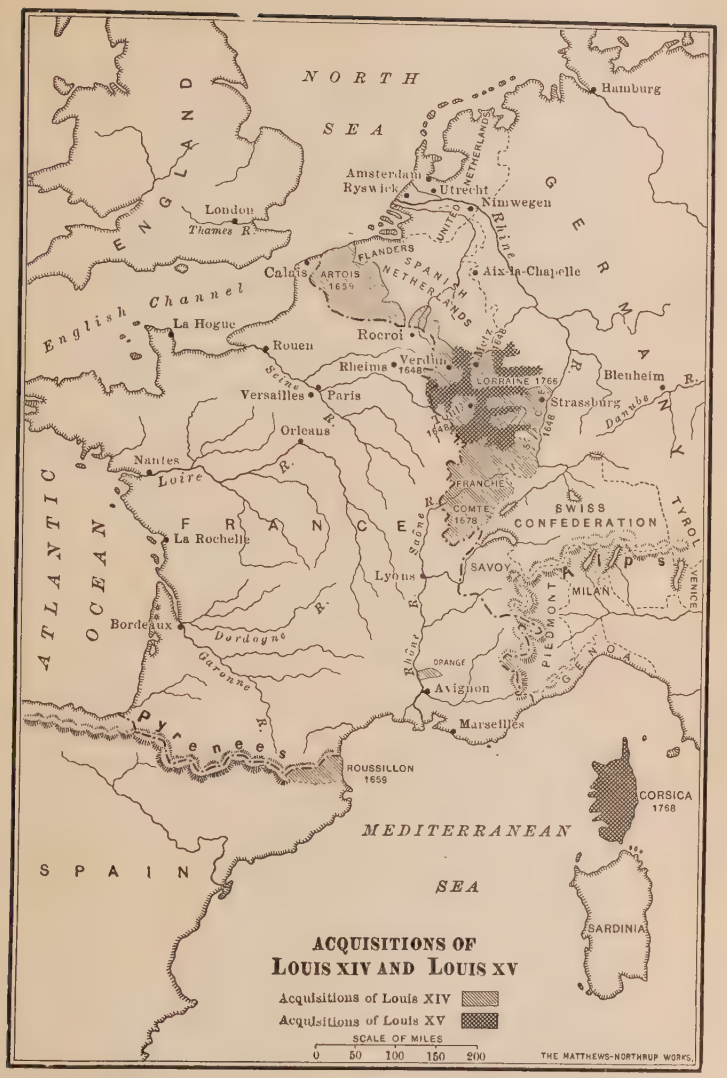
The Fronde

The Fronde was only a few months old when Mazarin signed the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which, by concluding triumphantly the war with the Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg, brought immense advantages to France. However, as the Spanish branch was unwilling to accept Mazarin's terms, the war between France and Spain continued after as before 1648. Owing to the embarrassments caused by the Fronde, the French were for a number of years obliged to stand on the defensive. Under these circumstances the Spaniards regained much of the lost ground. But as soon as the Fronde was broken, the energetic cardinal pushed the fight with fresh vigor and soon forced his proud neighbors to come to terms. Borne down by foreign wars and internal revolutions, Spain was in fact at her last gasp. On signing (1659) with France the Peace of the Pyrenees, she signed away with it the last remnant of the supremacy which she had once exercised in Europe. France, the victor, took the place of Spain and signalized her triumph by acquiring certain Spanish territories. These were Roussillon, lying on the north or French slope of the Pyrenees, and Artois, which gave the monarchy a more favorable boundary toward the Spanish Netherlands.

The war with Spain concluded by the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659)

With the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees still lingering in the skies of France, Mazarin's life turned to its setting (1661). The skillful Italian will always be remembered among the great ministers of his adopted country. On his disappearance from the scene the young king, Louis XIV, assumed the government in person; but when he announced with quiet pride that he would henceforth be his own prime minister, many smiled and doubted. However, he kept his word, and while he lived the government rested squarely on his shoulders. He is said to have boasted once: *l'état c'est moi* (I am the state). Even if he never employed the phrase, as is now generally admitted, it expresses admirably the spirit of his reign, for he held himself to be the absolute head of the state, source of every authority exercised throughout the country. No wonder that even his ministers were in his view no better than clerks who met daily in Council to receive his orders. He chose the sun as his emblem, because he was pleased to imagine that as the earth drew its sustenance from the central luminary, so the life of France emanated from his person. *Le roi-soleil* (sun-king) was the title given him by idolizing courtiers. Absolutism, that is, monarchy strengthened by the ruin of the feudal

The system of Louis XIV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Nimwegen
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Rhine R.
GERMANY
London
Thames R.
FLANDERS
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Calais
ARTOIS 1659
Aix-la-Chapelle
English Channel
La Hogue
Rocroi
Meuse R.
Rouen
Seine R.
Rheims
Verdun 1648
LORRAINE 1766
Bleuheim
Versailles
Paris
Strassburg
ALSACE 1648
Danube R.
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
FRANCHE COMTE 1678
SWISS CONFEDERATION
TYROL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
La Rochelle
Saone R.
Lyons
SAVOY
ALPS
MILAN
VENICE
Bordeaux
Dordogne R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
ORANGE
PIEDMONT
GENOA
Avignon
Marseilles
Pyrenees
ROUSSILLON 1659
CORSICA 1768
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SPAIN
SARDINIA
ACQUISITIONS OF
LOUIS XIV AND LOUIS XV
Acquisitions of Louis XIV
Acquisitions of Louis XV
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS

owers, had existed in France and Europe long before Louis XIV; had the theory of Divine Right which had been invoked by sovereigns ever since the Middle Age. But Divine Right seemed to ave acquired a new glamour when the French sovereign carried his solutism to a completeness and splendor never seen before. Louis mself spared no pains to minister to his own exaltation. It is here at Versailles comes in, the court or rather the royal city which he uilt for himself to the southwest of Paris. By withdrawing to ersailles, he removed himself from contact with the common herd nd lived surrounded, like a pagan divinity, with acolytes and worippers. It is remarkable to what degree Versailles aroused the dmiration of the world. That was not so much because of its, ter all, trivial splendors as because, first, it symbolized the new solutism, envy of all the other monarchical governments in the orld, and second, because its central figure, to borrow the words a contemporary, undoubtedly was "the greatest actor of majesty at ever filled a throne."

But strong and omnipresent as the ceremonial element was in ouis's conception of his office, he had a sense of duty which obliged m to attend strictly and regularly to business. To this unflinching ceptance of responsibility must be added a remarkable eling for symmetry and system which enabled him to ld the finishing touches to the rather haphazard govern- ental organization which had been put together during several revious generations. With administrative centralization carried rough, in principle, by the royal agents of Richelieu's invention, e intendants, the next step was to rearrange and energize the ntral departments destined to serve as the brains of the system. f incalculable value in this work of unification were the devoted ficials trained in the school of Richelieu and Mazarin. To Lionne ust be given credit for the effective organization of the foreign fice under an unequaled staff of diplomats, while the tireless Louis, minister of war, created a standing army not only considerably rger than any seen in Europe since the Roman Empire, but, what as still more important, supplied from government arsenals and ores and completely dependent on the king. In fact, Louvois may regarded as the man who gave the standing army its modern rm and who by causing it to be generally imitated imposed it on urope.

Improved administration

However, Louis's most important collaborator was without doubt

the controller general (minister of finance), Jean Colbert. On being put in 1661 at the head of the French treasury, he found himself flung into a veritable Augean stable choked with the accumulated refuse and disorder of the previous half century. By firmly eliminating peculation and by establishing a system of strict accounting he succeeded, without the aid of new taxes, in liberating the government of its burden of debt and in converting the annual deficit into a surplus. Colbert might even have proceeded to a reduction of taxation, if after a few years of a welcome peace the country had not been again plunged into war. War became the very breath of Louis's nostrils and long before his end threw the country back into the financial abyss from which Colbert had rescued it. Since the great minister died in 1683, he was spared the pain of facing the worst consequences of his master's military mania.

Colbert, minister of finance

But Colbert was more than a good financier, much more, for he was also an economic thinker. With the science of political economy not yet formed, it was a step toward its creation when Colbert arrived at the conclusion that the question of revenues must be considered in connection with the whole problem of production, and that the primary object of a good minister of finance should be the increase of the total wealth of the nation. Colbert therefore undertook to foster agriculture, manufactures, and commerce to the best of his ability. His system, often called Colbertism, except for the severer logic of its application, hardly differs from that mercantilism which dominated the policy of all European states in his day. Mercantilism favored home industries by a heavy tariff on imported manufactures and encouraged exports in the hope of creating a favorable balance of trade. In spite of its many fallacies, mercantilism must not be regarded as wholly barren even from a strictly economic angle. Of the mercantilist, Colbert, more particularly it may be said that he succeeded in promoting the manufacture of certain articles suited to the French genius such as silks, brocades, laces, furniture, and glass. Also he improved communications by the building of roads and canals; and he unfolded a considerable colonial activity in Canada, India, and the West Indies. True, his commercial companies (East India Company, West India Company), formed on the Dutch model, failed to achieve much success; and even many of the manufactures which he called into existence by means of special privileges went under

The economic policy of Colbert

n France plunged deeper and deeper into war. But fair-minded cs will incline to ascribe these and other failures in the economic less to Colbert and his system than to the unfortunate mili- sm of his lord and master, Louis.

Vhile the king took pleasure in ample revenues and was of course no means averse to bourgeois prosperity, he was none the less icularly eager for military fame, the fame beside which every r kind of reputation seemed to him to shrink to ning. Though only twenty-two years old at Maza- s death, he was already the cynosure of Europe. In ruth he could regard himself as the leading power of western world. But in measure as he found that his neighbors e no match for him, he began to be tempted by the thought of ing himself their acknowledged master. A questionable ambi- , this, but like other rulers, before and since, grown arrogant power, Louis succumbed to it. Accordingly, in 1667 he for- ly inaugurated a career of conquest which, after a few brilliant lts, led to such a succession of disasters that the man whose y actions had been attended by clouds of incense wafted by iring courtiers, closed his career under a deepening shadow.

Louis resolves on a career of conquest

our great wars substantially filled the rest of Louis's life. They e: (1) The War with Spain for the possession of Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668); (2) the War with Dutch (1672–1678); (3) the War of the Palatinate (1688–1697); the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

His wars

Vhen Louis, in the year 1667, surveyed the political situation, noting his own resources and the weakness of his neighbors, lved on a career of conquest, he must have debated carefully re to deliver the first blow. He decided finally to n the French boundaries toward the east. Spain, enched in the Spanish Netherlands, seemed moribund, , besides, France needed from a purely military view- t to be strengthened, most of all, on this side. By osing to expand eastward, however, Louis was bound to antago- the three countries which were directly threatened by this e — Spain, the Dutch, and Germany. Sooner or later, too, he likely to arouse the jealousy of the ancient rival of France, land. Did Louis, when he began war so lightly, reckon with chance of a European coalition against him? Probably not. He only the contemporary divisions of Europe and his own brilliant

Louis certain to unite Europe against himself

opportunity, and like every other adventurer he let the future take care of itself.

The War of the Spanish Netherlands, 1667–1668

In 1667 Louis suddenly and frivolously invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The fact that he tried to justify himself by putting forth some wholly irrelevant claims of his Spanish wife, daughter of Philip IV, to these territories, only added hypocrisy to violence. His magnificent army, brought to an unrivalled pitch of perfection by the labors of Louvois, took place after place. Decadent Spain was unable to offer resistance, and if the Dutch, frightened at the prospect of such a neighbor as Louis, had not bestirred themselves, Louis would have overrun the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of the Dutch, England, and Sweden, formed by the rapid ingenuity of the republican patriot, John de Witt, just then the controlling member of the Dutch government, bade Louis halt. He was still at the beginning of his career and not yet stubbornly set on having his way regardless of consequences. In answer to the threat of the Triple Alliance, he declared himself satisfied with a frontier strip and abandoned the struggle. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) formally secured him in his bold acquisition (1668).

Louis isolates the Dutch and then falls upon them

For the next few years Louis seemed to be dominated by a single thought — revenge upon the Dutch. The Dutch had been the soul of the Triple Alliance; the Dutch primarily hindered his expansion eastward. The plan he now formed was to sever the Dutch from all their friends and allies and then fall upon them unawares. The diplomatic campaign preliminary to the declaration of war was a masterpiece. Sweden and the emperor were lulled into security by special treaties, while the despicable Stuart, Charles II, was by an immense bribe drawn into an active alliance with France (Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670). In the spring of 1672 everything was ready. While the combined French and English fleets engaged the Dutch fleet under the celebrated Admiral Ruyter in the channel, the French army, led by Condé and Turenne, invaded the territory of the Seven United Provinces by following the course of the Rhine.

In a few weeks most of the provinces, owing to the decay into which the too secure de Witt had permitted the army and fortresses to fall, were in the hands of the French. And now one of those panics to which men are but too unfortunately heir took possession of the alarmed people. They fell upon and murdered de Witt, and would

atisfied with nothing less than the triumphant reinstatement of house of Orange, which some twenty years before, following the essful conclusion of the war with Spain, had been excluded from public service. In an outburst of enthusiasm William of Orange was made stadtholder and supreme com- der on sea and land. William, a young man but nty-one years of age, was far from being a genius, but he was ng from heroic stock, and the responsibility for a nation's safe- ing, put upon him in a stern crisis, brought out his best qualities. English ambassador invited him to look about him and submit, ng that it was easy to see that the Dutch were lost. "I know means of never seeing it," he replied, "to die on the last dyke." as this spirit that now steeled the temper of the little people and bled them to emulate the deeds of their ancestors against Spain. efore Louis could take the heart of the Netherlands, the city msterdam, the Dutch had, at the order of William, cut the dykes restored their country to the original dominion of the waters. is was obliged to retreat; his opportunity was lost. reover, the fear of France now became general, and re many months had passed Spain as well as the eror and a large number of German princes had rallied he cause of the Dutch. In the year 1674 the position of Louis was further weakened. In that year the angry state of English feeling ed Charles II to abandon Louis and make his peace with the ch. Thus Louis found himself faced with a great continental ition with no ally but remote Sweden. The odds in such a ggle were patently against Louis, and although the continued eriority of the French army both in organization and leadership bled him to win every pitched battle with his foes, he was glad gh to end the war when peace was offered. By the Treaty of nwegen (1678) he had to acknowledge his failure in his main pose, for the Dutch did not lose a foot of territory; but he was mitted, in recognition of his military successes, to incorporate with nce the Franche Comté (Free County of Burgundy), a detached ern possession of the king of Spain.

The house of Orange to the front

The Dutch war becomes general

he second war, too, although it had roused a European alliance nst Louis, had brought him its prize of a new province. Louis now at the zenith of his glory. The adulation of his court became e and more slavish, until the flattered monarch imagined that he d do everything with impunity. His imperious temper is well

exhibited by his resolve to continue his aggressions in time of peace. He submitted the interpretation of the Treaty of Westphalia, an international instrument, to the French law-courts, subject to his dictation, and on the strength of their one-sided verdict insolently occupied a number of districts of the German border with an armed force. His most considerable acquisition made in this manner was the Alsatian city of Strasburg. Seized (1681) in open disregard of the public law of Europe, it was promptly incorporated in France.

Louis seizes German districts in time of peace

A no less high-handed treatment was accorded to a group of his own subjects, the Huguenots. Since the suppression of their political privileges by Richelieu they had been satisfied with the civil and religious liberties guaranteed them by the Edict of Nantes and had consistently conducted themselves as faithful subjects of their king. But the Catholic clergy never ceased to protest against the presence of a tolerated heretical minority among the orthodox majority. Unable to bring such wise statesmen as Richelieu and Mazarin to their point of view, they achieved a better success from the moment they began to deal with Louis. It is undeniable that even Louis, bigoted believer though he was, hesitated at first to take vigorous measures against the Huguenots; but surrounded by Catholic zealots and under the influence of Jesuit confessors, he adopted gradually a policy of petty annoyances expressive of his instinctive aversion for the dissident minority. The next, more serious step was a succession of illegal encroachments which deprived the Huguenots of their printing-presses, schools, and temples; and when, finally, the king authorized the seizure of their children in order to hand them over for training to Catholic priests and teachers, the royal protection guaranteed by treaty had become a mockery. By the early eighties it remained only to apply the last indignity in the form of a forceful conversion of those who still clung to their faith. Rude soldiers were quartered in their houses to torture them at pleasure until they murmured their willingness to be confessed by a priest. When in 1685 his councillors reported to Louis that all or nearly all the Huguenots had returned to Mother Church, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes on the ground that it no longer served any useful purpose. By a unique mixture of hypocrisy and violence approximately one million people had been deprived of their religious rights and, in so far as they did not succeed in winning security by accepting Catholicism, became outlaws.

Persecution of the Huguenots and Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

The responsibility for this monstrous and inhuman policy rests narely on the shoulders of Louis and the Catholic clergy of France. e outraged Huguenots, however, were inclined to throw much of it Madame de Maintenon. A remarkable woman brought as a Huguenot, she had become a convert to Catholi- m and, like many another convert, distinguished herself by a ssionate devotion to the Church. By being appointed governess some of Louis's illegitimate children, she made his acquaintance d by the natural ascendancy of her character quickly gained a narkable influence over him. When his first wife, Marie Therese, Spanish princess, died, he married Madame de Maintenon (1683) d at the same time surrendered his loose and libertine habits favor of her severe and impeccable moral code. The woman who ld work this miracle with an habitual rake was naturally credited h an inordinate influence over his policy. The suspicions of the guenots, already ill-disposed to her as a renegade from their h, are therefore comprehensible. However, when we remember t the policy of persecution considerably antedates Madame de intenon's time, we are obliged to declare that her share in the guenot tragedy has been exaggerated and that she figures in it h certainty only in the last act. That tragedy, revoltingly in- man, brought loss and sorrow not only to the immediate victims. a very true sense the heaviest loser was France herself, for several ndred thousand active and resolute people, chiefly of the artisan ss, made desperate by their ruler's cruelty, fled across the border l carried their industry, their culture, and, above all, their un- ching spirit to the rivals and enemies of their country.

Madame de Maintenon

The seizure of Strasburg and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ell in a period of nominal peace. They spread such a feeling of easiness and insecurity that William of Orange resolved to prepare the worst by a new coalition, and by 1686, he had suaded Spain, the emperor (Austria), and a large num- of German states to join him in a league of mutual tection. The war between Louis and this new com- ation had already become inevitable, when a happy ident brought England into the fold of the allies. In 1688, nes II, who, like his brother, Charles II, cultivated friendly re- ons with France, was overthrown by the "Glorious Revolution" William of Orange became king of England. As the temper of English people had at the same time become thoroughly anti-

England joins the coalition against Louis

French, William found no difficulty in pe[illegible]hem to join Europe against the French monarch. Thus in [illegible]r — called the War of the Palatinate from the double fact [illegible]n his usual effrontery Louis put forth an unfounded claim to th[illegible]alatinate and that the war began with a terrible harrying by fire and sword of that poor Rhenish land — Louis was absolutely without a friend.

This third war (1688–1697) is, for the general student, thoroughly unmemorable. Battles were fought on land and on sea, in the channel, in the Netherlands, and along the Rhine, and, generally speaking, the French proved their old superiority; but they were no longer strong enough to reap any benefit from their successes against the rest of Europe, and in 1697 all the combatants from mere exhaustion were glad to sign, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Ryswick.

The War of the Palatinate, 1688–1697

The War of the Palatinate was the first war by which Louis had gained nothing. That and the circumstance that England had now definitely joined the ranks of his enemies, should have served him as a warning that the tide had turned. And indeed he must have felt less secure than had once been the case, since he gave a most anxious consideration to the problem of the Spanish succession just then looming before Europe. The king of Spain, Charles II, had no direct heir, and at his death, which might occur at any time, the vast Spanish dominion — Spain and her colonies, Naples and Milan, the Spanish Netherlands — would fall no one knew to whom. The Austrian branch of Hapsburg naturally put forth a claim, but Louis fancied that his descendants had a still better title in right of his first wife, who was the oldest sister of the Spanish king. The inheritance was so involved by a long succession of treaties and renunciations that even at this day no scholar would venture authoritatively to declare who, in a strictly legal sense, was the heir of Charles II.

The Spanish inheritance

Old enough to have grown cautious, Louis approached his chief adversary, William of Orange, as soon as the Peace of Ryswick had been signed, with the sensible proposal to come to some arrangement with him over the Spanish inheritance by which war might be averted. Accordingly, the two leading sovereigns of Europe pledged themselves to a plan of partition as the most plausible settlement of the impending difficulties. But when, on the death of Charles II, November, 1700, it was found that the Spanish king had made a will in favor of Philip, duke of

Louis signs and rejects the Partition Treaty

ou, one of Louis's younger grandsons, Louis, intoxicated by the pect, forgot his obligations and threw the Partition Treaty to winds. He sent young Philip to Madrid to assume the rule of undivided dominion of Spain. The house of Bourbon now ruled whole European west. "The Pyrenees have ceased to exist" , if we may believe Voltaire, Louis's exultant words.

was some time before Europe recovered from the shock of its rise over this bold step and nerved itself to a resistance. The lwinked and angered William was indefatigable in arousing the ch and English and by 1702 had succeeded in creating The Grand Alliance
Grand Alliance, the reconstituted coalition of the ious war. Before the conflict had fairly begun, however, Wil- , the stubborn, lifelong enemy of Louis, had died (March, 1702). he new and supreme struggle against the ambition of Louis, a ggle familiar under the name of the War of the Spanish Succession 2–1714), it is not merely fanciful to imagine his indomitable t marching with and heartening the hosts of the allies.

the new war the position of Louis was more favorable than it been in the preceding struggle. He commanded the resources nly of France but also of Spain; his soldiers carried themselves the assurance of troops which had never been beaten; The combatants compared his armies had the advantage of being under his single tion. The allies, on the other hand, were necessarily ded in council and interest. What advantages they had lay in e two circumstances, which in the end proved decisive: they essed greater resources of money and men and they developed rior commanders. The brilliant generals of Louis's youth, men Condé and Turenne, had long since died, and their successors, the exception of Vauban, the inventor of modern military en- ering, and the intrepid Villars, were all, like Louis himself, with- a spark of fire and originality. In the highest commands, where ce was weak, England and Austria on the other hand proved selves particularly strong. They developed in the duke of Marl- ugh and in Eugene, prince of Savoy, two eminent commanders. ot even the Thirty Years' War had assumed such proportions as truggle in which Europe now engaged. It was literally The War of the Spanish Succession a world struggle ersal and raged, at one and the same time, at all the sed points of the French-Spanish possessions, that is, he Spanish Netherlands, along the upper Rhine, in , in Spain itself (where the Hapsburg claimant, the

Archduke Charles, strove to drive out the Bourbon king, Philip V), on the sea, and in the colonies of North America. The details of this gigantic struggle have no place here. We must content ourselves with noting a few striking military actions and the final settlement.

For the first few years the French showed their strength by maintaining an offensive which aimed at nothing less than the termination of the war by the capture of the Austrian capital, Vienna. In 1704 this over-daring plan led to a great catastrophe. Securely planted on the upper Danube, the French were proceeding eastward, when to their great surprise they were confronted with the combined armies of Marlborough and Eugene. Against all expectations the two audacious generals had carried their forces, one from the lower Rhine, the other from Italy, to throw a sudden barrier across the French advance. In the resulting battle of Blenheim the allies administered a crushing defeat to France, which not only broke the long chain of French victories but demoralized both army and government. Following up their success at Blenheim, the allies scored triumph on triumph. In 1706 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and in the same year Eugene defeated the French at Turin and drove them completely out of Italy. The victories of Oudenarde and Malplaquet, won in 1708 and 1709 respectively, seemed to complete the discomfiture of France, for they exhausted the country and cleared the road to Paris.

The victories of Eugene and Marlborough

The road to Paris, however, owing to a number of unexpected occurrences which utterly changed the face of European politics, was never taken. In 1710 the Whig ministry, which had supported Marlborough and advocated the war, was shaken by a number of English domestic developments; and gradually Tory ministers, strongly in favor of peace, displaced their Whig rivals. Marlborough, no longer receiving support from home, found his actions in the field paralyzed. No sooner had the Tory cabinet, early in 1711, opened secret negotiations with Louis than another event occurred which put an end to what little harmony still existed among the allies.

A Tory ministry succeeds the Whigs

In April, 1711, the head of the Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg, Emperor Joseph I, died, and in default of a direct male heir, was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. As Charles was also the candidate of the Grand Alliance for the Spanish throne, his accession to the crown of Austria held out the prospect of the reunion of

e vast Hapsburg dominions in one hand, as in the time of Charles V. s such a development did not accord with the interests of the two a-powers, England and the Dutch, they were moved — and we ve seen that England at least needed no spurring — to me to an agreement with the French over the head of ustria. The exhausted Louis eagerly seized the hand nexpectedly held out to him. In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht ended e War of the Spanish Succession.

The death of Emperor Joseph

In the Peace of Utrecht it was agreed that the vast Spanish em- re was not to be kept intact. Every state, great or small, wanted part of the booty and by insistent clamor managed to get some- ing for its pains. First, Philip V, Louis's grandson, was cognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on the strict ndition that France and Spain should remain forever parated. In a limited sense, therefore, Louis's policy had tri- nphed, for a Bourbon sat upon the Spanish throne. Next, the nperor was provided for; he received the bulk of the Italian pos- ssions of Spain (Milan, Naples, and Sardinia), together with the panish Netherlands (henceforth Austrian Netherlands). The Dutch ere appeased with a string of border fortresses in the Austrian etherlands to serve them as a military barrier against France; nd England took certain French possessions in the New World, ewfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and Hudson's Bay, together th the two Spanish strongholds, the island of Minorca and the rock Gibraltar. These latter gave her a powerful grip on the Mediter- nean. The dissatisfied emperor, who continued stubbornly to re- rd the whole Spanish inheritance as his, refused at first to accept is peace; but, deserted by his allies, he was forced to give way and nfirm its arrangements by the Peace of Rastadt (1714).

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713

Shortly after the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, Louis XIV ed (September 1, 1715). The material prosperity of his early ears had vanished, and in their place his failing eyes rested upon a mished peasantry, an impoverished middle class, a dis- ntented aristocracy, and a government breaking down nder its burden of debt. The disastrous end was the answer of te to his overweening ambition. When his little five-year-old ccessor was brought to his bedside, the dying man said to him ith great seriousness: "Do not imitate me in my taste for war." ut, regardless of the many and patent ills produced by a policy of ilitary conquest, Louis and his court exercised an enormous in-

Louis's death

fluence in their time. French manners, French fashions, French art, all curiously and closely expressive of the magnificent Louis himself, came to dominate the taste of Europe. In these manifestations of the French spirit it is impossible not to recognize something rather grand and splendid. At the same time they leave us more than a bit suspicious that they have an excessive artificiality and do not rest on very solid foundations.

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CHAPTER XV

BALTIC AFFAIRS: THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND THE DECLINE OF SWEDEN

It was not till the sixteenth century that Russia swung decisively to the ken of Europe. During the Middle Age the Russian people, ho constitute the easternmost branch of the Slavs, spread slowly peasant colonies over the great east-European plain; **Russia, a non-European state during the Middle Age** d during all that time they remained steadily outside e circle of west-European civilization. In this early riod of their history they experienced successively ree influences from without of enduring significance. the ninth century they were conquered by a band of Germanic orthmen under a leader, Rurik by name, who gave them a military ganization and a taste for conquest. Predatory expeditions under rik's successors brought them into contact with the Byzantine mpire which, putting the same spell on them as the Roman Empire the West exercised on the barbarous German tribes, persuaded em (in the tenth century) to give up paganism and adopt the ristian religion of the eastern or Greek Orthodox type. While ey were digesting this Mediterranean influence and slowly raising emselves from barbarism, they were (in the thirteenth century) errun by a wild Asiatic people, the Tartars, and subjected to a ushing servitude. The military spirit of the Northmen, the civiliz- g effect of Greek Christianity, and the hard subjection imposed by e Asiatic Tartars constitute the main ingredients from which was ewed the early Russian destiny.

After two hundred years of Tartar subjection, that is, toward the ddle of the fifteenth century, there occurred a national revival ampioned by the ruler of the Moscow area. The Tartar yoke s gradually shaken off and the prince of Muscovy, as **Accession of the Romanov dynasty** der of the movement, was enabled to adopt a title licative of complete liberation: he called himself tsar Russia — tsar, derived from Cæsar, being equivalent king or emperor. Although the first tsars present themselves to

view as autocratic rulers of a distinctly Asiatic order, they were not so autocratic as not to be obliged to reckon with rival agencies, for they were confronted with a body of nobles (boyars) with a tradition of military power and a Christian clergy with an almost magical influence over a down-trodden and superstitious peasantry. Toward the close of the sixteenth century the extinction of the first dynasty led to civil disturbances which, taken advantage of by the neighboring state of Poland, almost brought about the renewed ruin of the barely resuscitated state. From this evil epoch, known in Russian history as "the time of troubles," the country was saved by a popular assembly which, prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, conferred (1613) the tsarate on a leading boyar, Michael Romanov. Michael was the first ruler of the dynasty which maintained an uninterrupted ascendancy in Russia for three hundred years.

The most pressing business of the new dynasty was to drive back the western neighbors of the Russians, the Poles, who had attempted to extend their power all the way to Moscow. Between Russia and Poland, themselves countries of the plain, interposed itself the flat expanse of the Ukraine, loosely ruled by bands of war-like Cossacks. Hard fighters though they were, the Cossacks, squeezed between two great states and protected by no natural barriers, were not strong enough to preserve their independence. In 1667 the Tsar Alexis, the second ruler of the Romanov line, forced Poland to a division of the Ukraine, by which the Russian boundary was pushed to the left bank of the river Dnieper. The treaty was an indication that the days of Polish aggression had come to an end and that in its stead the westward expansion of Russia had begun. More important still was the fact that Tsar Alexis vaguely glimpsed the thought that the time had come to end the intellectual stagnation of Russia by multiplying the contacts with Europe. But unable to detach himself from an ancient and overmastering tradition, he stood irresolutely in his tracks, looking at Europe, as it were, across an impassable stream. It was his grandson Peter who boldly took the plunge and planted his feet on European soil.

The westward movement of Russia begins

Tsar Peter is that rare and stirring combination, autocrat and revolutionary in one. Together with an older brother, Ivan, he was proclaimed tsar on the death of his father in 1682. As the two lads were too young to rule, a regency was established under an older

ster, Sophia. Peter, a wide-awake and masterful youth, accepted is situation until 1689, when, being seventeen years old, he took e government into his own hands and relegated Sophia to a nun- ery. As the co-tsar, Ivan, was a feeble, half-witted eature, he did not, during the few years still conceded him, interfere with Peter's sole control.

Accession of Tsar Peter, 1689

In order to grasp Peter's epochal activity it is necessary to have in ind the chief factors of the situation. At Peter's accession the ussians were still essentially an Asiatic people, connected with urope solely by the two bonds of race and faith: they ere both Caucasians and Christians. Their state was vast extent, comprising the great plain lying between e Caspian and the White seas and extending across the ral Mountains — a largely imaginary barrier — into orthern Asia. In fact, the tsars had already established a loose ntrol over a large part of the thinly populated mass of snow-bound beria. In the opposite direction, however, toward the west, Rus- an action was hampered, as we have already seen, by rival Poland. or was that all, for Sweden blocked the access to the Baltic sea, hile the vast Mohammedan state, the Ottoman Empire, owned or ntrolled the whole circuit of the Black sea. Enormous as Russia as, embracing an area greater than that of all the west-European ates put together, it suffered from being a land-locked empire ithout an approach, except by the frozen White sea, to the oceans hich are the open highways of the world. It was this emphatically land character of Russia which alone explains its long delay in tablishing contact with European civilization. Its prolonged iso- tion accounts also for the existence of a government so peculiar d indigenous that, though absolute, it was looked upon by Euro- an visitors as having little or no resemblance to the familiar solute governments of Europe. Representing a mixture of Byzan- ne autocrat and Mongolian khan, the tsar was the product of an tirely different tradition from, say, Louis XIV of France; never- eless he was, if an Asiatic as distinct from a European despot, t without checks upon his power. The assembly of the boyars unted for something; the patriarch, head of the Russian Church ercised the authority inherent in a numerous and richly endowed rgy; and the *Streltsi*, a sort of national militia, had acquired a eat, if indeterminate, power by reason of their being the main ganized force of the state and a privileged one besides.

The situation of Russia at Peter's accession

From the very outset of his rule Tsar Peter set himself, in the main, three aims and clung to them to the end of his life with an incomparable tenacity. (1) He resolved to make the culture connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate and not to rest until he had carried his country into the circle of western civilization; (2) he labored to open a physical way to the west by gaining a foothold on the Baltic and Black seas; (3) he planned to rid himself of the restraints put upon him by boyars, patriarch, and Streltsi not so much because they seriously hampered him as because they were the conservative instruments of a hateful Russian past, which he was minded to obliterate.

Peter's three aims

Peter is a difficult person for a modern man to understand. At one time he seems to be no better than a common murderer; again he strikes us as a monster in the grip of revolting violences and sensualities; and on a third occasion we see him as manifestly one of nature's noblemen. We have the key to his character when we remember that he was a barbarian of genius — never anything more. Civilized standards applied to him are unjust and futile. Barbarity was an element of his blood, and all his strenuous, life-long aspiration for the nobler possessions of the mind never diminished his natural savagery. Therefore, his life is full of the strangest contrasts. With barbarian eagerness he appropriated everything that he encountered, good and evil alike, and surrendered himself, for the time being, to its sway with all his might. Certainly his distinguishing characteristic is an indomitable energy: his life burned at a white heat.

The character of Peter

Peter's first chance to realize his foreign program came in the year 1695. The Emperor Leopold was at that time waging war against the Turks, who were beginning to show the first symptoms of collapse. Peter saw that the embarrassment of the Mohammedans might serve him to gain a foothold on the Black sea, which the sultan arrogantly looked upon as his private domain. In 1696 he conquered the port of Azov. The future now opened more confidently to him, and before taking another step he determined to visit the west and study the wonders of its civilization with his own eyes.

Peter's first conquest, Azov

Peter spent the year 1697–1698 in travel through Germany, Holland, and England. The journey, undertaken with a large suite of fellow-students like himself, was meant purely as a voyage of instruction. Throughout its course Peter was indefatigable in his

forts to get at the bottom of things, at the methods of western overnment, at the sources of western wealth, at the systems of estern trade and manufacture. "My part to learn," is the motto circling the seal which he had struck for this voyage. In Holland he hired himself out for a time as a common hip-carpenter, ships having been a passion with him from s boyhood. In addition he attended surgical lectures, visited paper-ills, flour-mills, printing-presses, in short was untiring in his efforts assimilate, if not the deep-down secrets, at least the more obvious atures of western civilization. The uncouth Peter, a giant who owered to the height of about six and a half feet, was the joke of the ay among the courtiers and dandies, but simple folk were stirred to terest in this implacable worker, who balked at no drudgery to himself for the task of uplifting his backward people.

Peter's journey of instruction

The tsar had reached Vienna on his return trip when he heard that he Streltsi had revolted. He set out post-haste for home, and though order had been restored before he reached Moscow, he ook a fearful vengeance. Over a thousand of the luckless iards were executed with unimaginable tortures. In s savage fury Peter, splashed with blood, presided in erson at the butchery. Sovereign and executioner — ich an accumulation of offices in one hand clearly exhibits he chasm that then yawned between Europe and Russia. But no ne will deny that there was method in Peter's madness. The treltsi, a privileged national militia, were the spokesmen of the scontent aroused by the policy of Europeanization, and Peter felt hat in striking them he dealt a blow to the forces of conservatism. he Streltsi were totally dispersed and in their place the tsar created n army on the European pattern, which before the close of his reign ad become an efficient instrument of war. As the assembly of the oyars was, like the Streltsi, a center of Russianism, he rid himself of by the cunning device of never calling it together.

Peter disbands the Streltsi and organizes a standing army

With the opposition trampled in the dust, Peter's reforms crowded ick and fast. Every barrier was levelled to facilitate the invasion western influences. He invited colonists, mechanics, and ship-rights to settle in Russia. He introduced western dress making it obligatory for the court. He discouraged e wearing of beards, an ancient, almost a religious custom of his eople, and, armed with a pair of scissors, occasionally with his own mperial hand practiced the barber's art upon his subjects. By such

Peter's reforms

measures he clashed with many cherished habits, and the clergy, the natural center of conservatism, became increasingly suspicious of his policy. As their discontent was a danger to the throne and a hindrance to reform, the tsar resolved to make them more dependent on himself. When the patriarch died in 1700, Peter committed his functions to a Holy Synod which he himself appointed and controlled, and thus the tsar became the head of the Church as he already was the head of the state.

Following his return from the west, Peter was more desirous than ever of gaining an outlet on the Baltic. Azov, on the Black sea, was worth little to him as long as the Turks held the Dardanelles. Peter's paradise, the west, it was clear, could be best gained by the northern route. But the enterprise was far from easy. At every point convenient to Russia the Baltic coast was held by Sweden, and Sweden, the leading power of the north, was prepared to resist with energy any attempt to displace her.

The inevitable clash with Sweden

The rise of Sweden to the position of the leading Baltic power dates from the heroic time of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632). In his early years Gustavus successfully extended the Swedish territory along the eastern shore of the Baltic; and when, later, he plunged into the Thirty Years' War, in which he met his death, he gained such triumphs that his daughter, Christina, who succeeded him, was enabled to demand, as her share in the German booty, western Pomerania and the land at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe (Treaty of Westphalia, 1648). For a short time now Sweden took rank with the great powers of Europe. Unfortunately for her, her greatness was the result not of her wealth, population, and culture, but solely of her military prowess; and, as experience proves, a purely military greatness rests on precarious foundations. A weak, unmilitary ruler, or a military adventurer who overstrains the bow, may undermine it. Although the immediate successors of Gustavus possessed more than the average human endowment, they injured and antagonized so many interests that it was only a question of time when their neighbors would combine against them. Denmark to the west, Brandenburg-Prussia and Poland to the south, and Russia to the east, had all paid for Sweden's greatness with severe losses and nursed a corresponding grudge against her. The long-awaited opportunity for revenge seemed at length to have arrived, when in the year 1697, Charles XII, a boy

The greatness of Sweden

ifteen, came to the throne. His youth and inexperience appeared mark him as an easy victim, and Denmark, Poland, and Russia med a league against him to recover their lost territories (1700). The allies had, however, made their reckoning without the host. arles XII turned out, in spite of his youth, to be the most warlike mber of a warlike race — a perfect fighting demon. Aside from unflinching courage and his Spartan code of conduct, lacked, however, every virtue of a ruler. Of a proud and tinate nature he was never governed by a consideration of the wel- e of his people, but always shaped his policy by his own romantic ions of fame and honor. He was Don Quixote promoted to a one, and though he could fight with admirable fury against wind- ls, he could not govern and he could not build. In the year 1700 full character was not yet revealed, and people stopped open- uthed with wonder as he went up in splendor, like a rocket, in the th.

Charles XII

Before the coalition was ready to strike, young Charles gathered forces and fell upon the enemy. As the armies of Denmark, Po- d, and Russia were necessarily widely separated, he calculated t if he could meet them in turn, the likelihood of vic- y would be much increased. He laid his plans accord- y. In the spring of 1700 he suddenly crossed the ers from Sweden and besieged Copenhagen. The king Denmark, unprepared for so bold a step, had to give way and sign h Charles the Peace of Travendal (August, 1700), in which he mised to remain neutral during the remainder of the war. The of his signature was hardly dry before Charles was off again like ash. This time he sailed to the gulf of Finland, where Peter with 00 men was besieging Narva. Charles, at the head of only 0, advanced straightway to the attack, and his well-disciplined edes soon swept off the field the ill-trained army which Peter had t upon the ruins of the Streltsi. Free to turn upon his last and t hated enemy, August the Strong, king of Poland, Charles now ved southward and in the course of another year signally defeated gust's forces.

His marvelous campaign of 1700

Thus far the war had been managed admirably. Charles might e dictated terms favorable to his country and gone he. But passionately obstinate, he was set on humil- ng August, whom he regarded as the instigator of the ance and whom he determined to drive out of Poland

He spoils all by his Polish policy

altogether. The attempt necessitated getting Poland into his hands and proved so difficult that it led to the undoing of his first successes and, finally, to the ruin of his life.

Poland was at this time in a condition hardly better than anarchy. The nobles exercised all the power and were sovereign, each on his own lands. The only remaining witnesses of an earlier unity were a diet, which never transacted any business, and an elected king, who, being deprived of all power, was impotent. In the year 1697 the Poles had even elected to the kingship a foreigner, August the Strong, elector of Saxony. When in the course of the Northern War, as the Baltic struggle was generally called, King August met with repeated reverses at the hands of Charles, the majority of the Poles were glad rather than sorry, for August had engaged in the war without the consent of the diet; but when Charles began to harry Poland with an armed force and, in addition, insisted on forcing a monarch of his own choosing on the country, a national party naturally gathered round August, who, although a foreigner, was the legally elected king.

The anarchy of Poland

For many years following his brilliant opening campaign Charles hunted August over the marshy and wooded plains of the Slav kingdom, and, though victorious, could never quite succeed in utterly crushing his enemy. Even the capture of Warsaw and the elevation of his own candidate, Stanislaus Lesczinski, to the Polish throne, did not change the situation. Finally, in 1706, Charles desperately plunged after August into Saxony and forced him to sign a humiliating peace, including his abdication of the Polish crown.

Charles and August

The vindictiveness of its sovereign was destined to cost Sweden dear. While Charles was chasing a mere will-o'-the-wisp, the practical Peter was making excellent and solid use of his time. The lesson of Narva had not been lost upon him. While continuing the reconstruction of his forces with the victorious Swedish army as his model, he at the same time wedged his way into the Swedish territory along the Baltic coast. To show his confidence in the future, he founded in 1703, on the banks of the Neva, a new capital and named it St. Petersburg. Not till 1707, when he had, as he thought, conclusively disposed of August of Poland, did the king of Sweden undertake to check the Russian aggressions. To let the impertinent tsar feel the full weight of his sword, he marched against Moscow; but long before he reached that

Progress of Peter on the Baltic; Pultava

tant capital his ranks were thinned by the rigors of the Russian ıter and decimated by disease. When Peter came up with Charles Pultava (July, 1709), the Swedes fought with their accustomed very, but their sufferings had undermined their strength. And v Narva was avenged. The Swedish army was literally destroyed, l Charles, accompanied by a few hundred horsemen, barely suc- ded in making his escape to Turkey. The verdict of Pultava was tined to be final. Sweden stepped down from her proud position, l a new power, Russia, henceforth ruled in the north.

As for Charles, the sultan received the famous warrior hospitably l offered him Bender (on the Dniester) for a residence. There arles remained five years — long enough to make Bender the name one of the maddest chapters of his adventurous career. **Charles in Turkey**

sooner at Bender, his one aim in life came to be to drag rkey into a war with Peter; and after two years of importunate ading war actually resulted (1711). Peter, who impetuously carried e struggle into Turkish territory, manœuvred so unhappily that he ınd his army completely surrounded by the enemy and faced with e necessity of surrendering. From this imminent disaster the tsar s saved by the action of the Ottoman commander-in-chief, the ınd vizir, who in return for Azov on the Black sea and a munif- nt personal bribe, allowed the Russian army to escape. The dis- pointed Charles raved like a maniac on seeing his foe elude his ısp; and when the sultan, disgusted with the meddling stranger thin his gates, at last requested him to leave, Charles obstinately used to budge. It took a regular siege to bring him to understand ıt his entertainment in Turkey was over, and even then he fought h Berserker fury until he fell senseless amidst the ruins of his rning house. Only after wasting five years in the sultan's domin- s did he consent to turn his face homeward (1714).

Charles returned too late to stem the ebb of Swedish power, for e surrounding states had taken advantage of the king's long sence to help themselves to whatever territories they coveted. hough he met his foes with his accustomed valor, country was exhausted and his people alienated. 1718, during his siege of Frederikshald in Norway, he s shot while riding out to reconnoiter the position of e enemy. His sister, Ulrica Eleanor, who succeeded n, was compelled by the aristocratic party to agree to a serious itation of the royal prerogative. Then the tired Swedes proceeded

Sweden steps down from her Baltic throne

to negotiate a peace with their enemies. The German states of Hanover and Prussia acquired most of the Swedish conquests in Germany, Hanover getting Bremen and Verden, Prussia part of Pomerania; August the Strong was recognized as king of Poland; but Peter, who had contributed most to the defeat of Charles, got, too, by the Treaty of Nystad (1721), the lion's share of the booty. He received from the foe Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia — in fact, all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland.

The Treaty of Nystad set a crown upon Peter's life-long efforts. But as he gazed into the future he was faced by serious perplexities. Would Russia, after he was gone, persist in the policy of Europeanization? His son and heir, Alexis, refused to accept his father's guidance in this all-important matter and leagued himself with all the forces of reaction among the clergy and nobility. For many years the tsar did his best to win his successor over to his views, but when his efforts proved without avail, he resolved for the sake of the cause he represented to get rid of his son. The resolution we may praise, the method was terrible. The tsarevitch died (1718) under the blows of the knout administered, we have reason to believe, under the very eye of the implacable parent.

The death of the tsarevitch

When Peter died in 1725 there was reason to suspect that the beaten conservative forces would gain the upper hand and once more turn Russia away from Europe. The crown passed to Peter's second wife, a former Lithuanian serf, who ruled for two years as Tsarina Catherine II. To the close of the century the scepter was tossed capriciously about with little or no regard to any recognizable rule of succession and in sole response to the pressure of the faction temporarily dominant at court. It was chiefly women who were elevated to the throne and who need not detain us further than to note that, though they maintained a conspicuously profligate and corrupt rule, they did not abandon Peter's work. The Russia of the period after Peter's death may be thought of as a ship helplessly drifting in the currents released by the tsar-reformer till the accession (1762) of another woman, one of the most masterful figures of history, Catherine II, put the helm in a firm hand. Catherine, by birth a petty princess of Germany, came to Russia as the wife of the heir-apparent, Peter. Extraordinarily intelligent and determined, she was also wholly unscrupulous, and shortly after her husband, who was crotchety and half-insane, had

Peter's policy survives his death

NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

1) Follow the expansion of Sweden from her independence (1524). Eric XIV. acquired Esthonia (1561). Gustavus Adolphus and his daughter Christina acquired Carelia, Ingermanland, Livonia, Western Pomerania, the bishoprics Bremen and Verden, Gotland (island) and Jemtland. Charles X. acquired the southern tip of the peninsula (1658). 2) Then trace the losses belonging to the time of Charles XII. The year of acquisition is given in bold type while the year of loss follows in brackets. The treaty of Nystad (1721) makes Russia a Baltic power.

ended the throne (1762), she led a revolution against him, in the ırse of which he was dethroned and murdered. Although she won scepter by a crime, once in possession of it she wielded it not only h remarkable skill but also with single-minded devotion to the icies mapped out by Peter. Herself of western birth, she naturally ored western civilization. The transfusion of somnolent Russia h European ideas and institutions continued with unabated vigor her day. Since she accepted also Peter's foreign policy, she of ırse resumed the movement intended to carry the Russian boun-ry westward.

Owing to Peter's overthrow of Sweden, the Tsarina Catherine ed a problem which, if different in detail from that which d confronted her great predecessor, was in point of principle same. With Sweden removed from the scene, therine's western neighbors, the only ones with which had seriously to reckon, were Poland and the Otto-n Empire. Although they were, territorially, imposing tes, neither of them was likely to offer a successful op-ition to a persistent Russian drive. None the less a difference is be noted between them. Poland, reduced to what has been ex-ssively called a legalized anarchy, was as open to Russian attack a flock of sheep to a predatory wolf, while Turkey, though brought internal corruption to a lamentable decay, still had the appearance d, to a certain extent, the resources of a dangerous foe. During a g and brilliant reign (1762–1796) Catherine trampled both these ghbors, though not with the same degree of completeness, in the st.

Catherine turns her attention to Poland and Turkey

To consider first the case of Poland, we have noted that at the ne of the great Northern War it was already so negligible a power t Charles XII of Sweden was enabled to occupy it for a number of ars with a mere handful of troops and to impose on it ing of his own choosing. The political misery of Poland s the result of a historic process, in the course of which the feudal oles had usurped the power of the king and reduced the national liament, the diet, to impotence. The gradual exhaustion of the cen-l government brought it about that by the eighteenth century king l diet, although still existent, had become a mockery. To prove the ertion it will suffice to recall the famous parliamentary provision ed the *liberum veto*. This conferred on every member of the diet, t is, on every noble, for only nobles attended the diet, the right to

The Polish anarchy

forbid by his single veto the adoption of a resolution. By *liberum veto* one man could at his pleasure throw a wrench into the machinery of government. Under these circumstances Poland was necessarily the victim of factions which in their strange infatuation did not hesitate to call upon the foreigner for aid. It is therefore undoubtedly true that Poland has chiefly herself to thank for the ruin that overtook her in the days of Catherine. But that does not of course free from responsibility Catherine as well as the rulers of Prussia and Austria, who threw themselves on the Polish quarry and rent it asunder.

The three partitions of Poland

The complicated political and diplomatic circumstances which led to the partition of Poland can not be treated here. If we remember that Poland was reduced to helpless anarchy and that its neighbors, Russia, Austria, and Prussia had undergone a monarchical reorganization and were steadily waxing in strength, we shall agree that it was a biological certainty that sooner or later the decadent organism would disappear from the scene. After extended negotiations between Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, a preliminary measure disposing of Poland was signed in the year 1772. The partition of that year — called the First Partition — did not wipe Poland off the map; it merely handed over convenient sections to the leagued brigands. The land east of the Dwina and the upper Dniester (White Russia) went to Russia, Galicia to Austria, and the province of West Prussia to Prussia. With partition admitted in principle, the logic inherent in events pushed the three powers to a Second and a Third Partition (in 1793 and 1795 respectively), by which the fate of Poland was sealed. It ceased to exist as a political entity when its last army, gallantly led by Kosciusko, went down before the Russians; but the Poles themselves, though apportioned among their enemies, became increasingly conscious of their separate nationhood and never ceased nursing the hope of liberation.

Catherine establishes Russia on the Black sea

Catherine's signal success in Poland served to excite her to multiply her efforts against the Turks. In two triumphant wars (first war, 1768–1774; second war, 1787–1792) she succeeded in breaking through the cordon which the Mohammedans tried to maintain around the Black sea and in establishing herself along the sea of Azov and in the Crimean peninsula. In fact, before she died the Russian boundary had been extended to the river Dniester. The exultant tsarina nursed the hope of seeing the Russian banners float from the minarets

Constantinople, but, death overtaking her, she was obliged to e her dream as a heritage to her successors. With, on the whole, markable consistency, they have ever since striven to convert it reality.

When Catherine died in 1796, Russia not only had been incorpod in the European state system but was one of its most powerful nbers. As in the case of Peter, it is difficult to concede her hole-hearted admiration. Sadly deficient in many ctions, these two must none the less be credited with extraordinary achievement not only of having car- Russia into the fold of European civilization but also aving won for her within that fold an eminent political position.

Russia a great European power

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Sovereigns of Sweden (House of Vasa)

avus II Adolphus, 1611–1632
stina (daughter of predecessor), 1632–1654
rles X Gustavus (cousin of Christina), 1654–1660
rles XI (son of Charles X), 1660–1697
rles XII (son of Charles XI), 1697–1718

Sovereigns of Russia (House of Romanov)

r I (the Great), 1689–1725
ierine I (wife of Peter I), 1725–1727
r II (grandson of Peter I), 1727–1730
e (niece of Peter I), 1730–40
VI (grandnephew of Anne), 1740–1741
abeth (daughter of Peter I), 1741–1762
r III (nephew of Elizabeth), 1762
ierine II (wife of Peter III), 1762–1796
I (son of Peter and Catherine), 1796–1801

CHAPTER XVI

GERMAN AFFAIRS: THE RISE OF PRUSSIA AND THE REBIRTH OF AUSTRIA

Prussia is a German state created in the Modern Period from in considerable beginnings reaching far back into the Middle Age. The cradle of Prussia is the *mark* or march of Brandenburg, founded in the tenth century, that is, at a time when Germany which was itself just beginning to take shape as a distinct political entity, was confined in the main between the rivers Meuse and Elbe, and was constantly threatened on the exposed Elbe frontier by the incursions of loosely organized tribes of Slavs. The mark of Brandenburg was created as a German outpost against the hostile raiders, who, besides being of a different race, bore in the eyes of the recently Christianized Germans the added stigma of blind and stubborn heathens. The head of the frontier post, an appointee and servant of the emperor, was a military feudal official of large authority, whose title, *markgraf* or margrave signified ruler of the mark. Standing at first on the defensive, the margrave presently carried the struggle across the Elbe into enemy territory and by gradual steps took possession of all the land between the Elbe and the Oder, ultimately penetrating even beyond that river toward the Vistula. The lowland character of the north German plain, entailing the absence of serious natural barriers, gave from the first a powerful impetus to the eastward expansion of the mark. One result of this development was that the margrave, looming larger and larger in the affairs of Germany, was recognized as one of its leading princes, entitled with six other magnates of the highest order to the designation of elector.

Rise of the mark of Brandenburg

But the growth of the mark of Brandenburg must not be thought of as proceeding on a steadily upward-moving line. There were grave setbacks, in consequence of which some of the territory gained was again lost; and the periodic extinction of the ruling house was regularly followed by a social confusion which threatened to submerge

he whole youthful organism. The fourteenth century was a particularly distressing period when, with the succession in dispute between rival candidates, the feudal nobles seized the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of burghers and peasants. From this intolerable anarchy the mark of Brandenburg was saved when, in the year 1415, the Emperor Sigismund conferred it on Frederick of Hohenzollern, a south-German nobleman of the Nürnberg area, to whom he had fallen under personal and political obligations.

The Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg

The new margrave and elector proved to be the founder of a dynasty which reigned uninterruptedly in Brandenburg for five hundred years and which under its later representatives rose to distinction by acquiring the kingship of Prussia and ultimately the imperial dignity in a reconstituted Germany. In fact it is nothing less than this expansion of the house of Hohenzollern from its territorial base of Brandenburg which constitutes in modern times the central thread of German history. The first ruler of the new line, Frederick, energetically took in hand the difficult situation before him, overawed the knights by battering down their castles with cannon, and made the highways safe for commerce. His son and successor, Frederick II, imposed his law upon the recalcitrant cities, particularly on Berlin, where he established his residence, while his successors in their turn slowly and steadily extended the newly gained authority. In that period of storm and stress, the Reformation, the Elector Joachim II passed in 1539, shortly after his accession, into the Lutheran camp; but as he had been preceded in this transfer of allegiance by the elector of Saxony, who moreover boasted the distinction of being the immediate ruler and protector of Luther, he failed to win the leadership of the Protestant party. It is undeniable that the role of the Brandenburg electors continued throughout the sixteenth century to be distinctly mediocre and that it was not till the seventeenth century that the line rose into general view. Even so the decisive impulse came to the house of Hohenzollern less from the initiative of one or more of its members than from the accident of two lucky legacies. The elector who stood at the head of the state on the eve of the Thirty Years' War bore the name John Sigismund, and reigned from 1608 to 1619. When in 1609 the last duke of Cleves and Juliers passed away, John Sigismund claimed the territory on the ground of kinship and successfully occupied about half of it; and a decade

Slow growth of the house of Hohenzollern

later (1618), on the demise of another relative, the duke of Prussia, he succeeded to the duchy of that name. Thus by two happy strokes occurring almost simultaneously, the elector of Brandenburg found himself endowed with valuable lands in the west of Germany on the lower Rhine, and with a promising strip of Baltic shoreland beyond the Vistula.

But before taking up the story of what happened to the enlarged Hohenzollern territories, it will be necessary to have a look at the inheritance of 1618, the duchy of Prussia. Far back in the Middle Age the name Prussia was applied to the Baltic coastal area lying east of the mouth of the Vistula and inhabited by a heathen Lithuanian tribe called Prussians. In the thirteenth century the Teutonic Knights, one of those monkish-military orders which owed their origin to the prevalent crusading spirit, undertook to serve the cause of religion and the Church by conquering Prussia and converting its habitants to Christianity. The enterprise was successful. Either the Prussians accepted the cross or were wiped out in bloody encounters and replaced by German colonists; and the Grand Master of the Knights, as head of the order, became a great potentate ruling over a large area on either side of the Vistula river. A hundred years later his glory began to fade. The state carved out by the Teutonic Knights bordered on Poland; frequent wars took place with that powerful kingdom; and at last the Knights, crushingly defeated, were obliged to accept an ignominious peace (Treaty of Thorn, 1466). By its terms the king of Poland divided the Teutonic territory into two parts, East Prussia and West Prussia, and while keeping West Prussia for himself, returned East Prussia to the Knights on the understanding that they were to hold it as a fief of the Polish crown.

Prussia and the Teutonic Knights

Henceforth completely overshadowed by Poland, the diminished and dependent state of the Knights led a precarious existence. Plainly the changed times were no longer favorable to medieval military orders. In the days of Luther the then Grand Master, one Albert, a younger member of the house of Hohenzollern, became convinced that the order had outlived its usefulness. He joined the Protestant ranks, dissolved the institution of which he was the head, and converted East Prussia into a secular duchy with himself as hereditary duke (1525). A hundred years later (1618), on the failure of Albert's direct heirs, the duchy fell, as we have seen, to the Hohenzollern

The duchy of Prussia falls (1618) to the house of Brandenburg

elatives of Brandenburg. A valuable acquisition indeed, but coming o them on the old terms: they held it as a fief of the Polish crown.

No sooner had the house of Hohenzollern experienced this for- unate increase than the terrible Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany. The waxing might of the ruler established at Berlin, t the center of the broad north-German plain, might, nder favorable circumstances, have assured him a onsiderable role in the struggle. But the reigning lector, George William (1619-1640), was a timid man; nd with his lands interposed between the leading combatants, weden and Austria, he lived to see them invaded and ruined by both ides, by Protestants and Catholics, by friend and foe. On his death midst unutterable confusion, he was succeeded by his twenty-year- ld son, Frederick William, who, a man of a bold and unscrupulous nitiative, not only saved Brandenburg from impending destruction ut carried its name for the first time into European politics.

Branden- burg and the Thirty Years' War

It is because Frederick William, who ruled for nearly half a century 1640–1688), is the real founder of the state of Brandenburg-Prussia hat he has been acclaimed as the Great Elector. Without doubt e is one of the constructive statesmen of the seventeenth entury, not unworthy to be put into a class with Richelieu, Cromwell, and William III of Orange. But in the ace of the hopeless disorder engendered by the endless ar, he could not at once show his metal. So far as circumstances ermitted he tried on his accession to withdraw from a world struggle n which he was but a helpless pawn; and to support his peace policy e gradually organized from his meager resources a small but effective rmy dependent on himself. The result was that when the negoti- tions which ended in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) began, he ould insist on attention being paid to his demands. These were by o means modest and led to his receiving as his share of the general oils four secularized German bishoprics (Halberstadt, Camin, Minden, and Magdeburg) as well as the eastern section of the duchy f Pomerania on the Baltic. He had, by virtue of ancient agree- ents between his ancestors and the Pomeranian ducal house, a gally valid claim to all of Pomerania; but as, in the course of the hirty Years' War, conquering Sweden had gained a firm footing n Pomerania and insisted on keeping the western section of the altic duchy in its own hand, the Brandenburg claim had perforce o be cut down.

Advent of the Great Elector, 1640–1688

The breathing-space granted to exhausted Germany by the Peace of Westphalia found Frederick William in a relatively favorable position. He was at the head of a rather extensive territory distributed in three separate groups across the northern plain of Germany, the central unit of Brandenburg-Pomerania being flanked on the east by the duchy of Prussia and on the west by the Rhenish lands of Cleves-Mark. That the three groups were unconnected with one another constituted, of course, a serious weakness. On the other hand, the lack of contiguity was sure to prove a constant stimulus to remedy the evil by filling in the territorial gaps. Turning to another, the constitutional angle, we find the Great Elector's situation most embarrassing. Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves were three separate states, each with its own laws and customs, and each with a diet, made up in feudal fashion of representatives of the nobles and the cities and controlling the taxes and administration. On developing his army policy, which required a steady stream of subsidies, Frederick William encountered so much ill-will on the part of all his diets that he was forced to the conclusion that, in order to maintain a standing army at all, he would have to break the power of these feudal parliaments which considered only their own class interests and cared not a fillip for the good of the whole community. Let us remember in this connection that the feudal state was at this time giving way everywhere to a modern reorganization, notably so in France. The French example seemed conclusively to prove that a feudal reform was possible only by means of a centralization which suppressed the too exuberant local rights in the interest of a larger unity and raised the sovereign aloft to an absolute position on the shoulders of a royal standing army and a royal civil service. Proceeding on these lines, Frederick William gradually undermined the power of his parliaments and gained control of taxes as well as legislation. Simultaneously he endowed his three dominions with a common army and administration. In short, he fused his several territories into a single unit and for the first time created a political organism in northern Germany with the essential aspects of a modern state. No wonder that he was enabled to unfold both a domestic and a foreign activity which won for the new creation of Brandenburg-Prussia European consideration.

Frederick William converts the feudal into an absolute state

To examine in more detail the domestic developments, we note that the Great Elector regarded himself as the father of his country, called to reign in order to advance it along all lines of human endeavor.

He encouraged industry and agriculture, built roads and canals to facilitate communication, and called colonists from near and far in order to bring again under the plough the lands which the Thirty Years' War had turned into a wilderness. In the main, solid and creative labors, these, but hampered in certain instances by the well-meant but obstructive legislation with which, under the same mercantilist inspiration as guided his contemporary, the Frenchman Colbert, he undertook to "regulate" economic processes. His most notable single achievement as economic legislator is associated with the name of the Huguenots. When by reason of Louis XIV's folly and bigotry the Edict of Nantes was revoked (1685) and the Huguenots began to abandon their native land, Frederick William invited them by public proclamation to take shelter with him. Some thousands, largely skilled craftsmen, responded, and, settled advantageously in the towns of Brandenburg-Prussia, by their industry and intelligence communicated a powerful stimulus of mind and hand to backward northern Germany.

Inner labors of the Great Elector

In the field of foreign affairs the Great Elector cut, if not a more important, certainly a more spectacular figure. From a military viewpoint, his state, distributed in three separate sections, was so open to attack that he was bound to seek to strengthen himself by acquiring additional territory. As matters stood after the Peace of Westphalia the chief source of danger to him was Sweden, which, a great power firmly planted in western Pomerania, threw a shadow all the way to Berlin. This situation would of itself have sufficed to arouse resentment, even if there had not been the additional reason that Frederick William considered western Pomerania to be by claim of right his own. Luckily for him Sweden had other enemies, far more formidable than himself — Denmark, Russia, Poland, in fact the whole ring of the Baltic powers. The paramount position which Sweden had won was distasteful to them and they were ready to seize upon the least occasion for lowering her pride. In 1655 war broke out between Sweden and Poland, during which Frederick William, whose territories lay between the hostile states, was alternately coaxed and bullied by both to oblige him to take sides. In these difficult circumstances he steered his course between the combatants with such dexterity that he came out of the war with profit and prestige, having forced the king of Poland to surrender to him the suzerainty of East Prussia (Peace of Oliva, 1660). Although the

The Great Elector between Sweden and Poland

elector gained no territory, he henceforth possessed East Prussia in full sovereignty. This success would of course have been impossible without that standing army which was the starting-point and remained the core of his policy.

More than a decade later an opportunity presented itself to drive Sweden out of Pomerania. It came by way of the Dutch War inaugurated in 1672 by Louis XIV of France. Frederick William, followed by the emperor and other German states, rose in defense of the threatened Dutch Republic and thus made the war general. Thereupon the angered Louis persuaded the Swedes, who were bound to him by treaty, to invade Brandenburg. This unexpected move obliged the elector, who was operating on the Rhine, to hurry home. Approaching by forced marches and with great stealth, he fell in June, 1675, upon the invader at Fehrbellin and beat him signally. Fehrbellin brilliantly opens the independent military annals of the new state. What followed showed that the victory was not merely a lucky stroke, for the elector pursued the Swedes into Pomerania and actually conquered the province. But to his deep chagrin he got no good from his victory, for when Louis XIV closed by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678) the Dutch War, he stood faithfully by his ally, Sweden, and compelled the reluctant elector to disgorge his Swedish conquests. Though Sweden continued to be a threat to Brandenburg, Frederick William was the first to disclose the fact that the colossus rested on feet of clay.

War with Sweden, 1675–1679

Finding the path blocked toward Pomerania, he tried to advance his interests in the direction of Silesia, where his house had claims to certain districts, to wit, to the four duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf. Since the province of Silesia was actually in possession of the house of Hapsburg, and since its head, the Emperor Leopold I, refused to admit the validity of the Hohenzollern claims, Frederick William made no headway with them. At last, in 1686, under the pressure of the deepening menace for Germany extended by the ambitions of Louis XIV, he resolved, drawing close to the emperor, to smooth out all their difficulties. He therefore surrendered, in return for the small district of Schwiebus in Silesia, all his presumptive rights in that province. But Leopold I played a double game. While negotiating this arrangement with the elector, he secretly persuaded the elector's son, who was not on good terms with his father, to promise to give back Schwiebus

The Silesian dispute

on his accession. Two years later Frederick William died (1688), and though his son and successor, Frederick, lived up to the bargain, he could and did maintain with much show of reason that the return of the purchase price revived the original claims. This Silesian incident is of importance only because some fifty years later it issued like a ghost from the grave and proved a terrible boomerang for the Emperor Leopold's successor.

The Elector Frederick III (1688–1713) presents a sharp contrast to his imposing, capable father. Physically weak and deformed, he was disinclined to exert himself either in the field or council-chamber. Nevertheless he achieved a certain luster by winning the title king. For almost ten years he solicited humbly for his vainglorious distinction at the court of the Emperor Leopold at Vienna by reason of his view that the title would not be valid unless conceded by the potentate who was officially his suzerain. Since the Emperor Leopold saw no reason for advancing the fortunes of a rival German house, he refused the request and would have continued to refuse it, if a new war with Louis XIV had not loomed in which Leopold's stake was nothing less than the whole Spanish heritage. In return for the promise by Frederick of military aid against the French king, the emperor at last permitted his northern rival to indulge his vanity. On January 18, 1701, Frederick crowned himself king at Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, and figures henceforth as King Frederick I in Prussia.[1] The title king in Prussia was given the preference over that of king of Brandenburg for the reason that Brandenburg, being a fief of the empire, had an inferior legal status to Prussia, which since 1660 was an independent state held in full sovereignty by the Hohenzollerns. Increasingly applied to the unified Hohenzollern state, the designation Prussia in a surprisingly short time drove from usage the older name of Brandenburg.

The elector acquires the title king

Frederick's son and successor, King Frederick William I (1713–1740) represents a curious, partial reversion to the Great Elector. He had his grandfather's common sense and love of work but conspicuously lacked his mental acumen and keen understanding of European politics. His constructive energy was directed to the army and the administration, the two acknowledged main pillars

[1] The first form of the title was as here, king *in* Prussia, in order to forestall any criticism from Poland, which, possessing West Prussia, might have protested against the title king *of* Prussia, as implying the sovereignty over all Prussia. Nevertheless, the simpler form, king of Prussia, came before long into general use.

of the state. By thrifty financial management he succeeded in raising his standing army to some 80,000 men, thus putting little Prussia in military matters in a class with the great states of Europe.

The Prussian army and bureaucracy

And what troops they were! An iron discipline molded them into a precise military machine, to which a corps of officers, trained in special schools, gave a devoted service. His main administrative task the sovereign conceived to be to knit still more closely the domestic unity established by the Great Elector. Though the state was already served by a professional bureaucracy, it was possible minutely and intelligently to adjust its various departments and to fill the whole body of officials with an unrivalled sense of duty. It is highly probable that for hard efficiency Frederick William's army and civil service held a unique position in the Europe of his day.

The only foreign action of importance in which this stalwart, tyrannical ruler engaged befell early in his reign. On his accession (1713) the War of the Spanish Succession was coming to an end, while

King Frederick William I acquires Stettin (1720)

the so-called Northern War, waged against Charles XII of Sweden, had entered on its last phase. Defeated at Pultava (1709) by Peter the Great, the wounded Swedish lion had fled to Turkey; and during his long absence from the scene of action his neighbors stepped forth to appropriate his lands. Not to be left out in the cold, Frederick William mobilized his army in his turn against Sweden and occupied Swedish Pomerania. When Charles XII at last abandoned Turkey and hurried home, he made a gallant but hopeless effort against his many enemies. On his death in 1718 the exhausted Swedish government promptly read the writing on the wall. It began the negotiations in which it acknowledged defeat, those with Prussia ending in a peace (1720) which gave the victor the bulk of western Pomerania including the river Oder together with the invaluable seaport of Stettin. The heart of the Prussian state was now connected by the course of the Oder with the Baltic sea and the ancient enmity with Sweden gradually subsided.

This sturdy king, who has left such solid memorials behind him, made himself, through some of the strangest eccentricities which have ever characterized a human being, the laughing-stock of Europe.

His eccentricities

His conception of his office was a curious compound of Biblical patriarch and modern drill-sergeant. He had his eye upon everybody and everything. If he suspected a man of

ng wealthy, he would compel him to build a fine residence to im-
ve the looks of the capital. He had a particular abhorrence of
eness; the very apple-women, while waiting in their booths for
tomers, were ordered to do some useful knitting, while the police
e empowered to pick up any random lounger and impress him
o the army. But perhaps his wildest eccentricity was his craze
tall soldiers. At Potsdam, his residence some miles from Berlin,
established a giant guard for which he gathered recruits from
parts of the world. He coddled his giants like a sentimental father,
was so completely carried away by his hobby that he, who was
fty to the point of avarice, offered enormous prices in all markets
tall men and did not scruple to capture them by force when they
used to enlist.

This unpolished northern bear naturally kept his elegant neighbors
onvulsions of laughter, though on at least one occasion the comedy
ed tragically. The king's son and heir, Frederick, known after-
rd as the Great, was a self-willed youth who, drawn **His conflict with the crown prince** ch more to books and music than to soldiering, grew in all respects the very opposite of his bluff, practical her. Parent and son conceived a strong antipathy for h other; and when the irate father resorted to corporal punish-nt the proud prince made a vain attempt to flee to France. Fred-k William almost lost his mind from rage. He threw his son into son, executed one of his accomplices, and spoke wildly for a time executing also the crown prince. When he at last relented, it was the promise of the son to submit to a training of unexampled rigor the civil and military branches of the government. As a result en, on the death (1740) of his Spartan father, the prince at the of twenty-eight mounted the throne as Frederick II, he knew ry branch of the Prussian service like a thumbed book. Owing his devotion to art and literature as well as to the refinements of ultivated society, his intimates imagined that he would abruptly minate the harsh system of his father. They were mistaken. Not y did he jealously maintain and consolidate the inherited tradi-ns, but he showed almost at once that beneath a pleasing exterior nursed as consuming an ambition as any autocrat of history. A is in Austria coming to a head some few weeks after his accession nished him with a rare opportunity for action.

The name Austria or East Mark adhered originally to the German itory along the Danube between approximately Passau and

Vienna. By absorption of the neighboring Alpine provinces, such as Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, the duke of Austria became in the course of the Middle Age one of the most influential princes of the Holy Roman Empire (Germany). In the last quarter of the thirteenth century the house of Hapsburg became the ruling family of this enlarged Austria and with persistent ambition and almost unvarying success undertook to promote the fortunes of the state. We have seen that in the days of Emperor Maximilian and his grandson, Charles V, Austria was so easily the leading German state that the imperial office, although strictly speaking elective, had become virtually hereditary in the Hapsburg line. But we have also seen that the imperial office, if a still much coveted honor, conferred little or no real power on its holder. Whatever influence the emperor of the house of Austria wielded he owed to his hereditary Austrian lands together with such other territories as looked to him as their immediate ruler.

The rise of Austria

The reader will recall that the Emperor Charles V (1519–1556) completely overshadowed Europe in his day because, in addition to Austria, he commanded the resources of the Netherlands and Spain, and that on his abdication his vast possessions were divided between his son Philip, who received the Netherlands and Spain, and his brother Ferdinand, who acquired the Austrian territories. With Ferdinand therefore the younger branch of the Hapsburgs began an independent career; and in evidence that, in spite of the partition of 1556, the family was still the foremost dynasty of Germany, Ferdinand was invited to succeed his brother Charles upon the German throne. Since for the next two hundred years Ferdinand's heirs regularly won the imperial election, the house of Hapsburg came not unreasonably to look upon the headship of Germany as its prescriptive right.

The Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg

But we should not fail to note that the power of the Hapsburg dynasty had from the time of Emperor Ferdinand I come to rest on more than its original Austrian foundation, for, in 1526, Ferdinand had, partly by inheritance and partly by election, become head of the two large neighboring kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. Advanced thus to the sovereignty of three large groups of territory — Austria, Bohemia, Hungary — occupying the basin of the middle Danube, he may be looked upon as the founder of what came to be known as the Austrian Empire. True, Ferdinand I was obliged to forego the immediate control of

Consolidation of the Austrian Empire

ngary, for Hungary, or all but its western rim, was in the very
r of Ferdinand's acquisition conquered by the Turks under the
tan Solyman; true also, his successors encountered such diffi-
ties in Bohemia, in connection with the Reformation, that in 1618
hemia too slipped from their control. However, following the
tle of the White Hill (1620) the troubled Hapsburg fortunes began
idedly to look up and not only was Bohemia recovered in the
rse of the Thirty Years' War, but half a century later the emerging
strian Empire was enabled to render its most egregious service to
idental civilization. This brings us to the Ottoman Empire and
uires a brief elucidation.

When, in 1526, the Turks overran Hungary, it looked as if all
tral Europe might fall into their grasp. In 1529 they took their
t logical step by advancing against Vienna but were obliged to
back in defeat. Though threatening repeatedly to re-
v the attack, their state, which was a pure oriental des-
ism, was before long overtaken by internal difficulties
l thereby deprived of its offensive vigor. With surpris-
suddenness the sultans lost their warlike character and
ame content to pass their days amidst the pleasures of the harem;
the same time the army and administration became cankered with
ruption. The march on Vienna in 1529 remained therefore the
h-water mark of the Turkish inundation of the continent. How-
r, in 1683, owing to a temporary revival due to a spirited family
grand vizirs, the Ottoman Empire resumed its attack on Europe
the Danube route and conducted a second siege of the Austrian
ital. The stubborn resistance of the garrison, seconded by a
cuing movement led by the gallant king of Poland, John Sobieski,
only rendered the second siege as futile as the first but converted
nto an utter rout of the Mohammedans. From that splendid
cess Austria took courage and boldly resolved at last to turn
tables on the Turks by assuming the offensive against them. To
great good fortune heaven presented her at this decisive moment
h a gifted general in the person of Prince Eugene of Savoy. We
e already encountered him in connection with the wars waged by
ope against the aggressions of Louis XIV. Great as were his
vices to Austria on the western scene, they were completely over-
dowed by his achievements in the Danubian area. In two wars
st war, 1683–1698; second war, 1715–1718) the Austrians under
magnetic prince administered such a beating to the Turks that
y drove them completely out of Hungary.

Austria liberates Hungary by driving back the Turks

The final liberation of Hungary from the Turkish yoke befell in the reign of Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740). In Charles's time the model state of Europe was France, whose sovereign, Louis XIV, had given a lesson in centralization which astonished his contemporaries. The effect of the French example had already begun to make itself felt, more particularly in the case of Austria's German neighbor, Prussia, which in the reign of the Great Elector had been converted into quite as effective an absolutism as its French prototype. Austria, too, had felt the need of unifying its many separate dominions and during the wars conducted by Prince Eugene on the Rhine and the Danube had gone so far as to create a central Austrian army supported by the contributions of all the Hapsburg territories. While this was an auspicious beginning, it did not alter the fact that the three main constituent groups, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, remained stubbornly distinct, each with its own laws, courts, and finances, and each provided with a vigorous champion of tradition in an assembly of feudal estates. If Charles VI, in spite of his seeing the advisability of breaking down these local barriers, made practically no headway against them, his failure may be ascribed not only to the grave difficulties inhering in the situation but also to a peculiar personal concern which, ruling his mind like an obsession, fell heavily into the scales.

The problem of centralization

When the older branch of the house of Hapsburg had died out in the male line in the year 1700, the question of the Spanish succession had released a world war. Now the younger branch, of which Charles himself was the representative, was about to die out in its male line, owing to Charles's failure to have begot other than two daughters. Would his death be followed by a War of the Austrian Succession and the end be, as in the Spanish case, a division of the spoils among the combatants? To forestall such a calamity he determined to make his older daughter the sole heir of his undivided dominions; and this, his will and testament, he laid down in an ordinance which received the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. To make sure that his regulation of the succession would be respected after his death, he persuaded the diets of his many territories to formally accept it; and to make assurance doubly sure he knocked at the door of all the European cabinets to get them likewise to guarantee his program. At often heavy sacrifices he finally secured the endorsement of all the leading states and, reasonably comforted, in October, 1740, laid himself down to die.

Charles VI and the Pragmatic Sanction

mmediately, in accordance with the terms of the Pragmatic nction, Charles's daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, umed the rule of all the Hapsburg lands. It was of course well own that practically all the neighbors coveted some rt of the Austrian possessions, many of them on the is of claims which the Pragmatic Sanction had nulli- l, others on the ground of older claims which had never en brought to a settlement. Among these latter was the ussian claim to the four duchies of Silesia. While every imant was waiting in breathless suspense to see what the others uld do, the young sovereign of Prussia, Frederick II, stepped dly forth and took the bull by the horns. He marched an army o Silesia to secure his claim by force. It was beyond challenge an of brutal, undisguised aggression. Immediately, as at a signal, ry state of Europe that nursed a grudge against Austria followed t, and regardless of whether it had a claim or not, set its army on t against the Hapsburg territories. Conspicuous among them re the two German states, Bavaria and Saxony, and the two urbon powers, France and Spain. These four together with Prussia med a great anti-Austrian alliance which planned to strip Maria eresa of most of her inheritance. Thus did the Pragmatic Sanction, spite of the abundance of signatures attached to it, prove abortive. e life-long bogey of Charles VI, to lay which he had made so many rifices, the War of the Austrian Succession, had become a reality! t might have gone hard with Maria Theresa if she had not found endid resources of heart and mind in herself, and if she had not ceeded in arousing a spirit of loyal devotion among her people. r enemies were descending upon her in two main direc- ns, the French and their Bavarian ally from the west, way of the Danube, and Frederick of Prussia from the th. Unprepared as she was, her raw levies gave way, at t, at every point. On April 10, 1741, at Mollwitz, Frederick won ictory over the Austrians which clinched his hold upon Silesia. the same year the French, Saxons, and Bavarians occupied Bo- nia. So complete, for the time being, was the dominion of the i-Austrian alliance that when in January, 1742, the imperial ction took place, the combined enemies of Austria were able to ge their candidate, the Elector Charles of Bavaria, to the imperial one. The elector assumed his new dignity with the title of Em- or Charles VII (1742–1745). For the first time in three hundred

Frederick II of Prussia inaugurates (1740) the War of the Austrian Succession

The spirited conduct of Maria Theresa

years the crown of the Empire rested upon another than a Hapsburg head.

But at this point Maria Theresa's fortunes rose again. Her own magnetic enthusiasm did wonders in injecting new life into her weak and battered forces. Not only was the army of the coalition driven out of Bohemia, but Bavaria, the land of the enemy, was invaded and occupied. The Prussians, who had likewise entered Bohemia in order to coöperate with their allies, saved themselves from imminent disaster by a victory at Czaslau (May, 1742). Thereupon Maria Theresa, who saw that she could not meet so many enemies at one and the same time, declared her willingness to come to terms with her most formidable foe. In 1742 she signed with Frederick the Peace of Breslau by which she gave up practically the whole province of Silesia. What is known in Germany as the First Silesian War had come to an end.

Maria Theresa makes over Silesia to Frederick, 1742

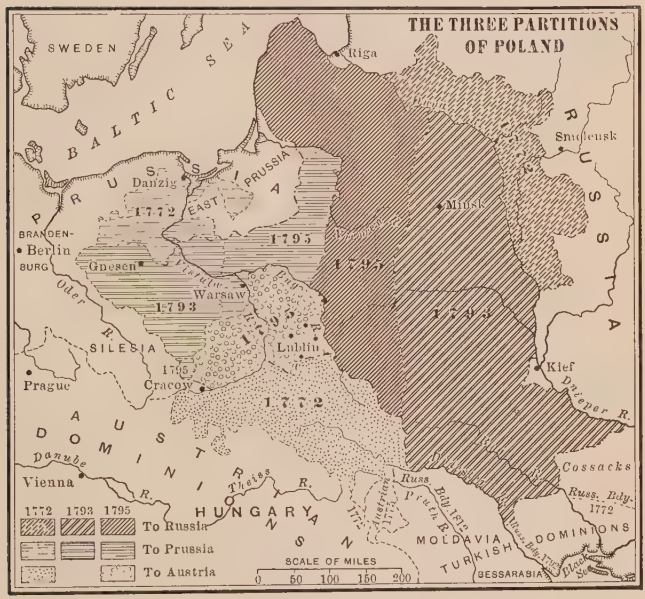
Maria Theresa now prosecuted the war against her other enemies with increased vigor. England and Holland, in order to redress the European balance, joined her, and with each new campaign the scales inclined more visibly in her favor. When the puppet emperor, Charles VII, had lost every foot of land he owned and the Austrian armies had penetrated triumphantly as far west as the Rhine, Maria Theresa could feel with elation that she was successfully bringing Germany under her heel. Aware that in that case he could not possibly hold his new conquest, Frederick was moved to strike a second blow. In 1744 he began the Second Silesian War, in which his calculations were completely successful. He first relieved the French and the Bavarians by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and then he defeated the enemy signally at the battle of Hohenfriedberg (1745). On Christmas day, 1745, Maria Theresa bought her second peace of Frederick by a renewed cession of Silesia.

Maria Theresa's success and Frederick's second attack upon her

On Frederick's retirement the war, which, once ignited, could not be easily extinguished, was waged chiefly in Italy and the Austrian Netherlands. In the Netherlands the French won a number of brilliant victories which actually put them in possession of this territory coveted by them for so long a time; but discouraged by the successes of Maria Theresa in Italy and of the English at sea, they agreed at last to treat. In 1748 the Peace of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) ended the War of the Austrian Succession essentially on the basis of mutual restitutions and the

The Peace of Aachen, 1748

NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
Königsberg
PRUSSIA 1618
POMERANIA
1648
WEST PRUSSIA 1772
EAST PRUSSIA 1772
Stettin
EAST FRIESLAND 1744
BRANDENBURG
Magdeburg 1680
Berlin
Thorn
Vistula
CLEVES 1614
1648
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Rhine R.
THE TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF PRUSSIA


THE THREE PARTITIONS OF POLAND
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Riga
Smolensk
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
Danzig
1772
EAST PRUSSIA
1795
Minsk
BRANDEN-BURG
Berlin
Gnesen
Vistula R.
Warsaw
1793
Bug R.
1795
1772
Oder R.
SILESIA
Lublin
Kief
Prague
Cracow
1795
1772
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Danube R.
Vienna
Theiss R.
HUNGARY
Cossacks
Russ. Pol. 1772
Russ. Pol. 1795
Pruth R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
MOLDAVIA
TURKISH DOMINIONS
BESSARABIA
Black Sea
1772 1793 1795
To Russia
To Prussia
To Austria
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200

gnition of Maria Theresa as the sole heir of her father. Already e years before this consummation the German situation had ed back into its accustomed form. The Bavarian emperor, rles VII, having died (1745) after being ignominiously chased all his lands by the Austrian army, the electoral college offered crown to Francis of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband. There- the house of Hapsburg was back in the German saddle; but if ad, with the exception of certain slight cessions in Italy and the substantial sacrifice of Silesia, emerged triumphantly from its ble ordeal, it owed its success almost exclusively to the undaunted age of the fair and spirited sovereign at its head.

hen Frederick retired from the Second Silesian War, he was pted into the select company of the great powers of Europe. He not owe this improved status to the size of his monarchy, which, ite of the Silesian acquisition, boasted only a modest umference, but to the efficient army and sound fi- ces inherited from his father and to the audacity and us contributed by himself. Alert and intelligent, he fully aware that only at the cost of unremitting labor d he hope to maintain himself in his precarious position. The years of peace that followed the Second Silesian War serve to il- ate his viewpoint and activities. He pursued with added energy enthusiasm the policy inaugurated by his predecessors of reclaim- waste lands, settling colonists on advantageous terms, building ls, and fostering industries, especially the manufacture of woolen linen textiles. In these economic labors we recognize the mercan- teachings which had inspired the governments of Europe since seventeenth century and which Frederick took over practically out modification. At the same time he reacted strongly to the lectual influences which sprang into life in his day and which are eniently summarized under the name of *Aufklaerung* or en- enment. Championed by advanced thinkers all over Europe, movement of enlightenment aimed at the overhauling of the of inherited institutions to the end of bringing them into accord the new criteria of reason and of science. As their reform would er them socially more serviceable, there was also a distinct hu- itarian element present in the movement. From the day of his ssion the Prussian king prided himself on standing with the anitarians and reformers; and by a series of acts, such as the lamation of religious toleration, the abolition of torture in

Frederick typifies eighteenth century absolutism

criminal cases, and a sweeping reform of the civil courts, he wo favor as a leading "enlightened" monarch. By these and simila activities he helped give absolutism that peculiar turn, by virtue which it presents itself to view as "benevolent despotism." Closel considered, benevolent despotism, mercantilism, and enlightenmer are three correlated aspects of eighteenth century government an society.

It is this benevolent and reforming bent of Frederick which ex plains his close association with so many French literary men an notably with the prince of them all, Voltaire. He long cherished th

His court a literary and intellectual center

plan of making his court at Berlin the center from whic the new intellectual light was to radiate over the worl and to this end gathered around himself men of man nationalities, but particularly Frenchmen because tha nation actually furnished the leading spokesmen of the movement For a while Voltaire condescended to give up France in order to joi the circle about Frederick, but the exuberant friendship between th king and the poet-philosopher did not last, and when the golde bubble burst, Voltaire vanished from Berlin in a cloud of scanda Thanks to an artistic inclination which marked him from his yout and which the cares of office did not succeed in suffocating, Frederic aspired to become in his own person a poet and historian. In hi hours of leisure he produced a considerable body of literary work i the French language, but it can not be said that it has materiall added to his reputation.

Following the peace of 1748 the political situation in German remained remarkably tense for the reason that the high-spirited Em press Maria Theresa refused to forget the violence of which she ha

Maria Theresa plans to get back Silesia

been the victim. She hoped to get back Silesia and fo years carefully laid her plans. As early as 1746 she en tered upon a close alliance with the Tsarina Elizabet which the two women consciously aimed at Frederic Next, the man whom she raised to the post of chancello Kaunitz, a most skillful player of the diplomatic game, planned th bold step of an alliance with France. In the eighteenth century a alliance between Hapsburg and Bourbon, the century-old enemie was generally held to be out of the question. But since the Silesia wars Austria had come to regard not France but Prussia as her leadin enemy, and Maria Theresa and Kaunitz were very anxious to hav France understand that thenceforth they had no further quarr

ith her. Their plan of making friends with France was greatly ded by the circumstance that England and France were at this very me making ready to contest the empire of the sea.[1] Both were on e lookout for allies; and as Prussia, after holding back a long time, as induced at last to sign a convention with England, France, in der not to be isolated, accepted the proffered hand of Prussia's rival, ustria. By the spring of 1756 this diplomatic revolution was an complished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the valry between England and France, involving the supremacy of the as, and between Prussia and Austria, touching the control of Ger- any, were about to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War 756–1763), and the two northern powers, England and Prussia, ere to consolidate their claims and interests against the claims and terests of France and Austria. The remaining great power of urope, Russia, instead of remaining neutral in a dispute which did ot concern it, sided with the cabinets of Versailles and Vienna.

War was formally declared between England and France in May, 56, and at once the storm broke in America, India, and on all the as. For a moment Frederick entertained the hope of banishing the nflict from the continent of Europe, more particularly om Germany. It was in fact in the hope of this result at he had bound himself to the English cabinet. If proved to be mistaken, it was because Maria Theresa ld all the diplomatic trumps and was set upon war as e consummation of her dreams. For not only had she bound France d Russia to her cause, but two smaller powers, Saxony and Swe- n, were sure to take her side, and with their additional help she ight hope to draw a ring around Prussia, which, gradually tight- ed, would choke to death that hated, upstart power.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War,' 1756

In this tremendous crisis Frederick's one chance was to move uickly. Therefore before the coalition had perfected its plans gainst him, he took the offensive and by a lightning stroke cupied hostile Saxony and invaded Bohemia (August, 56). Thenceforth he could at least utilize Saxony as a uthern bulwark against Austria. When the campaign 1757 began, his enemies, having at length completed eir preparations, descended upon him from all points of the com- ss. His one possibility of escape was to meet them separately. urrying into Bohemia to eliminate first his leading enemy, Austria,

Frederick's first and second campaigns

[1] For France and England see the next chapter.

he was on the point of taking Prague when the defeat of a part of his army at Kolin (June 18) forced him to retreat. Slowly the Austrians followed him and poured into the coveted Silesia. The Russians had already arrived in East Prussia, the Swedes had entered Pomerania, and the French, together with the German troops furnished by the many small states of the Empire, which in this crisis also sided with Maria Theresa, directed their march upon Berlin. Even the friends and family of Frederick were ready to declare that all was lost, while his enemies exulted openly. He alone kept up heart, and by his courage and resolution freed himself from all immediate danger. At Rossbach, in Thuringia, he fell (November 5, 1757), with 22,000 men, upon the combined French and Germans of twice that number, and scattered them to the winds. Then he turned like a flash from the west to the east. During his absence in Thuringia the Austrians had completed the conquest of Silesia and were already proclaiming to the world that they had come again into their own. Just a month after Rossbach, at Leuthen, near Breslau, he signally defeated, with 34,000 men, more than twice as many Austrians, and drove them pell-mell over the passes of the Giant Mountains back into their own dominions. Fear and incapacity had already arrested the Swedes and Russians. Before winter came both had slipped away, and at Christmas, 1757, Frederick could call himself lord of an undiminished kingdom.

In no succeeding campaign was Frederick threatened by such overwhelming forces as in 1757. By the next year his ally, England, had fitted out an army, largely of German mercenaries, which, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, operated against the French upon the Rhine, and so protected Frederick on his western flank. As the Swedish attack, through the incapacity of the decadent government, displayed no energy, Frederick was permitted to make light of his Scandinavian enemy and give all his attention to Austria and Russia. No doubt, even so, the odds against Prussia were enormous. Prussia was a small, barren country of 5,000,000 inhabitants, and in men and resources Austria and Russia together outstripped her many times; but at the head of Prussia stood a military genius with a spirit that neither bent nor broke and that fact sufficed for a while to maintain an equilibrium.

Altered position of Frederick from 1758 on

It was Frederick's policy during the next years to meet the Austrians and Russians separately in order to keep them from smother-

ng him with their combined forces. In 1758 he succeeded in beating he Russians at Zorndorf and driving them back; but in 1759 they eat him in a battle of unexampled carnage at Kunersdorf, which pparently opened the road to Berlin. For a moment ow Frederick himself despaired but somehow managed to aise another force and save the heart of his dominions. The end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the eginning. However, he was evidently getting feeble; the terrible train continued through years was beginning to tell; and when on he death of George II (1760), the English government resolved to ome to terms with France and to desert Prussia, Frederick was ushed to the edge of the abyss.

Growing feebleness of Prussia

From what to human eyes looked like unavoidable disaster the ing of Prussia was saved by a mere accident. On January 5, 1762, rederick's implacable enemy, the Tsarina Elizabeth, died, and as tussia had no direct interest in the war and had engaged it only because the tsarina had a personal dislike for rederick, there was no reason why her successor, Peter II, who was an ardent admirer of the Prussian king, nould not come to terms with him. Peter in his enthu- iasm even insisted on allying himself with his country's late enemy; ut little came of this plan, as he was overthrown and murdered in uly, 1762, and Catherine II, who succeeded him, would not engage urther in the war. However, she put Frederick under a heavy debt f gratitude by at least ratifying the peace which Peter had concluded. his same year England and France came to an understanding Preliminaries of Fontainebleau, 1762) and hostilities between them ere at once suspended at all points. Therewith there remained nder arms of the great powers only Austria and Prussia; and as ustria could not hope to do unaided what she had failed to do with alf of Europe at her side, Maria Theresa, although with heavy heart, esolved to come to terms. In the Peace of Hubertsburg (February, 763) the cession of Silesia to Frederick received a third and final ndorsement.

Peace with Russia, 1762, followed by a general peace

From the Peace of Hubertsburg Frederick had still twenty-three ears before him, which, a practically unbroken stretch of peace, he evoted to the continuation of those inner labors which we have con- dered under the heads of mercantilism, enlightenment, and benev- ent despotism. By promoting the welfare of his people according o the light of his age he became the outstanding sovereign of

Europe. Among the political events of this closing period of his life only those having to do with Poland and Austria call for special comment. His relation to Poland has already been glanced at in connection with the Tsarina Catherine's successful extension of her power westward. It is highly probably that the First Partition (1772) was carried out chiefly at the suggestion of Frederick, who by this arrangement secured a part of a kingdom which the tsarina had already earmarked as her exclusive possession. All three neighbors of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shared in the partition, and though Prussia got the smallest slice, it was perhaps the most valuable since it consisted of the province of West Prussia by which the detached territory of East Prussia was at last joined to the Brandenburg nucleus. To comprehend the development in Frederick's last phase of his relation to his German rival we must once more have a look at the Austrian Empire.

Frederick's last years. The Partition of Poland

Although the Empress Maria Theresa did not succeed in her purpose of regaining Silesia, she played so large a part in the affairs of Europe that she greatly added to the prestige of her empire. However, permanently to secure it against rapacious neighbors, she would, as she came to recognize, have to make it over in accordance with the current program of centralization. Her very first measures in pursuit of this end aroused such opposition that, seized with discouragement, she desisted; and it was only when her son, Joseph, became emperor (1765) and at the same time co-regent with his mother of the Austrian state that the work was seriously taken in hand. Joseph II was a typical "enlightened" sovereign, in whose eyes no inherited institution found favor which did not meet the two requirements of reason and utility. If he had had his way he would at once and without hesitation have inaugurated a furious reform movement; but while his mother lived, she effectively applied the brakes, for the last word rested, after all, with her. However, between 1765 and 1780 when he ruled in association with his mother, and much more sweepingly between 1780 and 1790 when, on his mother's death, he ruled alone, he enacted as revolutionary a body of statutes as have ever issued from a royal despot. As an analysis would show, they were devised not only to centralize the Hapsburg dominions but to bring them into harmony with the advanced economic and intellectual program of the day. An unusually informed and kindly soul, Joseph showed in his

Vain attempt of Joseph II to unify the Austrian Empire

neasures much more good will than tact and foresight; for his ominions, pieced together with so many unrelated provinces and istinct peoples, were bound to demur against this ruthless wiping ut of their established customs and historic rights. The most ndignant among them, like the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) nd Hungary, even rose in revolution; and before he died the heart-roken sovereign, of whom, if ever of a ruler, it may be said that he esired only the good of his people, was obliged to revoke practically ne whole mass of his reform edicts. That Joseph II should have tried o carry out a political reorganization along the lines successfully aid down by France, Prussia, and Russia is wholly comprehensible. His failure proved that the Hapsburg dominions were composed of so any heterogeneous elements that it was madness to hope to recast nem into a single uniform mold.

So eager and far-ranging a spirit as Joseph was sure to pursue an ctive foreign policy. It was he rather than his mother who was esponsible for Austria's sharing in the Partition of Poland; and no ooner were his hands entirely freed by his mother's demise than he entered into negotiations with the equally nterprising Tsarina Catherine which, if successful, would ave led to the partition of the even vaster area of Turkey-n-Europe. It was largely only because of the domestic revolutions ready mentioned in Belgium and Hungary that the great plan mis-arried. For no sooner was Austria embarrassed by these inner dis-urbances than she was obliged to renounce her warlike plans against ne Ottoman Empire. In fact, perhaps because of an unfortunate abit of precipitate action, Joseph was about as consistently unfortu-ate in his foreign as in his domestic ventures. And, as might be xpected, when he entered the lists against so deft an adversary as rederick II of Prussia, he was regularly worsted. Only once, how-ver, in the year 1778, did it look as if the irreconcilable quarrel etween Austria and Prussia would precipitate a new war. In that ear Joseph made an arrangement with the elector of Bavaria by hich he hoped to acquire this important, south-German territory. ncreased by an immediately adjoining state, Austria would once ore have obtained a clearly dominant position in Germany. Such consummation Frederick was bound to hinder at all costs. For veral months war threatened; and if it was avoided it was not cause Frederick yielded but because Joseph renounced his am-tious Bavarian project.

Joseph's ambitious foreign policy

When Frederick II, called the Great, died in 1786 he left behind a Prussia which had grown powerful and famous, but a German Empire which was still the same broken reed as during the four or five preceding centuries. It was something, nay, much that within Germany there was now a strong and vital organism which inevitably communicated a certain vigor to the whole dead mass. Undoubtedly the awakening of Austria under Maria Theresa and her son was to no small extent the result of the Prussian example. If from now on these two states faced each other as enemies, it was not only because of the bitter Silesian memory but, even in larger measure, because each coveted the headship of a new and reborn Germany. Of the official Germany of the eighteenth century the headship rested of course with Austria and its ruler, the elected emperor. But for practical purposes Prussia from the time of Frederick was quite as strong as Austria and, in substantial equilibrium as they were, each watched the other's every move since each hoped to outstrip the other and force its law upon the smaller German states. For that the structure called the Holy Roman Empire would cumber the earth much longer was utterly unbelievable. When three years before the outbreak of the French Revolution Frederick passed away, the German future was undoubtedly as dark as ever; but it was at least clear that it hung upon the outcome of the rivalry of Austria and Prussia.

The German situation dominated by the rivalry of Prussia and Austria

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Rulers of Prussia

(House of Hohenzollern)

rederick William (the Great Elector), 1640–1688
rederick I (son of the above, first king of Prussia), 1688–1713
rederick William I (son of Frederick I), 1713–1740
rederick II (the Great; son of his predecessor), 1740–1786
rederick William II (nephew of Frederick II), 1786–1797
rederick William III (son of his predecessor), 1797–1840

Rulers of Austria

(House of Hapsburg)

harles VI (last male of his line) 1711–1740
Iaria Theresa (daughter of the above; *m.* Francis of Lorraine) 1740–1780
oseph II (son of the above), 1780–1790
eopold II (younger brother of Joseph II) 1790–1792
rancis II (son of Leopold II; last Holy Roman Emperor), 1792–1835

CHAPTER XVII

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

We have seen that the Revolution of 1688 had secured the victory in the long civil struggle in England to Protestantism and the parliament. It was without doubt a triumph of the English people but it was not in any modern sense a democratic triumph. If henceforth the parliament was the decisive factor in the English government, let us not fail to observe that, composed of the house of Lords and house of Commons, it represented only the men of property, that is, the class of freeholders, to whom the franchise was limited. While the Revolution, constitutionally considered, definitely and finally displaced the absolute with the parliamentary régime, its social-economic significance lies in its vesting the political control in the landed gentry and the great merchants of the towns. For almost a century and a half, until the Reform Bill of 1832, England was governed by a rarely successful combination between an aristocracy of birth and an oligarchy of wealth.

The meaning of the "Glorious Revolution"

The sovereign of the Revolution, King William III (1689–1702), soon learned that he was not to have his throne without fighting for it. The deposed James had sought refuge with Louis XIV, and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just begun the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688–1697). This struggle marks a turning-point in the fortunes of the French king. Thus far his policy of continental aggression had met with success to no small extent because the Great Britain of the restored Stuarts had, when not actively aiding him, remained neutral. With the advent of William Great Britain frankly aligned itself with the continental nations against all-powerful France. In fact it was to achieve this very purpose that William, who was a Dutchman before he became an Englishman and who had made it his life-work to defend the liberty of his native land against

Significance for Europe and England of William's accession

uis XIV, had launched the invasion of 1688. But though inspired the first place by the desire to help the Dutch and Europe, William rtainly also served the true interests of his new kingdom, since in raying England against France he committed it to that maritime d colonial policy by virtue of which it rose in the following century its peculiar position of world power.

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with in connection th Louis XIV, except for the phase belonging exclusively to Eng- nd. Its story carries us to the English dependency, Ireland. In arch, 1689, James II effected a landing in Ireland with **William in Ireland** ench aid and immediately the native Irish, Catholic and ti-English in sentiment, gathered around him. Even before his ming the ancient hatred between Celt and Saxon had once more med up in war. The Protestant colonists were driven from their mes and for a time it looked as if the island might again revert to original owners. However, a year later, on July 1, 1690, William, o had come to the rescue of the Protestants, defeated James at the ttle of the Boyne. Thoroughly discouraged, especially since as an glishman he did not feel happy in an Irish environment, James andoned his supporters and fled back to France. The measures which the victorious English now took vengeance on the Irish oke the back of Irish resistance for a hundred years.

Before speaking of these measures it will be necessary to review e relations of Ireland and England during the previous century. nen James I mounted the throne in 1603, Ireland had been a de- ndency of the English crown for nearly five hundred **Early history of the English in Ireland** ars; but for most of that time the English rule had been gely nominal since the representative of the king gen- lly controlled no more than the district around Dublin own as the English Pale. The heart of the island was held by the ive Irish, who, divided into tribes and governed by chiefs in ac- dance with ancient custom, retained a substantial independence. the Irish could have replaced the perpetual tribal warfare which s usual among them with some form of national organization, y might have rid themselves of their conquerors, for not till the e of Henry VIII did the English take the task of subduing Ireland iously in hand, and not till the close of Elizabeth's reign was the rk completed. Almost the last triumph of Elizabeth was the pression of the great rebellion in Ulster led by Hugh O'Neill. nen James I succeeded to the throne he became responsible for an

innovation fraught with tremendous consequences. He resolved to confiscate the northern province of Ulster and colonize it with English and Scotch settlers as the surest means for securing the submission of the island. In 1610 the natives of Ulster were dispossessed of their land with no more said than that they must find subsistence elsewhere. From that act dates a hatred between conquerors and conquered which has proved terrible and implacable.

When the English civil war broke out, temporarily annihilating the power of the government, the Irish fell (1641) upon the colonists of Ulster and murdered them or drove them from their homes. The English revenge for this outrage was adjourned till 1649 when Cromwell, representing the might of the restored nation, undertook to bring Ireland back to her allegiance. At the head of a Puritan army he relentlessly beat the natives into submission. In this connection it should be remembered that since the Reformation religious differences had sprung up which added new fuel to the ancient quarrel of the two races. On establishing their national or Anglican Church the English had imposed it also, under the misleading name of the Irish Church, on their dependency. However, as the native Irish stubbornly adhered to the Church of Rome, they professed a proscribed religion and laid themselves open to savage persecution. To the Puritan soldiers of Cromwell's army the Catholic Irish were no better than beasts of the field, whom to render harmless was a good deed in the eyes of the Lord. No sooner had the army completed its crushing work of conquest than the parliament resumed and even extended James's policy of seizure and colonization. As a result the title to over half of the land of the island now passed into English hands. The dispossessed peasants were bidden to go find bread or a grave in the bogs and thickets of the yet unconfiscated west. When in 1690 William III overthrew the next insurrection at the Battle of the Boyne, the English parliament, now the real sovereign of England, completed the process of Irish dispossession, thereby reducing the natives to a people without land, without the right of worship, and without a future. Nor was this all. At the demand of the English landlord interest the parliament forbade the importation into England of Irish cattle and dairy products; and in the interest of the English manufacturers the Irish were prohibited from sending any woolen goods out of the country. These prohibitive economic measures struck at the Anglo-Scotch colonists quite as much as at the natives, but the burning memories

England's oppressive policy

isting between them kept them from uniting against the oppressor. jured in their material interests, many of the colonists migrated America, while the natives, eking out a miserable existence as nants, day-laborers, and beggars, stolidly awaited the day of liverance.

We have already noted that William's drawing England into the alition against France enabled him to bring the War of the Pala- nate to a close without conceding any gains to France. He spent e years following the Peace of Ryswick (1697) negotiat- g with Louis a feasible division of the expected Spanish ritage; but when, in the year 1700, the king of Spain ed, leaving a will in favor of the house of Bourbon, Louis XIV savowed the negotiations with William by sending his grandson, ilip, to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided Spanish do- nions. Out of this presumptuous act grew the War of the Spanish ccession, for which the great opponent of Louis XIV had hardly epared by a renewal of the continental coalition, when he died 702). Since his wife, Mary, had died some years before (1694) thout issue, the crown now passed to Mary's sister Anne; but as was foreseen even in William's lifetime that Anne too would leave offspring, a special statute had been passed, called the Act of ttlement (1701), for regulating the succession. Supplementing e Protestant provision already incorporated in the Bill of Rights, e Act of Settlement passed over the head of a score of Catholic imants and established the succession on the demise of Anne in e Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I through daughter Elizabeth, and her heirs after her.[1]

The Act of Settlement, 1701

We have repeatedly insisted that the Revolution of 1688 and the l of Rights of the following year consecrated the victory of the par- ment in its long struggle with the king. In the course of the xt two or three generations the parliament confirmed hard-won ascendancy by completing the constitutional fice on its own plan. Without interruption but with- haste, act followed act, each enlarging somewhat fur- r the sphere of the parliament at the expense of the wn until the entire government came to be vested in the represen- ives of the people and the monarch was reduced to a position gely ornamental. Let us take note what contributions toward s result were made in the reign of William.

Slow elaboration of the parliamentary system

[1] See Genealogical Table at the head of Chapter XIII.

The first subject to be considered is the important matter of supplies. The parliaments of the past had been in the habit of voting certain revenues for the king's lifetime, thereby securing to the sovereign a relative independence and putting it in his power in certain favorable circumstances not to call the legislature at all. William's parliaments now fell into the habit of *annual* grants, which greatly enhanced parliamentary influence since the king, merely to keep the government going, was obliged to summon the parliament every year. This system necessarily led to the drawing up on the part of the government of an annual budget of expenditures, every item of which fell under the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the parliament. Annual budget and annual parliament represent a correlated development which has secured the minute control of the purse, and therewith of the government itself, to the representatives of the nation. Hardly less important was the Mutiny Act, which, along with the revenue arrangements just mentioned, helped assure the annual return of parliament. By this statute military courts for the punishment of mutiny and other acts of insubordination were authorized for one year only. It was a clever device for maintaining the discipline, without which an army can not exist, without permitting the forces to get from under the hand of the parliament. Finally let us note that a step, constituting a magnificent tribute to the modern spirit, was the refusal (1695) to renew the act subjecting all printed matter to official censorship. Henceforth England enjoyed a free and unfettered press, the necessary corollary of a government aspiring to be free.

Annual grants and annual parliaments

The event of the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714) overshadowing all others was the War of the Spanish Succession. It has been treated elsewhere with due regard to the fact that England won in this conflict a leading position among the powers of Europe. But the applause attending Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet was not universal. He depended for support on the party of the Whigs, who in the early part of the war dominated the parliament and increasingly forced their leaders into the ministry. The queen, a narrow-minded woman passionately devoted to the national Church, inclined to the Tories but was dissuaded from supporting them by her friend, the duchess of Marlborough, who had acquired a complete ascendancy over her. However, when the war continued interminably, bringing heavy taxation and a national debt increasing like an avalanche, public

The War of the Spanish Succession

ntiment rallied behind the Tory opposition and encouraged the
ieen to cast off the Whig yoke. She was unwittingly aided in
is design by the arrogant and tempestuous duchess, who carried
r tyranny to such a point that the offended Anne at last forbade
r the court. Abetted by back-stairs influences, always rife where
weak ruler holds the scepter, the queen became more and more dis-
isted with the Whigs and in 1710 peremptorily dismissed them from
fice. There followed a ministry of Tories led by Oxford and Boling-
oke, who dared cashier Marlborough himself and open negotia-
ons with France which in 1713 terminated in the Peace of Utrecht.
though the treaty was concluded somewhat precipitately and with-
t proper regard to Great Britain's allies, the main advantages gained
the Whig conduct of the war even their Tory adversaries did not
crifice. Great Britain acquired from France Newfoundland, Nova
otia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and
inorca, which secured the control of the western Mediterranean;
d, most important of all, she was confirmed by her unquestioned
val ascendancy in that command of the seas which became the
sis of her world position.

While the war was at its height an event of great significance
curred in the union of England and Scotland. Although the two
ngdoms had possessed a common sovereign ever since the accession
1603 of the Scottish sovereign, James, to the English
rone, from fear of its more powerful neighbor, the smal-
state had for over a century jealously guarded its in-
pendence. In 1707 the ghost of ancient rivalry and war
as laid for all time by a measure in which the Scottish parliament
ted its own extinction and accepted for the northern kingdom
presentation in the Lords and Commons seated at Westminster.
o mark the fusion of the two governments in one they adopted as
eir official common designation the name Great Britain.

Union of England and Scotland

In the year 1714 Anne died, and the crown fell to the German
use of Hanover, whose family name is Guelph (Welf). Since the
ectress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement
the eventual heir, had preceded Anne in death, her son,
eorge I, now ascended the throne. Some great stroke
the part of the Pretender, the son of James II, was ex-
cted, but when it fell (1715) it turned out to be harmless.
he man who claimed to be James III was a weak and unenterprising
dividual who, having effected a landing in Scotland, was quickly

Accession of the house of Hanover

discouraged by the situation confronting him and turned back to France.

George I (1714–1727), who owed his elevation to the Whigs, naturally chose his first advisers from that party. As the Tories were more or less compromised by their support of the Stuart claim,

George I leans upon the Whigs

George clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life and thus laid the foundations of that long era of Whig control which puts its stamp upon English history for the next fifty years.

This prolonged power of a single party helped parliament in taking another and practically its final step toward acquiring complete control of the state: with George I is associated the establishment

Cabinet government

of cabinet government. We have already seen that as far back as the reign of Charles II the parliament fell into two groups or parties, each pledged to a certain course of action. As matters stood at that time, though the majority of the Commons might be Whig, the king, still enjoying a considerable prerogative, was free to choose his advisers from among the Tories. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division of power, enabling the executive to pull one way and the legislature another, was harmful and that to obtain the best results the ministers and the Commons would have to be in some sort of accord. Under the prevailing drift of English constitutional development there was no other conceivable way of achieving this end than for the king to select his ministers from among the majority party. This is what happened under George I, who thus inaugurated a practice which gradually acquired the sanction of custom. The new sovereign was an honest and reliable but mentally sluggish individual. Furthermore, he was more interested in Hanover than in England and did not even trouble to learn the English language. In need of counsel among strange and bewildering conditions and owing his throne to the Whigs, he naturally put his whole trust in them. In consequence the government fell more and more into the hands of a group of Whig ministers, called the cabinet, who collectively governed the country with the support of the majority of the house of Commons. Cabinet rule was of course a gradual development, but when it was at last complete it signified that the ministers, still nominally appointed by the king, were really the agents of the party commanding a majority in the lower house. With cabinet and party rule added to the older features of parliamentary practice the English constitution may be

id to have reached the form which has distinguished it down to r own time.

The Whig ascendancy is inseparably connected with the name Sir Robert Walpole, during whose tenure of office lasting for more an twenty years (1721–1742) the cabinet system became a reality. e was a coarse, vigorous, and practical-minded realist, Sir Robert no coupled with a shrewd understanding of the strength Walpole's his country a desire for peace in order first, to secure the system anoverian succession and second, to enable the commercial interests make the most of their unrivalled opportunities beyond the seas. mself a country squire, he belonged to a social order which was erwhelmingly Tory and violently antagonistic to the great mer- ants with whom, organized under the Whig banner, they disputed e control of parliament. It is a tribute to Walpole's breadth of ew that, though a member of the landlord class, he identified nself with the urban element and tried in every way to promote its erest. Inspired by the current mercantilist ideas he promoted lonial development, favored the importation of raw products and e exportation of manufactured goods, and by a hundred different vices attempted to achieve that *summum bonum* of mercantilist ought, a favorable balance of trade. If his measures, by which he anipulated production and exchange as if they were pawns on a ess-board, were far from being an unmixed blessing, they probably d stimulate enterprise along certain lines of colonial trade and lead the establishment of a number of favored industries. In any case ey won the applause and incidentally the votes of the merchant ss. But let no one imagine that in his trading zeal he neglected e landlords to whom he himself belonged. The solid legislation of rlier days in their favor culminating in the payment of bounties the export of wheat, he not only refrained from touching but diciously enlarged from time to time. With such a policy he drew least a part of the country squires into the Whig camp and was abled to give the parliament that Whig complexion which it re- ned for so many years. Walpole's economic measures do not differ entially from those practiced in other countries of that age domi- ted by mercantilist doctrines, but it can not fail to strike our ention that in its political implications his legislation appears as a be offered to the two classes alone represented in parliament and erefore ruling the elections. If we see him, in addition, employing ast patronage to maintain his required majority in the lower house,

we are prepared for the fact that corruption became an inherent feature of the new parliamentary system and can also understand how the all-powerful minister, made thoroughly cynical about human nature, came to be credited with the bleak saying that "every man has his price." In the governing circles of eighteenth century England it came very close to being true.

Dedicated to a peace policy, Walpole was moved in part at least to favor trade on the theory that a commercially minded people necessarily abhors war. He was destined to a rude disillusionment.

War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739

Among the advantages obtained for England by the Treaty of Utrecht was an invasion of the monopoly maintained by Spain in the western world. By an agreement called the *asiento* England received the monopoly of the African slave trade for the Spanish colonial world and, in addition, the right to send one trading ship each year to Spanish colonial ports. It was a slight wedge which the reckless enterprise of the English traders attempted to convert into a broad breach; and when the Spaniards resisted and seized and punished smugglers, the English trading interests at home raised a resounding clamor. In 1738 a smuggler by the name of Jenkins was paraded through London with a shrivelled ear wrapped in cotton-wool which he declared he had lost seven years before through the assault of a Spanish coast guard. Jenkins' miraculously preserved appendage is the most famous ear in history, for it tipped the scales against peace. Pushed by public opinion and against his better judgment, Walpole began (1739) a war with Spain. It aimed at greater rights in Spanish waters and, in view of its origin, is appropriately named the War of Jenkins' Ear.

Meanwhile George I had been succeeded by his son, George II (1727–1760), like his father in at least the one important circumstance that he meekly acquiesced in the new party and cabinet development. The war with Spain had hardly begun when the continental powers, on the heels of the death of Emperor Charles VI (1740), became involved in a struggle over the Austrian succession. As England took alarm at the policy of France, which again visibly aimed at European ascendancy by means of a partition of Austria, the government threw in its lot with Charles's heir, Maria Theresa. Looking with inner displeasure on all these developments, Walpole was at length (1743) forced out of office to be replaced by men more eager than he to fight

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748

d more ready, above all, to join with Austria in order to present a ited front against the leagued Bourbon powers of Spain and France. aving already dealt with the War of the Austrian Succession we ed not linger over it at this point. Its importance lies in the fact at it ended in the Peace of Aachen (1748), in which the French knowledged the defeat of their anti-Austrian project and recog-zed Maria Theresa as heir to the dominions of her father with the e substantial exception of Silesia, which was conceded to Freder-k of Prussia. In other respects the conflict was without fruit, the eaty being based on the principle of the mutual restoration of nquests. This meant that the colonial issues both as between reat Britain and Spain and as between Great Britain and France re adjourned to a later day.

A memorable incident of the War of the Austrian Succession was e attempt of Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Pretender, and own as the Young Pretender, to win back his lost realms. That was not lacking in the spirited audacity which has often ined a crown is proved by the fact that without help om France and with a following of only seven men he eretly landed on the Scottish Highland coast. The ne, July, 1745, was well chosen since the British troops re fighting on the continent. The Highlanders were in this period ll divided into clans, at the head of which stood hereditary chiefs.

Prince Charles Stuart attempts to regain his crown

Celts, with a language and a civilization, albeit backward, their own, they were by no means friendly either to the Teutonic wlanders of Scotland or to the English. Moreover, practically f-governed, they were subjected to King George II in hardly any-ng more than name. That Prince Charlie, as the Young Pretender s fondly called, had thrown himself upon their mercy, stirred their agination and kindled their generous hearts to wild enthusiasm. ocking around him in crowds, they advanced from point to point til by an irresistible rush they captured Edinburgh. For a moment ndon itself was apprehensive of capture, but on the troops being alled from the Netherlands, where they were engaged in fighting e French, it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans s of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden oor (April, 1746), the Highlanders were defeated with fearful ughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince harlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape; but oken apparently by his one capital misfortune, he became an habit-

ual drunkard and lived ever afterward in indolence abroad (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

While England, under Walpole's vigorous initiative, was preparing to assume the commercial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession. When the aged Louis XIV died in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1772). As the young king was but five years old, the government was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV, Philip, duke of Orleans. The Regent Orleans, although a man of parts and a celebrated wit, was so passionately given to the pursuit of pleasure that he only plunged France deeper into economic and financial misery. Perhaps the one good point about his rule was that, recognizing the advantage of peace, he maintained amicable relations with England. It was not a sufficient contribution to make him popular; and when he died, in 1723, he was regretted by none but the companions of his wild nights.

The regency in France

Although the boy-king had been declared of age even before the regent's death, he was still too young to exercise the rule, which taken over by his religious director, the Cardinal Fleury, was retained for almost two decades (1726–1743). Fleury, too held the view that France needed nothing so much as a long peace. Nevertheless, his administration is marked by two wars forced on him by circumstances which he was too weak to command. In the year 1733 France became involved with Austria because of the different sides taken by these two powers in the election of a Polish king. The so-called War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735) is unmemorable except for the right conceded to France to take over Lorraine after the death of the defeated king of Poland, to whom it was given during his life in compensation for his loss of the Polish crown. More than a hundred years before this time France had turned its attention to the acquisition of Lorraine and had gradually succeeded in severing the ties which bound it to the Empire. Louis XV therefore did no more in 1735 than gather a piece of ripe fruit. Taken in connection with the territorial gains made by Louis XIV, the duchy of Lorraine satisfactorily rounded off the French eastern boundary.

Cardinal Fleury and the acquisition of Lorraine

In the year 1740 the death of the Emperor Charles VI and the accession in Austria of the young girl Maria Theresa so completely turned the head of the court party at Versailles with the brillian

nce which the situation offered of war and conquest, that Car-
al Fleury was obliged once again to yield to pressure
l against his better judgment to attack Austria. The
r of the Austrian Succession involved all Europe for
nt years, as we have seen, but when it was closed by
Peace of Aachen (1748), France recognized Maria
eresa as heir of the Hapsburg dominions and withdrew
m Germany without a gain.

The War of the Austrian Succession from the French point of view

As we approach the middle of the eighteenth century it becomes
in that the struggle which Louis XIV inaugurated with the object
making France supreme in Europe had ended in failure. The
nedy proposed by William III and consisting of the
ance of Austria, the Dutch, and England had proved
cessful. By the War of the Spanish Succession Louis
V had been brought to his senses; and when, in the War
the Austrian Succession, Louis XV had revamped the old plan, he
had been obliged to draw in his horns. But in spite of disasters
the continent, perhaps even because of them, French colonial ex-
nsion continued vigorously with the result that in India and North
nerica it entered into ever sharper rivalry with Great Britain.
inly the aim of the French was to compensate themselves for the
ure of their European plans by the acquisition of an empire beyond
seas. Comprehensible enough in itself, the plan conflicted with
imilar purpose of the English. Accordingly, with the march of the
ntury the gaze of Frenchmen and Englishmen turned across the
s, and slowly the center of interest, which in the long struggle of
ance for supremacy in Europe had been the continent, shifted to
colonies.

The colonial rivalry of France and England

Such a change of interest necessarily involved a subtle change of
ernational relationships in Europe. In measure as France withdrew
m her aggression against her continental neighbors, she conciliated
ancient enemies, Austria and the Dutch; and in meas-
as she emphasized her colonial ambition, she aroused
increased hostility of England. Thus, by the gradual
eration of circumstances, England and France had, to-
rd the middle of the eighteenth century, been brought face to face to
ht out the great question of supremacy in the colonial world; and in
s colonial question Austria, the old ally of England against France,
d no immediate interest. Was Austria or any other continental
wer likely, under the circumstances, to take the side of the English?

England and Austria dissolve partnership

The war between France and Great Britain which followed, calle the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), is properly the most impo tant struggle of the century, for it determined whether America ar India were to be French or English. But though the oth European powers had no direct interest in the coloni question, they nevertheless participated in the conflic That, as already explained, was owing to the circumstanc that the two German powers, Austria and Prussia, had quarrel of their own to settle, and that by choosing sides in the Frenc English conflict, Prussia allying herself with England and Austr with France, they brought about a fusion of two distinct issues in general war.

Prussia sides with England, Austria with France

France did not fail to extend herself in the Seven Years' War i the hope of fastening victory to her banners. She sent an arm across the Rhine to coöperate with the Austrians against the Pru sians and their British allies, and she made considerabl though uneven, efforts to equip a navy and to suppo her colonial forces in India and America. It was h great misfortune that the government lay in the hanc of Louis XV, than whom there is hardly a feebler and more desp cable sovereign in history. As he was selfishly concerned only wi his pleasures and at the same time cynical and indolent, he pe mitted the business of state to slip into the grasp of intriguir courtiers and base courtesans with the result that merit was disr garded in distributing the posts of honor, that one plan of campaig was adopted only to be rejected in favor of another, and that lavish and corrupt expenditure diverted into private channels hu sums of money which should have been dedicated to the nation defense. More than with any other single individual the directi of affairs rested with the king's official mistress, Madame de Pomp dour, who, though possessed of a certain light grace of person ar of mind, boasted neither the intelligence to grasp the significan of the conflict nor the character worthily to sustain it.

Failure of government under Louis XV

While the absolute government of France thus conspicuous failed to give the country that leadership which is invaluable in crisis, the parliamentary government of Great Britain brought the front the one man capable of giving it just that. By a combin tion of various Whig groups William Pitt, who since Walpole's decli had become the most brilliant figure of the Commons, was in 17 promoted to be Secretary of State, from which vantage-point he f

ır decisive years controlled the ministry and directed his country's
licy on land and sea. A vibrant personality, he communicated his
triotic energy to the whole body of his countrymen and won their
arty support for his far-sighted plan of utilizing the
vorable situation to eliminate France entirely from the
lonial field. Under these circumstances the victory
cessarily fell to the English. In 1757 the French army
as catastrophically beaten by Frederick the Great at Rossbach in
nuringia, and on its reorganization in 1758 was held in effective
eck by an Anglo-Hanoverian force under Ferdinand of Brunswick,
e of Frederick's most reliable generals. So much for the British
ort in Germany, which Pitt consistently regarded as a secondary
hting area. With great acumen he reserved his best efforts for
e sea and the colonies, since on them, according to him, the struggle
ally hinged. At the outbreak of the war the French had won a
val action off the island of Minorca (May, 1756), which jeopardized
e English control of the sea-routes. Aware that the colonies
ould fall automatically to him who mastered the sea, Pitt
engthened his navy until, assuming the offensive, it gained in
59 the two victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay by which it
actically annihilated the French fleet. From 1759 on the French
lonies were cut off from the mother-country and therefore doomed.
At the same time Pitt eagerly pushed the war in America and
dia. In India, with remarkably little help from home, a daring
venturer, Robert Clive by name, first built up a native political
d military system enabling him to hold his own against
e French, and then at Plassey (1757) began a series of
ctories which ended with the downfall of the rival
wer. In America the struggle lasted longer because more steadily
pported by the French home government. One of the crucial
nerican areas was the headwaters of the Ohio which the French
imed as a part of the Mississippi basin and where they had erected
ort to warn off intruders. As early as 1755, that is, a whole year
fore war was officially declared, the British sent an army under
neral Braddock to destroy the French stronghold. Refusing to
ke the advice of a young Virginian officer, George Washington,
o twenty years later won immortal fame in a contest of another
nd, Braddock's army was badly beaten and he himself killed by
e Indian allies of the French. Pitt was of course unwilling to
ide by this decision, and in 1758 reëstablished the English prestige

Pitt, leader and strategist of England

Victories in India and America

by the capture of the French fort. Rebaptized Pittsburg, it stil proclaims to the living generation the great minister's share in it foundation. However, it was not the Ohio but the St. Lawrenc area which was the real basis of the French empire in America. I 1759 General Wolfe by a daring assault captured the nigh impreg nable stronghold of Quebec; and in the following year with th seizure of Montreal the whole province of Canada passed int British hands.

At this juncture, with an unexampled victory in sight, Kin George II died (October, 1760), to be succeeded by his grandson George III, who was destined to reign for sixty years. George III but twenty-two years old at his accession, was passion ately resolved to regain for the sovereign that lead ing influence in the government which had in recen generations passed to cabinet and parliament. "Be king, George," had been from his boyhood his ambitious mother' constant admonition to him. So he set about to reverse the con stitutional movement, and as a preliminary step turned to th Tories and injected his personal supporter, Lord Bute, into th Whig ministry. His plan was by degrees to get rid not only of Pit but incidentally of the heavy Whig yoke to which his predecessor had been obliged to submit ever since the accession of the house o Hanover. In pursuit of this program Lord Bute, once seated in th cabinet, headed an opposition party which clamored for peace; an when Pitt, learning that Spain was coming to the rescue of France moved to enlarge the scope of the war by attacking Spain before sh was ready, he found himself isolated and obliged to resign (1761) That Pitt was right had to be admitted by Bute himself a few months later when, in January, 1762, he was forced to meet the now open preparations of Spain with a declaration of war. However such was the impetus which had been given the British armament by Pitt that in the new struggle the Spanish possessions were in vaded and Havana and Manilla, the leading strongholds of th Spanish colonial empire, were captured. In spite of these successes Lord Bute, supported by the king, did not desist for a moment from his efforts to get peace and, before the year closed, succeeded in reaching an accommodation with the two Bourbon powers Without any doubt Pitt in Bute's place would have exacted much more crushing terms. Even so it can not be denied that by th definitive Peace of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, England

Fall of Pitt and the Peace of Paris, 1763

ined every essential point at issue between herself and Louis XV, r France surrendered Canada together with all territory east of e Mississippi, a number of important islands in the West Indies, d all claim to exercise political dominion in India.

If the Seven Years' War is Great Britain's greatest triumph, the untry was visited soon afterward with its severest calamity. In e year 1765 the British parliament levied a tax upon the North nerican colonies called the Stamp Act and therewith ecipitated an issue of control which had long been ewing between the colonies and the mother-country. hen it became known that the tax aroused discontent, it was sely withdrawn; but at the same time the principle was asserted d proclaimed that the British parliament had the right to tax e colonies. As the Americans would not agree that they could be xed by a body in which they were not represented, friction grew ace and soon led to mob violence. The British ministry, domi-ted by an ambitious and obstinate king, resorted to military rce, and the answer of the Americans to this measure was the solution to revolt (Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776). 1778 the colonists, through their agent, Benjamin Franklin, made alliance with France, and from this time on the British were rd pressed by both land and sea. At last the surrender at York-wn (1781) of the British army under Cornwallis to the American ro of the war, George Washington, disposed the mother-country a settlement. In the Peace of Paris (1783) Great Britain made ance a few colonial concessions but, in the main, retained the cisive advantages gained in the Seven Years' War. The really emorable feature of the peace was the recognition of the indepen-nce of the revolted British colonies under the name of the United ates of America.

The American Revolution, 1776

The American Revolution should have served notice to the British at something was wrong with their colonial system. This it failed do, at least at the time, although the developments in another pendency, much nearer home, might have enforced the nerican lesson. We have seen that Ireland received the rshest kind of treatment in that the welfare and wishes the natives were not regarded by the conquerors, who ally carried their policy of repression to the point of confiscating e land and distributing it among men of their own race as colonists. the home government could not deny the settlers, men of English

Ireland wins self-government, 1782

and Scottish blood, certain rights of self-government, Ireland had been conceded a parliament, in which the colonist element was alone represented by virtue of the provision that Catholics were excluded from representation. However, to keep the Irish parliament, even though it was a close Protestant corporation, securely tied to the English chariot, an ancient ordinance was enforced to the effect that no act passed by the Irish parliament should become law until it had received the approval of the British Privy Council. Loyal as the colonists were to England, they resented this limitation of their political rights and, under the stimulus of the American example, demanded its cancellation. In order to avoid a second colonial rebellion the ministry conceded the point with the result that Ireland by the grant (1782) of Legislative Independence became self-governing.

It was a decided gain, though it redounded to the exclusive advantage of the Protestant minority. Inevitably, however, it released an agitation among the Catholic natives for that participation in the affairs of their country of which they had been systematically deprived. Religious coupled with political animosities soon blazed up in civil war. The immediate effect of Legislative Independence was an anarchy which proved that the time was past when a minority could keep a majority in subjection, even though that majority might lack for the present the arms and organization enabling it to wrest the power from the privileged group. The British ministry in London under the energetic control of the younger Pitt, son of the organizer of victory in the Seven Years' War, long watched the Irish confusion with concern before it resolved to interfere. At length Pitt made up his mind that the way out was to merge Ireland governmentally with Great Britain. Partly by persuasion but, much more commonly, by open bribery he induced the Irish parliament to vote its own extinction in return for Irish representation in the British house of Lords and house of Commons. In 1800 this measure, called the Act of Union, became law. Ireland lost its political independence by the action of a minority of its inhabitants composed of Protestant colonists. Was it likely that the Catholic natives, constituting an overwhelming majority, would abide by this decision if the time ever came when they could make their power felt?

Loss of home-rule and Act of Union, 1800

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CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS BETWEEN 1648 AND 1789

We have seen that in the period considered in this section Europe was dominated politically by the absolute monarch. Philosophically considered, his function was to bring all classes of the population under a common law in the interest of a larger political unit, the nation. This was the ideal, nowhere entirely attained, not even in France which served as the model absolutism to the rest of Europe. Reaching his full stature in the seventeenth century, the absolute sovereign of France indulged himself in the eighteenth century in the dangerous luxury of living on his reputation. We have seen what happened under Louis XV. On account of this passivity French absolutism was in Louis XV's time outstripped in effectiveness by some of its imitators, notably by that of Prussia.

The function of absolutism

The absolute monarchy was created and upheld by the king who became its living spirit after the formula: *suprema lex regis voluntas* (the supreme law is the will of the king). To an age still dominated by Christian concepts and prepared to refer all human situations to an omnipotent Creator this supremacy of the king would quite normally appear as the law of heaven and the king a sovereign by Right Divine. However, the case might arise that the king, taking his Divine Right too literally, would forget the social service, which was his real justification, and attempt to put through measures strongly repugnant to the nation of which he was the head. His exalted autocratic position, calculated to disturb the always precarious balance of the human reason, would and did tend to make him think that the state existed for his sake and not *vice versa*. In that event, as the case of England proved, he was destined to arouse an opposition which would not cease until it had put an end to the theory of Divine Right by bringing home to the king the realization that he was, the flattery of the courtiers to the contrary notwithstanding, a decidedly man-

Absolutism transformed to constitutionalism

ade instrument. And, as the case of England also proved, the gal form of the subjection of the king to the concept of the public eal would be constitutionalism. The essence of the constitutional stem is the bringing of the king in all respects under the law cording to the formula: *suprema lex salus populi* (the supreme w is the welfare of the people.)

If absolutism and its English modification, constitutionalism, are e ruling political forms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ey are, like political forms in all climes and ages, an expression of e underlying social-economic situation. Although this aried in detail in every country of Europe, we are aware at its essential features were everywhere the same and at they consisted in a decline of the older privileged ders, the clergy and nobility, and in the rise to constantly greater fluence of the business and professional groups. The social dislo- tion represented by this statement was of course particularly riking among the commercial nations, such as the Dutch and the nglish; but even among them it was not attended at first by any- ing more than a gradual penetration of national policy with com- ercial interests. Such was the authority of the older classes that ey wielded a political power considerably out of proportion to their merical and economic strength. Their authority, which from ing an economic had become a moral value, had been built up rough the slow action of the centuries and would have to be de- royed, if at all, in the place where it most stubbornly persisted, that in the human mind. How this mental undermining of the clergy d nobility proceeded in the period covered by this chapter is a scinating study and must be briefly indicated, if for no other reason an that it throws a penetrating light on the formation of the modern tlook.

The social-economic basis of government

To begin with the clergy, we are aware that the Reformation, herever it was successful, deprived this order of its medieval halo denying that it was a necessary link in the process of salvation. rue, even in Protestant countries clergymen continued maintain a high standing as moral and intellectual aders, though they were now no longer a special order cognized by the law, a first estate. When in the second lf of the seventeenth century interest in theological controversy gan to decline, and when at the same time the primacy in matters tellectual passed to laymen, that is, to scientists and philosophers,

Decline both of the clergy and theology

the clergy not only in Protestant lands but also for the first time now in Catholic countries were slowly crowded into the background. Inevitably a non-religious type of thinking gained an increasing body of adherents as soon as the barrenness of theological discussion was contrasted with the positive results obtained by the followers of science. Such was the authority of theology, however, that the whole succession of scientists from Copernicus to Newton paid homage to it, sincerely in some cases, perfunctorily in others with a view to buying immunity from a power which still ruled the universities and looked upon itself as the crown and glory of the edifice of learning. Only very gradually did men become more courageous. At first an occasional rare scholar paraded a certain indifference to theology, to be followed gradually by others who directed a moderate criticism against the various theological systems whether Catholic or Protestant; finally, still bolder spirits advanced to the position that every closed intellectual system was hopelessly incompatible with the perpetual search of science for new truth. What greatly sustained these pioneers in the battle for intellectual freedom was the strong revulsion against dogmatic rigor that followed in the wake of the ruinous religious wars together with the rise of a body of tolerant men interested in mediating between the rival faiths. If the Reformation had already succeeded in more or less fusing the Protestant clergy with the body of common men, after the passing of another century the time had come to drag theology itself from its throne along with the churches built on theological systems. The instrument which chiefly served to carry out this levelling work was deism.

Significance of deism

Deism represents a crystallization in the minds of men of the conditions just sketched. In substance therefore it is first, a reaction against theological contentiousness, and second, an enthusiasm for the new scientific universe of eternal law. To be sure, it drew a certain strength also from the "natural rights" philosophy of the ancients, into which the recent discovery of a body of "natural law" had infused fresh vigor. If the universe was ruled by natural law — as the seventeenth century scientists upheld — and human beings were endowed with natural rights — as was maintained by the thinkers of antiquity — it followed that there was also a natural religion, not necessarily in conflict with Christianity but certainly older than Christianity or any existing faith. But what had this original, this natural religion, the essence of which was simple piety, to do with a priesthood, a metaphysical theology, and an insti-

tionalized church? Plainly all these human constructions smothed much more than they stimulated the glad worship of the pure in eart and would have to be cleared away if mankind was ever again be set right with its Creator.

Deism first manifested itself in England during the Puritan Revolution and grew strong in measure as men grew tired of the hair-splitting nd rancor of the theological controversialists. The respective xponents of the Tory and Whig political philosophies, homas Hobbes and John Locke, were already strongly nged with deism; and among the generation following ne "Glorious Revolution" some of the greatest political leaders, ke Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, openly professed a deistic philosphy. Full of resentment against the evangelical and emotional ndencies of Puritanism, the upper classes that took over the governent after 1688 adopted a hard, common-sense attitude toward life nd ridiculed the very mention of miracles, visions, and revelation. n supporting the national Church, as they most earnestly did, they ere indeed inconsistent, as practical men often are, but they had an xcellent reason for their course since the Anglican Church served their view as a moral police and helped keep the vulgar herd in neck. So far, however, was the elegant and restrained scepticism the English upper classes from infecting the lower strata of the opulation that when the national Establishment threatened to beome spiritually dead under the prolonged rule of worldly bishops, a volt among its own members proved that men will not for long perit religion to be degraded to a round, however dignified, of public eremonies. About the middle of the eighteenth century a popular uritanical revival, connected with the brothers John and Charles Vesley and with their disciple, George Whitefield, made its appearnce in the common membership of the Establishment; and although ended in a schism which produced the Methodist church, it shook ne old Church wide-awake, putting an end to its flirtation with the eistic movement. As for the English intellectual class, however, once on over to a mild scepticism, it was, generally speaking, never again etached from its position; with regard to its members it is uneniable that they had forever freed their minds from the triple omination of theology, the priesthood, and the Church.

History of deism in England

When deism crossed the channel to the continent, it made a much reater stir than in England, possibly because it locked horns there ith a more formidable adversary, the Catholic Church, and possibly

because it acquired as its spokesman one of the sprightliest and wittiest writers of all time, Voltaire (1694–1778). This gifted Frenchman, who began life as a purely literary artist with an ambition to succeed to the great heritage of Corneille and Racine, presently found himself caught up by the intellectual currents of the day and launched upon a campaign for the reform of the institutions of society. Among these the Catholic Church occupied of course a preëminent position. Coming by virtue of a two-year exile in England under the empirical and deistic influences ruling that country, Voltaire on his return to France made himself their spokesman. But he added important features of his own to the English borrowings. From the rather mild English deism, for example, he fashioned a mighty sword or rather a swift-glancing rapier with which to slay the champions of revealed religion. For every revealed religion organized as a church, and therefore not only Catholicism, was to Voltaire a lie which he was resolved to laugh out of the world with the unanswerable logic of his caustic wit. Naturally the churches met his light raillery with the heavy theological artillery which was their familiar weapon, but though they subjected him to much personal inconvenience, they failed to reduce him to silence. We may take the drawn battle as evidence that the power of the churches was waning and that a considerable percentage, perhaps a majority of the educated element throughout Europe, had, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, rallied, if not to Voltaire's extreme deistic position, at least to some form of rationalist outlook which freed them from the domination of the clergy.

Voltaire as exponent of continental deism

A further indication that the fortunes of the day were going against the churches may be seen in the fact that they were threatened and in some cases overtaken with divisions in their midst. The case of Methodism, an offshoot of the Anglican Church, has already been mentioned. So far from being unique, it is rather a typical instance. Within both the Lutheran and Calvinist churches similar tendencies came to the fore, producing schismatic movements on the part of those sincere spirits who, cherishing religion as a transforming inner experience, protested against having their enthusiasm stifled by a dead professional routine. The equivalent movement in the Catholic Church is indicated by the name of the Jansenists, a sect which had its center in France and which stressed

The significance of the struggle between Jansenism and Jesuitism

iritual illumination as against an excess of outward ceremonies. nder the powerful Jesuit influences, which had been predominant the Church from the period of the Council of Trent, Jansenism s formally condemned as heretical by Pope Clement XI in the mous Bull, *Unigenitus* (1713); but before the century closed the suits were themselves overtaken with disaster. This overthrow the followers of Loyola is peculiarly significant. The free spirits, which Voltaire was the acknowledged leader, had made the mous order the objective of a concentrated attack on the ground at it not only dominated the papacy and the higher clergy but by eans of its extensive school system ruled also the Catholic laity. hen the governments of the thoroughly Catholic states of Portul, France, and Spain added their protest to that of the liberalinded publicists, the pope came to the conclusion that the much xed ship of St. Peter could only be saved by tossing the Jesuits erboard. In 1773 the mighty order was dissolved by papal comand — clearly an act which was forced on the Catholic Church Catholic public opinion and which we may accept as the highter mark of anti-clerical agitation in the eighteenth century.[1]

The decline in authority of the nobles was not less real than that the clergy, though a considerable variation may be observed in eir regard among the different countries of Europe. In England ere was an actual increase of upper class influence be- **The variable case of the nobles** use the victory of the parliament delivered the power rgely into their hands. But two observations are in ace in this connection: (1) as the gateway to power after 1688 was t so much birth as property, the line of division between the landed ntry and the captains of industry tended to disappear; and (2) in ew of their subjection to the law and the excellent public service nich they undoubtedly rendered, the nobles were accepted as an tegral and useful element of the nation. In sharp contrast to their inence in England is their decline in France and in many other ntinental countries. Absolutism from its very nature was bound aim at the political depression of its feudal rival. As this point s been repeatedly elaborated, it will suffice here to instance the se of France, where the victorious monarch built up a royal adinistration exclusively of commoners, though he was at pains to

[1] The restoration of the Jesuit Order by the pope in 1814 is evidence of the ived clericalism connected with the general reaction following the downfall Napoleon.

placate the subjugated nobles by reserving to them the officer grades in the army and navy. At the same time he summoned them to his court at Versailles to dance attendance on his person, thus divorcing them from the land which was their ancient source of strength and encouraging their transformation into a butterfly aristocracy. Without doubt the Bourbon absolutism disastrously undermined the moral credit of the nobles by converting them into a class of social sycophants and economic wastrels. And in so doing it suffered the familiar lot of the corrupter, it became itself corrupt. However, in certain other countries, in Poland and Hungary, for instance, the influence of the nobles rose rather than declined. The reason for this reversal of the usual development must be found in the circumstance that in these countries the nobles held the monarchy in successful check, thereby keeping intact or even increasing their medieval authority. Prussia is in this matter a half-way house. In Prussia there was no class of great nobles and, in their absence, the land was largely distributed among small country gentlemen, called *Junker* and corresponding approximately to the English squires. Privileged in the matter of taxation as well as in the reservation to themselves of the officer positions in the army, they invite comparison in these respects with their fellows of France; but as they avoided the court and dwelt on their estates, which they personally superintended, they remained a body of active agriculturists integrated with the state and nation in a manner which became entirely obsolete in France.

While an examination of clergy and nobility seems to justify us in insisting on an actual decline of their authority in the moral sphere, it may well be that the movement was relative rather than absolute and is incontrovertible only when confronted with the growth of the middle classes, around which, as we have seen, the movement of civilization since the Renaissance chiefly turned. These classes had been steadily becoming numerically stronger as well as more complex in their composition. Among them were not only the representatives of big and little business but the professional groups of lawyers, physicians, teachers, artists, and writers of every sort whom we may bring together under the convenient label of intelligentsia. Without any interruption the whole movement of European evolution continued to play into their hands. Wherever the king built up the absolute state, he entrusted its administration to the hands of his commoners

The inevitable projection of the middle classes into politics

he needed money, he was obliged to follow an economic policy calulated to multiply commerce and industry; and the vast colonial ıovement which made Asia and America the footstool of Europe as carried on by the middle classes and redounded primarily to ıeir benefit. Only slowly, however, were they moved to aspire to olitical control. With the decline of respect for the feudal orders ıey became indeed correspondingly self-assertive, but as long as ıe king rendered the national service which might be reasonably xpected of him they were pleased to stick to their ledgers and counıg-houses. In England occurred the first instance of their overırowing a king who consistently and continuously offended them. was a startling manifestation of power but ended in a compromise ith the landed gentry whose superior political intelligence could ot yet be dispensed with. Would the English Revolution be lost ı the middle classes of the continent? It was not likely, provided ıey ever reached the same economic strength in the community, ıd provided, further, they encountered a similar provocation at ıe hands of the absolute king. It did not require a prophet to foree that the continent, too, was moving toward a political adjustment the kind inaugurated by England and involving the assertion by ıe middle classes of a claim to the scepter of state.

An outstanding characteristic of man is that he feels impelled to ıstify on philosophic grounds every act which marks a departure om established practice. Not until he finds what seems to him a oral and intellectual sanction for his breach with law ıd custom will he rest content. It was on this account ıat the English Revolution had no sooner begun than a ream of books and pamphlets issued from the press dending the parliamentary position. That stream, incative of the deep mental agitation of Englishmen, ntinued to broaden through the seventeenth century; and when e Revolution at last crystallized in the historic form of 1688, the an at once appeared who wrote its apology and formulated its eory. That was John Locke (1631–1704), a Whig in English party ife, the founder of what in the history of philosophy is usually lled empiricism, and, finally, a keen political theorist. In his *reatise on Government* (1689) he broke with the ancient Tory idea a king instituted by God in favor of a purely human and earth-born ctrine. It represents the ruler as issuing from an agreement by e terms of which he serves as the executive agent of the ruled.

Locke voices the political theory of the emerging middle classes

Called the contract theory of government, it justifies the deposition of the monarch as soon as he breaks the terms imposed on him or consistently runs counter to the good of his subjects. It is a doctrine of popular sovereignty which, carried to its logical conclusion, might easily lead to frequent upsets and revolutionary excesses. These implications of his theory Locke, like the possessing classes which he represented, wished of course to avoid. In consequence the "people" of his theory of sovereignty are really only the property holders; and it was made particularly easy for Locke to arrive at this limitation since in the actual instance under his observation it was indeed the property holders who instigated the revolution and insisted on becoming its beneficiaries. The philosopher represented the reasonable, compromising temper which was asserting itself in England as a result of a long succession of evil experiences with political extremes and which was destined to become the characteristic note of political-minded, middle class Englishmen. For this temper the only proper road is always the *via media*, and under its doctrine of reasonableness, meaning nothing other than a confirmed habit of accommodation, it identifies itself with property, toleration, utility, common sense, individualism, that is, with all the forces represented by the developing middle classes. Well into the nineteenth century Locke has remained the vaunted oracle of these groups not only in England but throughout the world.

If Locke's political science has a manifest flaw, it is to be found in the deduction of his position from general principles without the least reference to the actual facts of government through the ages.

Montesquieu and the scientific method

Whatever sanctions it may possess, it can not claim the sanction of history. But as in Locke's day the collecting of data for the purpose of applying the inductive method of the natural sciences to the study of society had not yet been inaugurated, the learned Whig had no choice but to employ a deductive and rationalist proceeding. By the following century, however, scholars had developed more of a taste for facts and a Frenchman, Montesquieu, was able to present a study of government which may be said to have founded political science in its modern genetical aspect. It was in 1748 that Montesquieu published his *Spirit of the Law* (*Esprit des Lois*). It is a work of description and comparison which reaches the conclusion that there is no single "perfect" form of government but that every people normally works out a juridical and constitutional system suited to its particular situation

the world. While it is true that Montesquieu, as a scientific ioneer, awakened a great interest in problems of government, it is nproper to look upon him as a propagator of revolution. Revolution, eaning resort to swift and headlong change, accorded neither with s aristocratic temper nor with his factual, observational method. The leading apostle of revolution was Rousseau (1712–1778), a range, wayward son of the republic of Geneva, who, after dabbling a score of occupations only to abandon them in turn, at last tried s hand at literature and, like other literary men of his ge, Voltaire for instance, came face to face with social form. But much more radically inclined than Voltaire, e became the hot advocate of an entirely new political rder, finally setting forth his views in a manual of government called ie *Social Contract* (1762). To understand the Social Contract we ust first know personally about Rousseau that he carried the nging of his century for emancipation from inherited bonds to the st possible point since he craved to be emancipated from civiliza- on itself by a return to an assumed state of nature. It is by his owing evocation of the simple life freed from all the familiar con- entions of human intercourse that he became the father of the ro- antic movement. Of this more anon. At this point it will suffice make clear that when a man of this radical outlook sat himself own to sketch an ideal government, he was bound to start with a eneralization commensurate in its sweep with his contempt for the isting order. That generalization rings up the curtain of the Social ontract, sounding a clear trumpet call to war: "Man is born free id everywhere he is in chains." Since under these circumstances — fered as facts needing no proof — all existing governments are bare surpations without moral sanction, why trouble to examine and mpare them? Casting Montesquieu's historical method scornfully ide and using the above postulate as a spring-board, Rousseau ounded off into the empyrean where he engaged in the exciting oc- pation of constructing a society of truly free men. His ideal state the Social Contract is based on the sovereignty of the people, ection and recall of magistrates, the right of insurrection, majority le, in fact, on all the principles constituting the substance of present- y democracy. It should be noted that the Genevan philosopher's an, radical though it is, nowhere proposes to substitute community goods for private property. Indeed a certain caution about Rous- au restrained him from following his arguments through to their

Rousseau, the prophet of democracy

inevitable logical goal. And yet since in this, and more violently still in other writings, he preached a fanatical equality, that body of modern political extremists, whose doctrine is an unqualified communism, do him no particular wrong in worshipping him as one of the idols of their temple. Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau mark three important stages of political theory. Locke, the advocate of reason, toleration, utility, that is, of middle courses, became the darling of the middle classes; with Montesquieu we get the application to government of the historical method, which, interesting chiefly to scholars, gained only a small following in the author's day since it promised at best no more than a gradual amelioration of human conditions; and with Rousseau we reach the liberator of the disfranchised masses, the arch-revolutionist, the prophet of an unlimited democracy.

Economic theory in this period developed along lines which run strikingly parallel to political theory. We are already aware that such economic thinking as is recorded for the Middle Age centered about the towns as the foremost economic units. Not till the absolute monarchy united the nation was there created even the possibility for economic thinking on a really national scale. But as the very existence of the new central power turned on the problem of revenue, the earliest and most imperative kind of thinking done by and for the strengthened monarchy was what we may call fiscal thinking. There being nothing the absolute king needed and desired so much as money, he supported a bullion policy, taking particular pains to prohibit the exportation and to favor the importation of gold and silver. From this position it was only a step to the program of a favorable balance of trade vigorously advocated on the assumption that an excess of exports over imports secures a flow of bullion to the exporting country to make up the difference. Further deductions commonly made from the bullion principle we have already encountered in connection with mercantilism, which is the name usually given the complicated economic system finally elaborated from the original fiscal premise. We have seen that mercantilism dominated every country of Europe, and that if Colbert the Frenchman, Walpole the Englishman, and Frederick the Great of Prussia are notable representatives of the economic system represented by this name, the men who preceded and followed them in office held to very much the same views and practices. Other features of mercantilism are that it favored the export

Rise and domination of mercantilism

manufactures while trying to hinder their importation; that it couraged ocean-borne commerce carried exclusively in native ttoms; and that it believed in colonies on the ground that they rnished desirable raw products while serving as a market for goods anufactured in the mother-country. Mercantilist governments ere moved to favor here, prohibit there, regulate and control everyhere on the theory that this interference was socially necessary d economically advantageous.

Such a system the eighteenth century, supremely interested in erating itself from every kind of bondage, was not likely to leave challenged. Toward 1750 there came to the front in France a oup of students who began the application of the scienic method to the economic field and thereby as certainly came the fathers of the science of political economy as eir contemporary, Montesquieu, was the father of the ience of politics. They called themselves physiocrats d of course made only a beginning since they did not succeed in tirely clearing their brains of all the old metaphysical cobwebs. ut they did grasp that there existed a body of economic laws with mething of the sweep and dignity of the natural laws of the asonomers and that it was suicidal to attempt to interfere with their eration. Above all, they pointed out that the government's gulating and checking the economic processes at every turn was in bstance no more than mischievous meddling which hindered enterise and was mainly responsible for the curse of poverty. They ined the slogan, *laissez faire* (let alone!), and agitated in favor of complete abandonment of government supervision in order that e creative energy of the individual might unfold itself without let hindrance.

The physiocrats: rise of a science of political economy

While the French physiocrats were still groping their way toward new economic philosophy, their cause was taken up by a masterful ampion across the channel, the Scotsman, Adam Smith. In 1776 published his famous *Wealth of Nations*. Smith is not ly the advocate of the removal of all trade restrictions or which reason he has remained identified with free trade), but he aches the conclusion that the basic factor in production is human oor and that if man is to bring his highest energy into play he must eds enjoy the greatest possible degree of freedom. By this philophic line of argument the keen Scotsman showed that he moved in e line of middle class thought and possessed the key to middle class

Adam Smith

evolution. Already Locke had broken a lance for utility and reasonableness in government; and now Smith argued in their behalf in economics, his whole exposition culminating in the demand for the free untrammeled individual. A society of liberated men and women would need no regulative principle beyond their enlightened self-interest and, with state interference withdrawn, would soon produce wealth on a scale undreamed of in the period of economic bondage. If ever the middle classes, who have so largely made the modern world, build a Pantheon to their great men, they owe it to themselves to reserve a prominent niche for Adam Smith.

With the thought of this period directed so largely to emancipation we are prepared for the great forward strides of that arch-emancipator, science. Already the previous period had culminated, with the work of Galileo, in the discovery of a successful method for penetration into the physical world. Its adoption by investigators of every conceivable variety coupled with a certain amount of necessary accommodation to each particular field of study would be certain to unlock in ever increasing measure the secrets of Nature. Hardly a generation after Galileo's death the crown was set on his and Kepler's labors by the Englishman, Sir Isaac Newton, who combined all the discoveries of his predecessors into one of the most startling as well as simple generalizations that have ever been elaborated by the human mind. In 1686 Newton in his *Principia* announced the law of universal gravitation which showed that the apple dropping to the ground was part of the same general force which held the planets in their courses. The discovery of the laws of gravitation brought to a noble close a group of related labors covering almost two hundred years.

Physical science: Newton

While continuing its exploration of the physical world, the spirit of human curiosity guided by the new method now turned its attention to the plants and animals of the earth and for the first time produced a botany and zoölogy that rested on a solid observational basis. Space is lacking to describe these and other advances, but our main purpose will be served if it becomes clear that every department of knowledge registered and was bound to register conquests of bewildering scope the moment it threw overboard the old petrified learning and made a fresh start trusting to the new tools. Certainly an outstanding achievement was the creation of modern chemistry. This was the work of the Frenchman, Lavoisier (1743–1794), after a number of valiant predecessors had in the

The dawn of chemistry

sual manner blazed a trail for him. Lavoisier was the first chemist o resolve water into its elements; thereafter, with the aid of others, e provided his science with a serviceable nomenclature. From the nd of the eighteenth century chemistry went forward with amazing apidity. Its intensive cultivation indicated that men were passing rom the consideration of problems dealing with matter in motion to he subtler problems of the constitution of matter. The next great tep would logically be the passing from chemistry to biology, that s, to the mysterious processes of life itself. That step with its revo- utionary consequences was duly taken in the nineteenth century.

Among the varied interests bound to attract the attention of a keen physical observer like Galileo was the problem of the pressure f gases. Numerous experiments conducted by the great Tuscan nd his Italian followers and finally carried on throughout Europe led to a concentration on the most obvious of all gases, water-vapor. Some crude engines, utilizing the xpansive power of steam, were constructed until a serv- ceable engine for pumping water had been put together. By adding a number of improvements the Scotsman, James Watt, vas at last enabled to build an engine capable of driving a machine. n 1769 he patented his invention, which with subsequent alterations y himself and others was taken over by the textile industry of England, thus inaugurating one of the most momentous movements n the history of mankind, the movement known as the Industrial Revolution. However, since this revolution got only slowly under vay and did not work its magic transformations till the nineteenth entury, we are content at this point to note the relation between cience and invention and to indicate the probability that, in measure s science extended its dominion, its discoveries would be appro- riated by men of an inventive turn and utilized for the creation of nachines and other devices calculated by making life less laborious or the human race to make it gradually more generally enjoyable.

Science and invention: Watt's steam engine

The movement of modern philosophy starting with Descartes ontinued for some time along his general line. Other philosophers rose who, like him, both took account of the new world picture due o modern scientific discovery and held to the inherited iew that it was possible to fuse all knowledge into a ogical system dominated by a group of coherent concepts. The habit of system-building had been contracted in the Middle Age and in consequence of a firm faith, which nothing had

Philosophy comes down to earth with Locke

yet shaken, in one God, Creator and Sustainer, men fairly thirsted for majestic metaphysical constructions. Spinoza (d. 1677) and Leibnitz (d. 1716) may be cited as illustrative of this comprehensible and long continued philosophic trend. But it also came about that a certain revulsion set in against these over-bold philosophies as being too pretentious in view of the limited powers of the human mind; and characteristically it was in matter-of-fact, deistic England of the Restoration Period that the protest first made itself clearly heard. John Locke, the same man who endowed the Whigs with their political doctrine, is largely responsible for drawing Dame Philosophy from her ancient habitat among the clouds and setting her feet upon the earth. He achieved this result by diverting attention from the unfruitful discussion about God and immortality which had been going on for ages to the fundamental, though perhaps no less vexatious, problem of knowledge. In his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) he undertook to show that we acquire knowledge in two ways, first, through our senses, and second, through that mysterious entity, the human mind. In substance Locke declared that before we wrestle with problems that have balked the wise men of every generation, we would be doing well to study the means at our disposal for penetrating the darkness all around us. He thus achieved a shift of emphasis and inaugurated a practical, observational study of the mind which tended to convert metaphysics into psychology. Turning from heaven to earth, he is correctly characterized as an empiricist.

Plainly the tendency of Locke is sceptical so far as the purposes and claims of traditional philosophy are concerned. In the generations after Locke this scepticism grew until with the Scotsman Hume it dropped to a level close to complete negation. Substantially what Hume said was that we have no certainty about anything and are helpless to achieve it. Under these circumstances not only philosophy but science itself became enveloped in a cloud of doubt, which was not cleared away till Emanuel Kant, a native of Königsberg in Prussia (1724–1804), spoke his weighty word. What Kant chiefly did in his *Critique of Reason* and other works was to disentangle from one another science, philosophy (metaphysics), and theology and to assign to each a definite province and technique. Throughout the Middle Age these three studies had been considered as inseparable parts of a single empire of knowledge in which theology ruled as lord and

Kant and the autonomy of science

ctator. Although that conception had been breaking down in cent generations, it still held sufficiently in influential circles to mper seriously all three disciplines since they were too intimately und together to secure to each its requisite degree of freedom. ant's achievement was to prove by his deductions that in its own rticular world, the world of appearances (phenomena), science was t a dependent but an absolute master. In this way he freed the rsuit of practical, mundane knowledge from the control of either e theologian or the philosopher. But in liberating science Kant did t depress the status of theology and philosophy. For them too he aked out independent realms where each was as free of the other as th were free of science. Not improbably this division of knowledge o air-tight compartments was a specious procedure which may imately break down; coming when it did, it rendered a great vice to a still trammeled science by cutting its remaining chains d clearing the road for its unimpeded onward march.

To sketch even hastily the literary and artistic currents of this riod would require a separate chapter for which there is unfortutely no room. Doubtless it would add its touches, important uches too, to the picture of the age for the reason that erature and art are particularly sensitive to changes opinion and feeling and never fail to reflect them in eir creations. For information on the varied and many-voiced essage of the artists and writers the student will have to be rred to the special histories devoted to these matters and to be ntent in this swift review of a given period of culture with the nsideration of a single novel agency which, projected into literature d art in the eighteenth century, almost as completely revolutioned them as the parallel movement of science revolutionized knowlge. I am referring to romanticism. It can be traced back to many stant sources and burst on Europe only after a long gestation; t as Rousseau is commonly accepted as its father and admittedly s its chief promoter, we shall find our task somewhat simplified if attempt to understand romanticism in the light of his activity. e have already seen that Rousseau reacted passionately against the borate conventions of society and dreamed of a life of simplicity d innocence which, in certain extravagant moods at least, he agined to be identical with an original and long since vanished te of nature. The real secret of his violent rejection of the conmporary world was that its social, literary, and artistic leaders had

The romantic movement

fallen more and more under the domination of a dry, ultilitarian intellectualism which aimed at improving man by stifling the untamed energy of his instincts and emotions. As these were to Rousseau the most precious thing in life, he heatedly asserted their inalienable right against the tyranny of the controlling mind. In his novel, *La Nouvelle Héloise* (1759), he disclosed the world of feeling from which his contemporaries had become estranged and which they received back at his hands with extravagant expressions of delight. In this novel and in other works as well he invited men to give themselves whole-heartedly to love — to love of God, nature, woman, and the whole wide gamut of creation. Romanticism, considered as a historic movement, signifies the recovery of these deepest well-springs of our being coupled with the rejection of purely intellectual norms of living. By effecting a release of our neglected basic energies it opened a new chapter in literature and art among all the peoples of Europe.

But romanticism did more than quarrel with the pedantic self-satisfaction and intellectual arrogance which characterized the dying eighteenth century phase of the Renaissance movement; it took issue also with the frozen *forms* of literature and art, which approved by long practice, claimed the high distinction of being sacrosanct and "classical." Forms of this character, whether of the drama and the lyric poem or of the portrait and the mural decoration, are not very serviceable for the expression of spontaneous feeling, and Rousseau and his romantic contemporaries tried their best to modify and even to replace them with new forms. In the end a new pulsating literature (and art) came to the fore which in casting off the formalism of the past incidentally provided itself also with fresh subject-matter. Than this nothing was more natural since in strict keeping with its narrow outlook classicism had taken account of life only at its highest social level. The French drama of the seventeenth and even of the eighteenth century will bear witness to this contention and the same situation may be observed in English literature from Addison to Pope. A review will show that the writers of the period named dealt chiefly with kings and queens, with lords and ladies. Starting as a movement of rebellion against an established aristocratic prejudice, romanticism reached out until it embraced within its scope the whole of humanity. The poets and painters of the movement therefore quite naturally turned for inspiration to the

The romantic movement not only a literary but a moral and social movement

asant, the sailor, the carter, and other representatives of the com-
on man; in fact they discovered the democratic masses and by
claring them worthy of artistic treatment added to their prestige
d contributed powerfully to the advent of nineteenth century de-
ocracy. While it is usual to consider romanticism as a movement
rely of the arts of expression, it should be clear from this exposi-
n that it is much more than that. It is a sweeping moral and social
valuation, of which the outstanding features are first, a protest
ainst the priggish domination of an upper class and its literary
nchmen, and second, a flaming demand of freedom and justice
the humble and submerged.

In looking back over the matters treated in this chapter we receive
e unmistakable impression that European civilization was entering
a new phase in which the middle classes with their increased
ealth and improved mental equipment would play a
minating role. While they give evidence of a steadily
ounting self-assurance, they have as yet only in the
itch Republic and to a lesser degree in England reached
t for political power. When in the year 1789 the French middle
asses took a famous revolutionary step and wrested the scepter
om the enfeebled hand of their Bourbon sovereign, they really did
more than give effect to a movement which had been maturing
the womb of time for several generations. And when the middle
asses of the neighboring countries were fired by the French example
similar ambitions, this too was to be expected in view of the essen-
lly identical conditions prevailing throughout the west-European
ea. Even the fact that the democratic masses projected themselves
o the French Revolution, thereby deflecting it from its bourgeois
ds and producing a frightful chaos, can be accounted for on the
sis of the previous popular awakening effected by the romantic
ovement. But the masses failed; their inexperience and lack of
ganization proved fatal to them. Plainly their day had not yet
me. It would dawn, if it dawned at all, only after the Industrial
volution had packed the machine workers by the thousands into
anufacturing centers and with their numbers had given them a
nse of irresistible power. Conceding that already on the stage of
e eighteenth century, the city mob, raising an indistinct, raucous
rmur in the background, is a disquieting phenomenon, we can not
ape the impression that the central space, the place of honor, has
en cleared for the entrance of the middle classes. They were

The stage cleared for the middle classes

at last to achieve the full fruition of their arduous labors o the past.

But before the action of the triumphant middle classes unfold itself, let us take note that the dimensions of the European stage hac tremendously expanded. At the very outset we laid down certain predications touching European civilization. We in- sisted that it inhered by origin in a limited area identica with the dominion of the Latin Church in the Middle Age; that within this area it had everywhere essentially the same physiognomy; and that, starting from the platform of a common religious faith, the various peoples constituting western Europe had without exception been shaped by the same outstanding experiences. However, that does not mean that innovations and new attitudes manifested themselves evenly throughout the occident and at exactly the same time. They usually originated in a limited group radiating thence till they had been brought to all the others and been woven into the stuff of life. The Renaissance, an Italian movement is a case in point, as is also the Reformation, incubated in Germany As for the great contributions of the seventeenth and eighteenth cen- turies which we have just reviewed, they originated chiefly in England and France, where the middle classes were most alert and the specific middle class mentality was first formed. But in accordance with the usual practice and because western Europe had a long established cultural unity, the new ideas gradually filtered through the whole area, though by no means evenly since in some countries the middle classes, on whom the issue turned, were still weak and under feudal domination. But if in the light of the past it was reasonably clear that the occident would, though perhaps with uneasy fluctuations continue to behave as a unit, it now for the first time became apparent that such was the vigor of occidental civilization that it would crowd upon the domain of rival civilizations and gradually supplant them. That the very primitive culture of the American Indians would go down before Europe had been demonstrated from the first moment of contact following the discoveries. By the eighteenth century both South and North America, at least in so far as they were under colonial rule, already represented a material as well as a spiritual extension of Europe. It was far more expressive of the strength of Europe that even relatively advanced civilizations could not resist the European onslaught. In the days of Peter the Great Russia surren- dered to it bag and baggage; and though the great Slav empire long

Impressive spread of European civilization

nained in what we may call the apprentice class, its whole-hearted ceptance of western methods and objectives gave it an irresistible sh and prepared the way for the Europeanization of half of Asia. nen the English at last ejected the French from India and in all iousness took in hand the government of their vast new dependency, other civilization, one of the oldest and most subtle the world has own, registered the impact of a more vital movement and slowly reated before it. In short, if Europe in the sixteenth century, h the voyages of discovery, inaugurated a period of physical pansion, this by the close of the eighteenth century had led not only the economic exploitation of large subject-areas throughout the rld but also to the mental conquest of numerous peoples endowed en with a by no means negligible civilization of their own. It is too much to say that a civilization of a very definite character d hatched in a circumscribed section of Europe was reaching out to e possession of every continent. If it imposed itself often by war d related violent means, it just as often was taken over voluntarily the strength of its indubitable superiority. In either case it was sy making the world over in its image. In the difficult adjustments cessitated by these far-reaching developments lay the assurance tremendous and prolonged disturbances in the time to come, but the promise, no more than the shadow of a hope perhaps, of the imate drawing together of all the peoples of the earth on the basis a common understanding.

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SECTION IV

REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY FROM 1789 TO OUR OWN DAY

CHAPTER XIX

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

The long reign of Louis XV (1715–1774) was disastrous not only France but also to the monarchy. The disgraceful termination of colonial struggle with England fell like a blight upon the state, le the system of taxation which favored the old feudal ers and rested with extortionate severity upon the mon people tended to spread discontent and maintain erpetual sense of injury and injustice. In these circum- nces the court, supported at Versailles on a scale of wanton gnificence, became a favorite target of criticism. Its lavish ex- diture was not in the least reduced when the long drawn-out wars overished the country and exhausted the treasury; and what was n worse than its splendor maintained amidst the general misery, moral tone declined under a voluptuary like Louis XV until h the advent to power of the official mistress, Madame de Pompa- r, it seemed as if vice and frivolity had usurped the scepter of the gdom. A modern French historian has strikingly voiced his sense he situation by declaring that Louis XV "gangrened" the mon- ny.

Louis XV discredits the monarchy

The most significant effect of this open and flagrant failure of ernment was the formation of a hostile public opinion which was by the spoken word and, in spite of a vigorous censorship, unin- uptedly found its way into print. Indeed long before is XV's reign came to an end a criticism had sprung to as clamorous and many-voiced as a frog-pond in spring. taire was its leader and, although he threw himself with particular upon bigotry and unreason in the Church, he never failed to harge his biting shaft at any abuse whatever in society and ernment which came under his notice. Around Voltaire gathered

Growth of a critical opinion

scores of lesser lights, all set on spreading the doctrine of "enlighten ment" and bringing the traditional institutions to the test of reason At the side of these swift skirmishers, who called themselves philos ophers and really were a band of sublimated journalists, stood me of a more serious turn — physiocrats, like the elder Mirabeau, wh studied the phenomenon of wealth; political scientists, like Montes quieu and Rousseau, who probed into the mysteries of government and natural scientists like Buffon and Lavoisier, engaged in conquer ing new continents of knowledge. In sum, during her eighteent century degradation under Louis XV France produced a unique arra of writers and thinkers who furnished her with a wholly new equip ment of ideas. And since every government ultimately rests o opinion, we may safely conclude that changes were impending in th French system expressive of the altered state of the public mind The dissolute old king was himself occasionally visited by foreboding of disaster. He would then relieve his mind with the cynical remark "Things will hold together till my death," while his friend, Madam de Pompadour, would add cheerily, "After us the deluge!"

On his death in 1774 Louis XV was succeeded by his grandson Louis XVI. The new sovereign, not quite twenty years old, was shy, awkward man, prone to corpulence and irresolution. To con firm the alliance with Austria he had been married t Marie Antoinette, daughter of the famous Empress Mari Theresa and a woman — or rather a girl, for she was onl eighteen — of unusual vivacity and charm. Had she possessed th political intelligence of her mother, she might have been of consider able help to the bewildered young man who was her husband; bu as she lacked the seriousness necessary to wrestle with the problem of government, such influence as she exercised was prompted b personal bias and usually harmful to the public interest. Mixed int Louis's average endowments was a measure of good will, also average which he was resolved to exercise in behalf of his people. The clamo of enlightened opinion had penetrated the secluded precincts of Ver sailles and made the young king hesitantly desirous to become benefactor and reformer. Besides, the finances were in such confusio that something had imperatively to be done about them. There wa a large debt inherited from the past, an obstinate annual deficit, an a critical, exacerbated public unwilling to bear additional taxation Responding to this situation, Louis began his reign by dismissing th whole body of the discredited ministers inherited from his grandfathe

The accession of Louis XVI

d by putting the treasury into the hands of Turgot as comptroller neral.

He could not have made a better choice, for Turgot was not only thoughtful economist, a physiocrat, but a practical administrator well who had served for over a decade as intendant of Limoges, here he had successfully introduced a number of local forms. He took from the first a large, statesmanlike ew of the situation and, instead of losing himself in ancial details, developed a broad program of national renovation. hat France needed, according to him, was to cancel the privileges joyed by the feudal orders in the matter of taxation, to put an end the monopolistic system of industry identified with the gilds, and reduce and perhaps finally to abandon entirely the intimate control trade exercised by the state in obedience to the old mercantilist ilosophy. It was a program which aimed at lifting from the coun- the dead-weight of tradition and unifying the nation on the basis economic liberty and equality of taxation; moreover, as it ac- rded with enlightened public opinion, it would, if successfully rried through, have modernized France without the necessity of a volution.

Louis calls Turgot to office

But the program failed. Inaugurated in 1774, it scored a number successes, such as the establishment of free trade in grain, the aboli- on of the *corvée*, the hated obligatory service of the peasants in nnection with the maintenance of the public highways, d the destruction of the gilds, whereby the crafts were ened to whoever chose to exercise them. After two ars, with his work only just begun, Turgot was dismissed (1776). he reason is not far to seek. As soon as the comptroller general, in- ead of indulging in the usual window-dressing of ministers of finance, d the ax to the French upas-tree and attacked the parasitical sys- m of privileges, all the groups which had any interest in the main- nance of abuses combined against him. Clergy, nobles, gild-masters, d the hordes of speculators who grafted on the corrupt finances ere equally aroused and were immeasurably delighted to have their position voiced in the parlement of Paris. This, like the twelve her provincial parlements, was an integral feature of the privileged gime, since it consisted of a judiciary which was irremovable and reditary. Enjoying by custom the right of refusing to register the ng's edicts, the parlement was moved to throw itself across Turgot's th, but was pushed aside by the royal command communicated in a

Turgot's attack on privilege

formal session (*lit de justice*). If Louis had continued to stand resolutely by his reforming minister, it might well have been that the opposition, though only after a prolonged and bitter struggle, would have broken down; however, Louis was weak and, to make matters worse, he lived his life in the exclusive company of high-born gentlemen and ladies who daily poured their irritation over Turgot into his ears. Tired of the sour faces of the courtiers, he at last yielded to their pressure and sent the great statesman away. Thereupon frenzied cheers from the representatives of privilege, withdrawal of Turgot's edicts, and a prompt return to the old abuses!

However, as the financial problem could not be evaded, Louis now submitted it for solution to Necker, a native of Geneva, who, as a young man, had come to Paris where he had made his fortune as a banker. Necker, a fairly good administrator but certainly not a statesman, contented himself with introducing a certain degree of thrift and efficiency into the public service. Doubtless he thus somewhat reduced the deficit, but whatever advantage he secured was completely sacrificed when the government resolved (1778) to make an alliance with the rebellious American colonists in order once more to try conclusions with Great Britain over the issue of colonies and sea-power. The enormous war expenditure could only be met by loans, the heavy interest on which continued after the war and embarrassed the treasury more than ever. But even the very modest reform program of Necker angered the privileged intriguers at court and in 1781 they persuaded the king to let him go.

Necker, 1776–1781

It was now perfectly clear that the clergy, the nobles, and the court formed a cabal which would continue indefinitely to paralyze the feeble volition of the sovereign and keep things as they were. Reform from above was therefore a chimæra and the only certain way to clean up the Augean stables was for the nation itself to take the work in hand. In this way the reform sentiment gradually mounted to a revolutionary pitch, manifesting itself at last in a demand for the States General. That was the old feudal assembly, which, having met for the last time in 1614, had perished from disuse. To the ill-informed and romantically minded generation which lived under the scepter of Louis XVI the States General looked like a body genuinely representative of the nation and thoroughly capable of legislating the country back to health. First here, then there the call was heard for this national council until the demand rose finally as from a single throat

The nation demands the States General

Meanwhile the utterly helpless king charged one man after another with the task of disentangling the royal finances. New loans could not be raised because the credit of the state was ruined, while new taxes could not be levied because the parlement refused to register the edicts and the king's authority had declined to such a point that he could no longer successfully impose his will on the recalcitrant members. When the government, staggering like a drunken man, at last returned to the sweeping reform program of Turgot, public opinion, now become a fiery flood, refused to take the announcement seriously. The reform of France was no longer considered to be the business of the king but of the nation. By the summer of 1788 the monarchy was absolutely paralyzed; there was no longer either authority or obedience and the only possibility of avoiding immediate bankruptcy — the forerunner of a general collapse — was for Louis to surrender to the popular will. He did so in characteristic listless despair. Because Turgot was dead and because of all the names connected with the cause of reform Necker's enjoyed the greatest currency, the king recalled Necker to office and at the same time issued a call for the States General for May, 1789.

Beside themselves with joy, Frenchmen at first hardly stopped to consider what sort of an assembly the resuscitated States General were. But presently as the antiquarians, grubbing among the dusty records, recovered its physiognomy, the nation learned at the three groups, the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners, called in French usage respectively the First, Second, and Third Estates, met as three separate houses and that the privileged orders were always able to outvote the representatives of the people by two to one. At this information public sentiment gave evidence of disappointment and alarm. To conciliate it Necker took the half-step of ordering that the Third Estate should send twice as many delegates to Versailles as either of the other orders, that is, the commoners should have approximately six hundred delegates to the same number divided equally between nobles and clergy. On the one really crucial point as to whether the assembly should be constituted in three houses, as tradition required, or merged in a single house, as public opinion insisted, the minister wrapped himself in an enigmatic silence.

Necker concedes double representation to the Third Estate

In the spring of 1789 France was stirred by the wholly unfamiliar phenomenon of a general election. In each bailiwick the electors met in three assemblies according to their legal status, and after

drawing up a list of grievances (*cahier*) to be presented to the government, elected their respective delegates to the States General. On May 5, 1789, Louis XVI opened the session with a few words of welcome and Necker followed with a wearisome exposition of the financial chaos. It is indicative of the minister's feeble grasp of the situation that he imagined the States General were going to vote the government a few new taxes and humbly retire from the scene. Any one but a tyro would have sensed that, sustained by the people, they would be content with nothing less than a complete reorganization of the administration. The glaring difference of viewpoint brought an immediate clash. The first meeting over, the government expected the three estates to constitute at once their separate organizations. The two privileged orders were in their majority not in the least averse to the suggestion, but the commons were firmly set on a single house, since only in this way could they get the full benefit of their numerical preponderance. The result was a deadlock. The First and Second Estates organized as the king commanded, but the Third Estate refused to take the least step toward the same end. Assembling each day informally, the members declined to proceed with business until the other two estates had joined them.

Opening of the States General and recalcitrancy of the Third Estate

Over this issue a tremendous crisis was precipitated, which was decided by an irresistible public opinion. Since the favor of the people massed itself like a tidal wave behind the Third Estate, the delegates simply waited till they felt strong enough to go ahead without regard to the royal wishes. On June 17th they for the last time summoned the other two estates and then voted themselves the National Assembly with or without their colleagues of the clergy and nobility. It was a revolutionary act destructive alike of the old constitution and the authority of the king. Spurred on by the courtiers to defend his rights, Louis now closed with troops the hall where the Third Estate met. To this challenge the undaunted commoners responded by meeting on a near-by tennis court and taking a solemn vow to continue their sessions until they had given their country a new constitution (June 20th). A more frank avowal of their revolutionary purpose was impossible. The king met their defiance by calling a formal session wherein, after lecturing the delegates on their misconduct, he reiterated his inalterable resolution of maintaining the old States General in its tricameral form. As agreement seemed out

The States General becomes the National Assembly

the question, civil war would certainly have followed if one side d not given way. Of course it was the king who yielded. On June th he announced a new inalterable decision in the form of an order the two privileged estates to join the commoners and complete the ppy family. On that June day the monarchy, manifestly a oken reed, saw its authority slip into the hands of the National sembly which in effect took over the government.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1789–1791)

The National Assembly, thus raised aloft over the nation, boasted ong its members many of the most alert and intelligent men of e country. In spite of the fact that the Assembly contained a party clerical and noble irreconcilables who vigorously re- **Preponderance of the commoners**
ted the turn affairs had taken, it constituted a fairly mogenous body in respect of the great matter of the novation of France, since a group of liberal nobles and an even ger group of liberal clergymen frankly took their stand with their low-citizens of the Third Estate. The division in the two upper ders greatly weakened them and in the end proved even more of a w to the traditional rights of the clergy than to those of the no- ity. Within the clergy, in spite of its being legally one estate, ere existed really two distinct social strata, for the great prelates shops and abbots) were men of noble birth, whereas the parish ests, generally speaking, belonged to the urban group and to the asantry. In the great political issues debated in the National sembly the priests, constituting a majority of the clerical member- p, sided with their kin of the Third Estate, thus contributing nsiderably to the numerical preponderance of the commoners.

In consequence of these circumstances and particularly because its victory over the king the National Assembly began its labors an atmosphere of extraordinary exultation. Without any doubt atever the members were in overwhelming majority **Enthusiasm and theoretical bias of the Assembly**
mated with a noble enthusiasm to give their country best service that was in them. It was no negligible tter that this spirit of magnanimity presided, generally aking, over their sessions. And yet what good it may ve done was largely neutralized by a momentous defect. Educated oretically but not practically in the affairs of government, the mbers were prone to treat all questions as occasions for the

display of an emotional eloquence and to formulate decrees, beautiful in the abstract but hopelessly out of relation to the concrete facts.

When the Assembly convened there existed as yet no political parties. But gradually parties began to form about individuals who championed a program of some sort and who by virtue of their talents forged to the front. Only a few of these can be pointed out here. The Marquis de Lafayette had won a great name for himself by the magnanimous offer of his sword, when a young man, to the cause of freedom in America. Though a nobleman by birth, he sympathized with the people, rallied the liberal wing of the nobles about himself, and was accepted by a large section of the bourgeoisie as its leader. No man during the early months of the Revolution had a greater following within and without the Assembly. The best representative of the current dogmatic and philosophical spirit was the Abbé Sieyès. He carried to absurd lengths the idea that government was a clever mechanism, capable of being constructed in accordance with preconceived ideas. When one constitution failed, he was always ready, political conjurer that he was rather than organic thinker, to shake another out of his sleeve. Then there was the lawyer Robespierre, who hailed from the small town of Arras. Sharing with a handful of other members democratic sentiments which he had drawn from his idol, Rousseau, he never spoke without parading a patriotism of an incorruptible Roman grandeur. However, the member who without doubt towered head and shoulders above the rest of the Assembly was Count Mirabeau. Mirabeau was a born statesman, perhaps the only man in the whole Assembly who instinctively knew that a government could not be fashioned at will by a committee of philosophers, but to be worth anything must be the natural expression of the moral, economic, and historical forces ruling the nation. He wished, therefore, while preserving the monarchy, to *nationalize* it by injecting into its enfeebled arteries the fresh blood of the commoners. If he had had his way he would have abolished all privileges in order to create a unified people, the members of which would be equal before the law; and he would have given the king a considerable measure of authority on condition that he exercise it in coöperation with a legislature elected by the people. Unfortunately he never succeeded in acquiring a guiding influence. In the first place, he was a noble and therefore subject to suspicion on the score of birth; and, further, his early life had been a succession of scandals, which had filled the public prints

The leaders

or more than a decade and kept him under a moral cloud which ever lifted.

In strict accord with the Oath of the Tennis Court of June 20th he National Assembly considered its main function to be the making f a new constitution. It was of the highest importance that this ork should be done in perfect security, free from the interference of popular passion and violence. But, owing to the excitement permeating the whole population, the ssembly soon fell under the domination of the street. The growth f the influence of the lower elements, who, while desiring reform, reated anarchy, is the most appalling feature of the great events of 789. If we understand this fact, we have the key to the extraor- inarily rapid descent of French society to complete dissolution.

Calamitous influence of the masses

For this degeneration the king and the Assembly were both re- ponsible, as well by reason of what they did as of what they did ot do. It goes without saying that the sudden failure of absolutism 1789 demoralized the government and threw France into unutterable confusion. Parisian and provincial mobs equently fell upon and murdered the royal officials, hile the excited peasants everywhere burned and plun- ered the castles of the nobles. In view of these danger- us and unprofitable excesses king and National Assembly should ave united to maintain order; but unite they would not, because the ing, who was under the domination of a reactionary court, looked skance at the triumphant Assembly, and because for its part the ssembly feared the designs of the court and the king. Mutual sus- cion ruined harmony and played into the hands of the anarchists nd agitators.

Failure of the authority of the king and the Assembly

Early in July the court party engaged in a plot which only too lly justified the suspicious attitude of the Assembly. His intimates ersuaded the king, who as usual was not hard to persuade (though ard to keep persuaded), to reëstablish his authority by eans of troops. Soldiers were accordingly concentrated ound Paris to overawe the citizens as the necessary ep preliminary to dismissing the popular ministers, ch as Necker, and to dissolving the Assembly. At the sight of the ldiers a tremendous excitement took hold of the people; and al- ough, to calm the populace, the troops were again withdrawn, vast

The fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789

[1] For this reason the National Assembly is known also as the Constituent ssembly.

crowds, seizing what weapons came to hand, gathered in the streets. Savagely resolved to teach the court a lesson, they at last threw themselves (July 14th) upon the Bastille, a royal fortress and state prison in the eastern section of the capital. After a brief encounter involving not a little bloodshed, the small garrison of ancient invalids, who held the gloomy stronghold, surrendered to the multitude. They were butchered almost to a man and the fury of the enraged mob did not subside till it had begun the work of razing the hated fortress to the ground.

Like the famous shot fired at Lexington in 1775, the fall of the Bastille was heard around the world. Everywhere excited opinion interpreted it as signifying the end of tyranny and the dawn of a new era of brotherly love. We must in this connection remember that the Bastille was more than an ordinary fortress. Because the French kings had employed it as the living grave of those of their subjects who ventured to criticize their policy, it had become the outstanding symbol of their absolutism. Arrested on the private order of the sovereign by what was called a *lettre de cachet*, the bold critics disappeared behind the solid masonry of the Bastille to be held in confinement without trial subject to the royal pleasure. It was this system that was levelled to the earth with the Bastille; it was arbitrary power culminating in arbitrary arrest that stood condemned. Small wonder that France and the neighboring countries, too often cursed with the same system, should have rejoiced and prophesied a millennium in which the triple blessing of liberty, equality, and fraternity would hold undisputed sway. Of course it need hardly be expressly said that the storming of the Bastille did not bring the fulfilment of this Utopian dream; but because it did put an end to an immediate tyranny, it is at least intelligible that French republicans should ever since have cherished the fourteenth of July as the birthday of a new era.

Significance of the fall of the Bastille

The most immediate consequence of the Bastille uprising was that the plan of turning back the revolutionary tide by force was abruptly abandoned. Plainly the court party was beaten and its most violent members, with the count of Artois, the king's younger brother at its head, resolved to show their disgust by leaving the uncongenial soil of France. In this way began the so-called emigration, which, continuing in the following years, soon collected in every country of Europe, but chiefly in Germany along the Rhine, many thousand members of the old privileged orders.

The emigration

While most of these *émigrés* were warlike nobles, there was a fair sprinkling of clergymen among them. In their various places of retreat the exiles were not only spared the hateful sight of a triumphant people but were also free to spin plots calculated to restore them to the fleshpots of "the good old days."

By administering a rebuke to the king the storming of the Bastille helped fill the National Assembly with a renewed sense of its ascendancy. To recover a little of his popularity Louis paid (July 17th) a formal visit to Paris during which he put the seal of his approval on everything the people had seen fit to do. He was received with transports of joy, for his subjects had not yet plucked the old loyalty to the hereditary dynasty from their hearts. He also endorsed two political creations by which the bourgeoisie had attempted to restore order to the disturbed capital. Since all government had broken down and every man's goods were at the mercy of his neighbor, the property owners of Paris had set up, first, a new municipal government and second, a militia or National Guard pledged to maintain the peace. Nuclei of order in a dissolving society, they were imitated throughout France and contributed not a little to hinder the country from going completely to pieces. The popular Lafayette was elected head of the Parisian National Guard; and when the militia of the capital affiliated itself with that of the provincial towns Lafayette was accepted as commander-in-chief of the whole organization. His headship of so considerable an armed force made him a preëminent figure in the political world, more particularly because the regular army, owing to the desertion of the noble officers and the impact of revolutionary sentiment on the rank and file, had largely dissolved. In the summer of 1789 Lafayette was undoubtedly the most powerful individual in the country, on whom rested almost exclusively the maintenance of internal peace. And yet such was the excitement stirring the country from end to end and such were the violences manifesting themselves in ever recurring fits of fever that even had Lafayette been less of a dilettante than he was, it is extremely doubtful whether he would have been able to keep the situation firmly in hand.

Lafayette and the National Guard

The test of Lafayette's control of the elements of disorder did not have to be long awaited. In October the rumor of another plot on the part of the remnant of the court party ran through Paris. Excited men and women told one another that at a banquet of officers, held at Versailles, the new national cockade of red, blue, and white,

the passionately adored emblem of the Revolution, had been trampled under foot and the health of the king and queen drunk amid scenes of wild enthusiasm. What really happened was an act of homage, perhaps unnecessarily demonstrative, on the part of officers toward their sovereign; but suspicion of the king and court had sunk so deeply into the hearts of the Parisians that even the most senseless invention was sure to be believed. To further blow upon the flames demagogues circulated the whispered news that the king was the cause of the famine in the city and that he and the court intercepted the grain-carts outside of Paris in order to reduce the capital to starvation. These allegations served to arouse the fear of a new military plot and precipitated a fresh explosion. On the morning of October 5th 10,000 women, fierce and haggard from long suffering, set out for Versailles to fetch the king to Paris. As they straggled over the muddy roads in a steady downpour of rain all the male riff-raff of the suburbs joined them. In the face of this tremendous danger Lafayette, the commander of the militia and guardian of the civil order, did nothing. If, as has been supposed, he remained inactive in order to let the king feel once more the power of the multitude, he may be fairly charged with political trickery. Certain it is that it was only when the National Guard refused to wait longer that he consented to conduct it to Versailles in order to preserve the peace. When he arrived there in the night, some hours after the Paris rabble, he found everything in the greatest confusion; but by his timely intercession he did at least save the lives of the royal family and could with some justification pose as the preserver of the monarchy. But if the rioters spared the king and queen, they declared firmly at the same time that they would be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the royal family to Paris. What could the king do but give his consent? On the 6th the terrible mænads, indulging in triumphant song and dance along the road, escorted to the palace of the Tuileries "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy," from whose presence in their midst they promised themselves a reign of plenty. The National Assembly, of course, followed the king and was quartered in the riding-school near the palace. Paris was again in fact as well as name the capital of France.

The events of October 5th and 6th

The events of October 5th and 6th undermined the last remnant of authority enjoyed by the monarchy and Lafayette can not escape the charge of having contributed to the result. The king at the

uileries was now practically Lafayette's prisoner, if that was what afayette wanted; but Lafayette himself, even though it took him me months to find it out, was henceforth the prisoner of the arisian populace. The October days had allowed "the atriots," as the agitators euphemistically called themlves, to realize that they could break through every bstacle in their path; and having repeatedly eaten the poisonous fruit of violence, they would require more than afayette's energy to bring them back to a respect for the established der. Henceforward clever and unscrupulous demagogues, utilizing e uncontrolled Paris mob as their instrument, acquired an ever oadening influence until they were able to defy the king, Lafayette, e National Assembly, and every constituted authority in France.

The "patriots" henceforth supreme

What greatly contributed to the power of the democratic politians was the excitement and vague enthusiasm which possessed all asses alike. Would we understand the tremendous pace at which e Revolution developed, we must never forget that e year 1789 marks an almost unparalleled agitation of ublic opinion. Leading symptoms of this general citement were the innumerable pamphlets and newspapers which companied the events of the day with explanatory comment d which not infrequently assumed the form of fanatical exhortion against the existing institutions. But the most picturesque itnesses of the disturbed state of opinion were the clubs. Clubs r consultation and debate became the great demand of the hour; ey arose spontaneously in all quarters; in fact, every coffee-house quired, through the passion of its frequenters, the character of a olitical association. Two clubs in particular, the Cordeliers and the acobins, were destined to become famous. The Cordeliers recruited eir members from among the Paris extremists and boasted Danton their leader, a capable young barrister in whom there burned a bmerged volcanic fire. Another radical much seen among them was arat, whose journalistic effusions were a perpetual call to violence d betokened a mind more than a little cracked. The Jacobins, stined to become a name of general dread, began their existence a much higher social stratum than the Cordeliers. The Jacobin ub was formed as a place of meeting for the moderate and educated ements and rapidly spread in numerous branches or so-called aughter societies over the length and breadth of France. Before ng, however, the Jacobins too succumbed to the extreme revolution-

Pamphlets, newspapers, and clubs

ary tendencies which had become the very breath of the country's nostrils. Lafayette, Sieyès, and Mirabeau, whose power was at first dominant in their councils, were gradually displaced by men like Robespierre who skillfully used the club as a means of binding together the radical opinion of the country.

It was against this agitated background of opinion that there was projected between 1789 and 1791 the new governing body, the National Assembly. To its acknowledged task, the making of a constitution, the breakdown of the monarchy had obliged it to add also the practical rule of the country. In consequence it was overburdened with business and faced situations and enacted decrees, some of which it will be necessary to examine. And first of all we may consider its handling of the great question of privileges and monopolies which had proved unsolvable in the early years of Louis's reign. So far had opinion progressed since the time of Turgot that it now took but a single night to dispose of an issue, the mere broaching of which in his day had caused his downfall. On August 4, 1789, the liberal nobles renounced voluntarily their feudal rights of the chase, manorial justice, and a vast variety of petty feudal dues, while liberal-minded clerics followed the example set them by the nobles by giving up their claim to the general ecclesiastical levy called the tithe. Naturally the Third Estate could not let itself be outdone and magnanimously laid the trade monopolies conferred by the gild charters on the altar of the fatherland. When the various renunciations of an intoxicated session had been swept into a summary decree it was seen that the whole feudal edifice had been levelled with the ground and the road cleared for complete legal equality. Examined from whatever angle one chooses, August fourth was and will remain one of the great days of the Revolution.

Fall of the system of privilege on August 4th

Another burning question left over from the old régime was the problem of the finances. To save the country from imminent bankruptcy had been, it will be remembered, the immediate cause for summoning the States General. An inevitable consequence of the confusion attending the overthrow of the absolute system was that the treasury was reduced to the last extreme of misery. People very generally ceased to pay taxes, while the manifold disturbances on the highways, besides making the provisioning of Paris uncertain, precipitated an industrial crisis which caused wide unemployment. Confronted with an absolutely depleted money chest, the National

Financial jugglery. Confiscation of Church property and assignats

Assembly was moved to rescue the situation by an extreme measure and on November 2, 1789, voted to confiscate the vast property of the clergy valued conservatively at several hundred million dollars. Against this real estate it presently authorized the issue of paper money, called *assignats*, and with these resources enabled the government to meet its most pressing expenses. The assignats were a perfectly safe financial device on one condition: that with mere real estate as security, they should not be multiplied indefinitely and thereby undermine the confidence of the holders in the ability of the government to redeem them. But indefinite multiplication was the very policy actually adopted. Though the National Assembly must be credited with an effort to apply the brakes, it none the less authorized paper money in sufficient quantities to cause it to drop with each month farther and farther below par. Presently, since bad money always drives good money out of sight, the standard gold and silver coins either were exported or disappeared in the stockings of the peasants while the steadily declining assignats came more and more into exclusive use. At the close of the Assembly in 1791 the paper inflation was already well under way; but when the legislatures which followed the first assembly found no other solution of the country's financial needs than the running of the printing presses, it became certain that the flood of assignats would terminate in a colossal bankruptcy. Staved off till 1797, the financial cataclysm, one of the sorriest chapters of the French Revolution, must in part at least be ascribed to the National Assembly, which not without strong forebodings of evil launched the country on the treacherous sea of an insufficiently secured and recklessly multiplied paper currency.

In the intervals of the discharge of current business the Assembly undertook to rear the structure of that new constitution which was to be the crown of all its labors. By the spring of 1791 the work was nearing completion. If we remember that it was the product of men who had suffered from an absolute executive and were under the spell of the liberal and romantic thought of the eighteenth century, we shall understand its principal feature. This was that the royal executive was made purposely weak and political power distributed as widely as possible among an innumerable body of elected officials. The system culminated in a national legislature. This assembly, it was provided, should consist of but a single house elected for two years by all the active citizens of the kingdom. Active citizens were those who paid

Leading features of the constitution

a small direct tax enabling them to qualify as property owners. This limitation of the franchise to the well-to-do was a bourgeois triumph which was deeply resented by the democratic masses. It meant that the masses, as a disfranchised body, were classified by the constitution as passive citizens. Although the bourgeoisie scored a victory in the matter of the franchise, it was a dangerous triumph since it tended to render the Assembly extremely unpopular with the common people.

Throughout the long discussions on the constitution, Mirabeau fought hard to secure to the king that measure of power which an executive requires in order to maintain the unity and tranquillity of the country; but he was unappreciated by his colleagues and distrusted by Louis and in almost all important matters met defeat. Broken by disappointment and reckless excesses he died (April, 1791), prophesying in his last days, with marvellous accuracy, all the ulterior stages of the Revolution.

Death of Mirabeau, April, 1791

Though the death of Mirabeau was generally lamented, no one had more reason for regret than the king, since, in spite of his refusing to take Mirabeau's advice, he possessed in him an invaluable supporter. Ever since October 6th Louis had been a virtual prisoner in the Tuileries and had lost all influence in the shaping of events. The constitution, which in the spring of 1791 was nearly ready and would soon be forced upon him, he regarded as impracticable. So long as Mirabeau lived, Louis might entertain the hope of some slight changes being introduced calculated to strengthen the executive; but when the great orator's death robbed him of this prospect, his thoughts turned definitely to flight as the only means of escaping from a position which he regarded as untenable and which put his queen, his children, and all who were dear to him at the mercy of his jailers.

The unsatisfactory position of the king

The flight of the king and royal family was arranged with the greatest secrecy for the night of June 20th. But too confident of his disguise as a valet, Louis exposed himself needlessly at a post-station, only to be recognized by the son of the postmaster, who galloped through the night to give the alarm. At the village of Varennes the bells sounded the tocsin, and the excited people, summoned from their beds, refused to permit the royal carriage to proceed. With safety almost in view the flight came to an end. The fugitives were brought back to Paris, where once more they had the key turned on them in their palatial prison.

The flight to Varennes, 1791

The flight of the king divided opinion in Paris sharply. It gave e constitutional monarchists, who had a clear majority in the ssembly, their first inkling that they had gone too far in weakening e executive. A monarch was necessary to their con- itutional fabric and now they beheld their chosen repre- ntative embracing the intended honor by running away om it. They began in consequence to exhibit suddenly r the captive and discredited Louis a consideration which ey had refused him in his happier days. Many popular aders, on the other hand, with Danton and Robespierre their head and with the support of the radical Cordelier d Jacobin clubs regarded the flight as an abdication and a welcome etext for proclaiming the republic. For the first time therefore since e beginning of the Revolution there was a clear-cut issue between onarchists and republicans. A struggle followed (July, 1791), the ost ominous which Paris had yet witnessed; but the monarchists ere still a majority, and by ordering out against the republican itators the National Guard under Lafayette won a victory. The ssembly, on hearing from the king the doubtful statement that he d never meant to leave the soil of France nor employ force against s subjects, solemnly welcomed him back to office; and Louis, in turn, to mark his reconciliation with his subjects, accepted and ore to observe the constitution. By its bloody repression of the publican malcontents coupled with the magnanimous forgiveness tended to the king for his many lapses, the Assembly was pleased imagine that it had solved all the difficulties of the situation. By ptember 30, 1791, it had added the last touches to its work, and, ssolving itself, retired from the scene. Its strenuous labors of two ars, from which the enthusiasts had declared would date the reno- tion of old Europe, culminated in the gift to the nation of the com- eted constitution. The question now was: Would the constitution ove workable and inaugurate the expected era of liberty, equality, d fraternity?

The monarchical majority of the Assembly reinstates the king and closes the session

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (OCTOBER 1, 1791, TO SEPTEMBER 21, 1792)

The First Legislative Assembly, elected on the basis of the new nstitution, met the day after the National Assembly adjourned. y a self-denying ordinance, characteristic of the mistaken magnanim-

ity which pervaded the National Assembly, that body had voted th exclusion of its members from the succeeding legislature. The seve hundred and forty-five new rulers of France were, therefore, all me without experience. That alone constituted a grav danger. It was still further increased by the fact tha most of the members were young enthusiasts, who owe their political fortune to the oratorical vigor displayed b them in their provincial Jacobin club.

Character of the Legislative Assembly

The radical disposition of the Assembly became apparent as soo as the members fell into party groups. Only a minority, called th Feuillants, undertook heartily to support the constitution. Oppose to them was the Gironde [1] which frankly favored the es tablishment of a republic. The majority, attached neithe to the monarchists nor to the republicans, inclined non the less to accept Girondist leadership. Under the circumstance the work of the Assembly was from the first day directed at th destruction of the monarchy. The stages by which it accomplishe its purpose we need not here consider; but as the supreme blo against the king was delivered when he was forced to declare wa against Austria, we may, except for this declaration, which marks new mile-stone in the Revolution, dismiss the Legislative Assembl from consideration.

Hostility to king and monarchy

The declaration of war against Austria resulted first, from the risin indignation in France over the *émigrés*, who had gathered in arme bands along the Rhine, and second, from the increasing fea and hatred of monarchical Europe for the Revolution Frenchmen generally supposed that Emperor Leopold II brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, was planning a wa to punish them for their opinions. This we now know wa not the case; but in August, 1791, Leopold held a con ference with the king of Prussia and together with him issued a docu ment which threatened an eventual interference in French affair (Declaration of Pillnitz). Ceaselessly ringing the changes on th armed émigrés and the impertinent brother of the French queen like her the enemy of the Revolution, the Girondist orators graduall worked up a public sentiment for war. They were sincere republica enthusiasts who had brought themselves to the belief that only b means of war would the republic triumph in France and ultimatel

France declares war upon Austria, April, 1792

[1] The Gironde owed its party designation to the circumstance that many o its leaders hailed from the department of Gironde (Bordeaux).

roughout the world. Making bolder and bolder demands on Leo-
ld, which of course stimulated him to increasingly vigorous replies,
ey at last ended discussion by launching on April 20, 1792, a decla-
tion of war against the Hapsburg monarchy.

Unfortunately Leopold, who was a moderate and rarely capable
an, died a month before war was declared, and it was his dull-
itted son, Francis II, who was called to battle with the Revolution.
ut the far-sighted Leopold had not died without making
rovision for an eventual war with France. In February,
92, alarmed by the hostile attitude of the French people,
e had persuaded the king of Prussia to league himself
ith him in a close alliance. The declaration of April 20th, therefore,
ough directed only at Austria, brought Prussia also into the field.
nder these circumstances began the wars which were destined to
rry the revolutionary ideas around the world, to sweep away land-
arks and traditions, and to lock young France and old Europe in
eath-grapple for over twenty years.

Austria is joined by its ally, Prussia

It is probable that the republican Girondists, who more than any
an or party were responsible for the war and proudly looked upon
as their work, expected an easy victory. They saw in a vision the
rones of the tyrants crumbling at the irresistible onset
the new democracy and themselves hailed everywhere
s the liberators of the human race. The first engagement
rought a sharp disappointment. It occurred in the
ustrian Netherlands (Belgium) which the French under-
ook to invade. But the French army, which had been completely
ndermined in its discipline by the radical propaganda, had no sooner
tablished contact with the Austrians than it scampered away with-
ut risking a battle. Thereupon the Austrians and Prussians prepared
n offensive in their turn and with the coming of summer undertook
ne invasion of France. At this unexpected turn wrath and terror
led the republicans in Paris. They began to whisper the word trea-
on and soon their orators dared to denounce the king publicly as the
uthor of the national calamities. In August the allies crossed the
order and proceeded on their march to the capital. Excitement
se ever to new heights, and when the duke of Brunswick, the allied
ommander-in-chief, threatened, in an extravagant proclamation,
wreak an unexampled vengeance on the capital if but a hair of
e king's head were injured, the seething passion burst in a wave of
ncontrollable fury. In the early morning of August 10th the mob,

Invasion and terror; the Brunswick proclamation

organized by the republican leaders, marched against the Tuileries to overthrow the man whom the radicals of the press and clubs represented as in league with foreign despots against the common mother France.

When, shortly after midnight, the bells from the steeples rang out the preconcerted summons over the city, the king and his family knew that the supreme struggle had come. Dispersed about in small groups, the palace inmates passed the hours of darkness and dawn discussing the chances of the coming day. Of all the soldiers of the king the Royal Guard of Swiss mercenaries could alone be counted on. That fact tells more vividly than words the pass to which the ancient monarchy of France had come. Even so, if Louis XVI had now resolved to conquer or die at the head of this faithful regiment, he might have rallied the moderates and constitutionalists, still without any question a majority, around the throne. But from this king no such action was to be expected. He could be patient, tolerant of ideas beyond his grasp, and even generous to his enemies, but he could not form a heroic resolution. At eight o'clock in the morning, seeing that the mob was about to storm the palace, he abandoned it to seek shelter with the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss Guard, deserted by their leader, made a brave stand. Only on the king's express order did they give up the Tuileries and attempt to effect a retreat to their barracks. But the odds were against them, and the enraged populace, falling upon them, butchered most of them in the streets.

August 10, 1792

Meanwhile, the Legislative Assembly was engaged in putting its official seal to the verdict of the mob. In the presence of Louis and the royal family the members voted the suspension of the king from office and ordered the election of a National Convention to constitute a new government. The present Assembly agreed to hold over till September, when the new body was expected to meet. Thus perished miserably after an existence of ten months, the constitution which had filled so many generous hearts with the highest hopes for mankind.

End of the monarchy and of the constitution

The suspension of the king left the government nominally in the hands of the Legislative Assembly and a committee of ministers appointed by that body. But as the capital was in the hands of the radical leaders supported by the multitude and nobody paid any attention to the authorities, the real power fell into the hands of the men who had been most active in striking down the king. In

reparation of their success at the Tuileries they had, in the early orning hours of August 10th, overthrown the municipal govern-ent of Paris and now lay intrenched in the city hall or *hôtel de lle*. Robespierre, Marat, and others of their complexion ted from this local center; but they were completely over-adowed by Danton, who had been made a member of e ministry by the Legislative Assembly and who by his traordinary energy completely dominated the situation. In fact it hardly an exaggeration to say that Danton was the self-appointed ctator of the country during the interlude from August 10th, the ay of the overthrow of the monarchy, to September 21st, the day the meeting of the National Convention.

The government seized by the victors

As Danton saw the critical situation the first and imperative need as to beat back the invasion. He therefore made himself with his lies of the city hall the champion of the national defense. He rove to infuse into the hearts of the citizens an indom-able courage. "What do we require in order to con-uer?" he shouted: "to dare, and dare, and dare again!" he fatherland was declared in danger; all occupations ceased but ose which provided for the necessities of life and the manufacture weapons; finally, steps were taken to bring the whole male opulation under arms. Whatever we may think of this govern-ent by violence and frenzied enthusiasm, it certainly accomplished s purpose, for it put an army into the field composed of men who ere ready to die and so saved France.

Danton saves France

If we now turn to the invasion of France, which had been the ompelling cause of the tremendous events in the capital, we must agine it proceeding in the deliberate manner of eighteenth century rategy. The French armies, hurriedly reconstituted as republican force by Danton and his helpers, were for me weeks incapable of offering any effective resistance. owever, on September 20th, at Valmy in the Argonne rest, the republican general, Dumouriez, threw himself ross the path of the Prussian army under Brunswick and brought to a halt. Inordinately discouraged by the check administered him, Brunswick ordered a retreat which became almost a rout. In a w weeks not a Prussian or Austrian soldier was left upon French soil. Just before this really remarkable success had been achieved by provised troops a series of frightful crimes committed in Paris d shocked the sensibilities of an attentive world. To understand

The invasion checked at Valmy, September 20, 1792

how they could have occurred we must have a vivid comprehensio of the general French situation. With the country in unutterabl confusion the monarchy had broken down under the impact of

The September massacres

relatively small group of republicans, resolute to sav their country from the foreigner. To this band, wit Danton at its head, the great work was to organize th defense of France; and since it could not afford to let itself be dis turbed in its preparations by monarchist uprisings at home, it re solved to cow its opponents, as yet far from converted to republica principles, by means of terror. As a preliminary step thousands o citizens, suspected of being devoted to the king, were put unde arrest; the next measure, taken in the early days of September was to relieve the pressure on the prisons by a deliberate massacr of the inmates. An armed band of assassins went the round of th places of detention and did not suspend its bloody work until it ha despatched nearly two thousand helpless victims. Not a hand wa raised to stop the hideous proceedings. Paris, to all appearance looked on stupefied.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (SEPTEMBER 21, 1792, TO OCTOBER 26, 1795)

The short interlude of government by an irresponsible radica faction came to an end when the National Convention met (Sep

The National Convention abolishes monarchy

tember 21st) and assumed control. Its very first measur was to declare the monarchy abolished. By a happ coincidence the victory of Valmy, which had occurre on the previous day, freed France from all immediat danger from without. The Convention began its caree in an atmosphere of patriotic exultation.

In the precarious situation obtaining in France much depende upon the composition of the new governing body. It was made u of nearly eight hundred members, who, because the monarchist

Parties in the Convention

either from terror or indolence had absented themselve from the polls, were solidly republican. But attachmen to the same fundamental principle did not hinder th rise of important differences of opinion. The outstanding republica group was the Gironde, already known to us from the previou assembly. Its most active competitor was the Mountain,[1] compose

[1] So called from the fact that the members took their seats upon the highes tiers of benches.

individuals like Danton, Robespierre, and Marat who inclined to xtreme views and who had shown their caliber in the recent extraor- inary events. Men given more to action than to words, they de- red that the war be kept to the fore until it had been concluded y a victorious peace. The Girondists, too, were for the war; in ct they had been largely instrumental in bringing it about. But igh-minded idealists given to speculative thought, they detested ne violences of the radicals and were revolted by the September assacres. Between these two groups, and permanently attached neither, was the great bulk of the deputies, designated as the lain. Whichever, Gironde or Mountain, could sway the Plain, ould possess a majority and rule France.

The sessions were no sooner opened than a hopeless rift was reated by the demand of the Gironde for the punishment of the erpetrators of the September massacres. To divert attention from self the Mountain proposed instead to bring the king to rial. Ever since August 10th Louis and his family had een closely confined in prison. In December the de- osed monarch was summoned before the Convention acting as a ourt of justice. The Girondists, amiable dreamers for the most art, would have spared his life, but the Mountainists, backed by ne threats of the mob, carried the Plain with them. By a very nall majority the former Louis XVI, degraded to the rank of itizen Louis Capet, was condemned to death, and on January 21, 793, was beheaded by the newly invented machine, called the uillotine. On that eventful day no hand was raised to save the nonarch, who, a feeble creature with no single action to his credit ommanding our respect, must none the less be regarded in the main s the helpless victim of a tragic chain of circumstances.

Trial and death of the king

The execution of the king raised a storm of indignation throughout nonarchical Europe, and a great coalition, which every state of nportance joined, sprang to life for the purpose of punishing the egicides of the Convention. The republicans, nothing oath, accepted and even anticipated the challenge. n this way the war with Austria and Prussia promised o assume immense proportions in the coming year. he members of the great coalition planned — in so far s a loose association of states may ever be said to have a plan — to ttack France from every side and humble her pride in one rapid ampaign. The English were to sweep down upon her coasts, the

The first European coalition against France

Spaniards to cross the Pyrenees and attack from the south, the Piedmontese to pour over the Alps, and the Austrians and Prussians to operate along the eastern border from the direction of Belgium and the Rhine. Under these circumstances the question of the defense of the French soil became again, as it had been in the summer of 1792, the supreme question of the hour. It was plain that in order to meet her enemies, who were advancing from every point of the compass, France would have to be united and display an almost superhuman energy.

Overthrow of the Gironde

The new crisis quickly developed the animosities between Gironde and Mountain into implacable hatred. There can be no doubt that both sides were equally patriotic; but the immediate issue was not love of country so much as the most practical means for meeting the threatening invasions. The philosophers of the Gironde insisted on pressing their scruples about the September massacres and on rejecting every war measure which implied an encroachment on the new-won liberties of the individual. But since the situation would not wait either on debate or moral scruple, the fanatical leaders of the Mountain resolved to rid themselves of their rivals. Mobs were regularly organized by Marat and other minor henchmen in touch with the Parisian masses to invade the Convention and howl at its bar for the heads of the Girondist leaders. On June 2, 1793, the Convention finally yielded to pressure and excluded from its midst and put under arrest thirty-one Girondist leaders, among whom were the brilliant orators Vergniaud, Isnard, Brissot, and Gensonné.

The Mountain supreme

The fall of the Girondists meant the removal of the last check upon the fierce determination of the Mountain. The power now lay in its hands to use as it would; and the most immediate end of power, the Mountain had from the first maintained, was the salvation of France from her enemies. To accomplish that great purpose the party now deliberately returned to the successful system of the summer of 1792 — the system of terror. This new phase of the Revolution, famous as the Reign of Terror — it could appropriately be called the Long Reign of Terror in order to distinguish it from the Short Reign of Terror of August and September, 1792, which it closely resembles — begins on June 2nd, with the expulsion from the Convention of the moderate republican element, represented by the Gironde.

THE REIGN OF TERROR (JUNE 2, 1793, TO JULY 27, 1794)

The Short Reign of Terror of the summer of 1792 was marked
y two conspicuous features: first, an energetic conduct of the war
nd, second, a bloody repression of the monarchical opposition.
he Long Reign of Terror reproduces these elements
eveloped into a system. What is more likely to secure
n energetic defense than a strong executive? The
Iountain, therefore, created a committee, finally, of
velve members, called the Committee of Public Safety,
hich it endowed with almost unlimited powers. While it is true
nat the Committee of Public Safety was established some weeks
efore the Girondists fell, the fact that it did not acquire its sover-
gn influence until the summer of 1793 proves how intimately it
as associated with the Mountain scheme of government.

A strong executive: the Committee of Public Safety

Of the famous Committee of Public Safety the most conspicuous
gure was Robespierre, for which reason the whole period of the
error is sometimes identified with his name. But Robespierre,
most in view, was by no means the most active of the
iembers of the Committee. He was indeed the hero of the
opulace and the Jacobins and swayed the Convention by his oratory,
ut the man who provided for the defense of France was Carnot,
ided by such capable administrators as Prieur and Lindet. During
ie prolonged internal convulsions these men kept as far as possible
oof from politics and quietly and unostentatiously attended to
usiness. It was they who carried out the universal conscription
oted by the Convention; it was they who equipped the armies,
ppointed the generals, and mapped out the campaigns. If France
as able to confront the forces of the coalition by armies which soon
xceeded the enemy in numbers and are sometimes set, though with
vident exaggeration, at 1,000,000 men, this great achievement, on
hich hung the salvation of the country, may be written down
rimarily to Carnot and the other working members of the Com-
ittee. But why was not that fiery titan, Danton, a member of the
xecutive? In view of the fact that the creation of the Committee of
ublic Safety was largely his work, he had been originally appointed
member, but in the course of the summer of 1793, owing, it is
rmised, to an intrigue of Robespierre, he was dropped from its
ll. Of course he remained a powerful political factor, with a strong
llowing in and outside the Convention, but that he should have

Robespierre and Carnot

allowed himself to be crowded, without a struggle, from the seat of power was and remains a mystery.

With the conduct of the war provided for by means of a powerful executive, it remained to systematize the repression of the anti-revolutionary elements. The machinery of the Terror, as this systematization may be called, presented, on its completion, the following features: first, there was the Law of the Suspects. By this unique measure the authorities were authorized to imprison anyone soever who was denounced to them as "suspect," a term that could be stretched to mean almost anything. It was afterward said by a wit that all France went about in those days conjugating the verbal expression, "I am suspect," through all its moods and tenses. In consequence, the prisons were crowded from garret to cellar with thousands of victims. To empty them was the function of the second element of the terrorist machinery, called the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was a special court of justice created for the purpose of trying the suspects without the delays incident to the ordinary courts. However, even the Revolutionary Tribunal at first provided certain safeguards for the accused. With the passing of time these were more and more eliminated until merely to be brought to trial was tantamount to condemnation. On sentence of death being pronounced by the judge there remained for the luckless victim the third and last step in the process of the Terror: he was carted to an open square, called the Square of the Revolution, and amid staring and hooting mobs, who congregated to the spectacle every day as to a feast, his head fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

The machinery of the Terror

Before the Terror had well begun, one of its most revolting agents, Marat, fell victim to that violence which he had so sedulously preached. Marat was the mouth-piece of the utterly ragged and lawless element of Paris. He had lately developed a thirst for blood that can only be accounted for on the ground of disease. Yet this degenerate impudently published his frothings under the name of "the Friend of the People." The blow which finally put an end to his wild declamations was delivered from an unexpected quarter. Many of the Girondists, on being proscribed, had succeeded in making their escape to the provinces. At Caen, in Normandy, the fugitives aroused the sympathies of a beautiful and noble-minded girl, Charlotte Corday. Passionately afflicted by the divisions of her country which she laid at

Marat and Charlotte Corday

arat's door, she resolved by a bold stroke to free France from the pressor. On July 13, 1793, she succeeded in forcing an entrance o his house and stabbed him in his bath. She knew that the act ant her own death, but her exaltation did not desert her for a ment, and she passed to the guillotine a few days after the deed h the sustained calm of a martyr.

The dramatic incidents associated with so many illustrious victims the Terror can receive only scant justice here. In October Marie toinette was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. e faced the court with noble dignity and on receiving r death-verdict mounted the scaffold with the courage fitting a daughter of the Caesars.[1] A few days after e death of Marie Antoinette, twenty-one Girondists, presenting the total number at that moment in the nds of the victorious Mountain, travelled the same road. They re followed by the duke of Orleans and Madame Roland, each ensely hostile to the other but charged alike with complicity in the rondist plots. The duke of Orleans, head of the secondary branch the house of Bourbon, awakened few regrets either then or after-rds. An ambitious intriguer, he had from his youth plotted against uis XVI. To save his miserable life he had joined the Jacobin b and, dropping his hereditary titles, invited eternal ridicule by ntroducing himself to the world as Mr. Equality (*Egalité*). When 1792 he was elected to the Convention, he unblushingly committed final act of infamy by voting for the death of the king. His very tipodes was Madame Roland.[2] Her honest but bookish enthusiasm a regenerated public life naturally drew her to the Girondist rty. For a time her house had been their meeting-place, and she rself, with the emotional extravagance characteristic of the period, d been worshipped as the muse, the Egeria, of the republican ilosophers. In spite of her political immaturity, her mind had the

Execution of Marie Antoinette, October, 1793

Marie Antoinette left two children, a princess of fifteen years and the phin, Louis, aged eight. The princess was released in 1795, but before that rcy could be extended to the boy, he had died under the inhuman treatment his jailers. The systematic torturing to death of the poor dauphin is one of dark blots upon the men of the Terror. The dauphin is reckoned by legiti-ts as Louis XVII.

Madame Roland owed her influence in part to her husband, who was a minent member of the Gironde and a minister during the last months of the n of Louis XVI and again in the summer and fall of 1792. Roland made escape from Paris when the Gironde was proscribed, but committed suicide hearing of the death of his wife.

imprint of nobility and sustained her in her hour of trial. On mount ing the steps of the guillotine, she paused to contemplate a statue o Liberty which had been erected near by. Her last words were ad dressed to the impassive goddess. "Liberty," she said, "wha crimes are committed in thy name!"

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Terror was limite to Paris or was directed merely against prominent individuals. B means of Deputies on Mission, clothed with the powers of the Com mittee of Public Safety, and of so-called revolutionar committees set up in every community it was carrie into the provinces on the ground that all France woul have to be inspired with the same martial sentiment if the war was to be won. The departments, inhabited for the mos part by men of moderate means and moderate opinions, had from th first shown signs of restlessness under the violences of the Terro and when the Gironde, a provincial party, fell victim to the Moun tain, identified with Paris, the situation straightway became straine and led to the raising here and there of the standard of revolt. Thu the great city of Lyons refused to recognize further the authority o the Convention, while the important naval station, Toulon, wen a step farther and actually surrendered to the foreign enemy, th English. Here was matter for thought but it was as nothing com pared with the great rising in the west. The peasants of the regio called *La Vendée* gathered in armed bands under the leadership o priests and nobles, and inflamed by the attacks upon the Catholi Church and the attempt of the Convention to conscript them fo war, refused to bow their necks to the revolutionary régime.

Revolt at Lyons, Toulon, and in the Vendée

This difficult situation the Convention, or rather its agent, th Committee of Public Safety, met with unflinching resolution. I sent an army against Lyons, and in October, 1793, after a brav resistance, the city was taken. Then the Conventio resolved to inflict an unexampled punishment, happil only partially carried out: it ordered the destruction o the city and the erection on the ruins of a pillar with th inscription, "Lyons waged war with liberty; Lyons is no more. In December, 1793, a French army regained Toulon, chiefly throug the skill of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte; and, i the same month, another army scattered the insurgents of th Vendée. But discontent continuing to smoulder among the peas ants of the agricultural west, the Committee of Public Safety wa

The Convention crushes the revolts

oved to despatch thither as Deputy on Mission one Carrier, armed th full powers to stamp out the embers. The vengeance wreaked this madman upon the hostile priests and peasants makes the amies of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris look like nursery stimes. Dissatisfied with the slow process of the guillotine, rrier invented new methods of wholesale execution. The most genious, the *noyade* (drowning), consisted in loading an old ssel with one hundred, two hundred, and even eight hundred tims — men, women and children — floating it down the Loire, d then scuttling it as it approached the sea. By such means the rror penetrated to every corner of the land and held all France in ojection.

But its rule was, by its very nature, exceptional. Sooner or later ere was bound to occur a division among its supporters; and when ision came the revolutionists were sure to rage against eh other as they had once raged in common against the stocrats and moderates. The supreme statesman of e period, Mirabeau, had foreseen that development. In noment of prophetic insight he had declared that the Revolution, e Saturn, would end by devouring its own offspring.

Disruption of the Terror inevitable

Ominous signs of the disintegration of the Mountain, the party of e Terror, began to appear in the autumn of 1793. The most radical ng, which owed its strength to its hold on the government of the y of Paris and which followed the lead of one Hébert, d turned its particular animosity against the Catholic th. To replace this ancient cult, despised as aristo- tic and superstitious, the Hébertists invented, in the rit of reckless atheism, the so-called religion of Reason, and pres- ly forced its acceptance upon the city of Paris by means of a ree which closed all places of Catholic worship. Although this ravagant measure was soon withdrawn and religious toleration, ntified with the Revolution, reasserted in principle, Robespierre k alarm. He was further annoyed with the Hébertists because y leaned toward communism and dared launch an attack on vate property. Disinclined to such extravagances, Robespierre, o, though a republican, was a characteristic bourgeois, denounced bert and his ilk before the Jacobins, and in March, 1794, abruptly t them *via* the Revolutionary Tribunal to the guillotine.

End of the Hébertists, March, 1794

The overthrow of Hébert was followed by that of Danton, a man a better and nobler stamp, who, falling, carried his friends and

satellites down with him. A rude son of the soil, with a claim to rea statesmanship, he had exercised a decisive influence in more tha one great crisis: France had primarily him to thank for her rescu from the Prussians in the summer of 1792; and, again, th establishment of the Committee of Public Safety wa largely his work. But now he was growing weary. Th uninterrupted flow of blood disgusted him and he raised his voic in behalf of mercy. Mercy, to Robespierre and his young follower the arch-fanatic Saint Just, was nothing less than treason, and i sudden alarm at Danton's "moderation" they hurried him and hi friends to the guillotine (April 5, 1794). Thus Robespierre was ri of his last rival. No wonder that it was now whispered abroad tha he was planning to make himself sole dictator.

The fall of Danton, April, 1794

And between Robespierre and a dictatorship there stood, in th spring of 1794, only one thing — his own political incapacity. Tha he had the Jacobins, the municipality of Paris, the Convention, an the Committee of Public Safety in his hands was prove by their servile obedience to his slightest nod. On Ma 7th he had the satisfaction of wresting from the Conven tion a decree after his own heart, for that body made solemn affirma tion to the effect that the French people recognized a Supreme Bein and the immortality of the soul. It sufficiently characterizes th solemn pedantry of Robespierre that he never in his life took any thing so seriously as this ludicrous declaration and that he had n inkling of the absurdity of the festival of June 8, 1794, at which h presided as high-priest and proclaimed the gospel of the Suprem Being to the heathen. Two days after the ceremony he revealed th spirit of fanaticism which animated his religious leadership. I order to facilitate the condemnations of the suspect the Revolu tionary Tribunal by the law of June 10th was quadrupled and it procedure stripped of the last vestiges of legal form. Then only di the executions in Paris begin in a really wholesale manner. Durin the six weeks before the adoption of the new measure, the numbers o those guillotined in Paris amounted to 577; during the first six week after its adoption, the victims reached the frightful figure of 1,356 No government office, no service rendered on the battle-field secure immunity from arrest and death. At last, the Terror invaded th Convention itself. Paralyzed by fear that body submitted for time to the desperate situation. But when the uncertainty connecte with living perpetually under a threat of death had become intole

Supremacy and fall of Robespierre

le, the opponents of Robespierre, men of his own party, banded gether in order to crush him. It is only fair to say that he took no rsonal part in the indiscriminate slaughter of these last weeks. He d a certain fastidiousness distinguishing him favorably from ny of his associates in the governing clique, low informers such Billaud, Collot, and Fouché, who covered themselves with every famy. With his immense following among the people he could ubtless have anticipated his enemies, but instead of action he apped himself in a mysterious silence. On the 9th of Thermidor uly 27th) [1] he and his adherents were condemned by the Conven-n and executed the next day.

THE RULE OF THE THERMIDORIANS (JULY 27, 1794, TO OCTOBER 26, 1795).

The fall of Robespierre put an end to the Terror, not because obespierre was the Terror, but because the system had, after a ar of wild extravagance, become so thoroughly discredited, even nong its own supporters, that the Convention saw itself liged to discontinue the methods of tyranny. The hermidorians, many of whom had been the vilest in- ruments of the Terror and had dipped their hands into every kind crime, bowed, therefore, to the force of circumstances. Supported the Plain, the men of the middle ground in the Convention, they idiously heaped all the blame for the past year on the dead Robes-erre and hypocritically assumed the character of life-long lovers law and order. Slowly the frightened bourgeoisie recovered its urage and rallied to the support of the Thermidorian party; and ally a succession of concerted blows swept the fragments of the

The reaction in the Convention

[1] The Convention, guided by its hatred of the royalist past, had introduced ew system of time reckoning. Since the birth of the republic was regarded as re important than the birth of Christ, September 21, 1792, the day when narchy was formally abolished, was voted the beginning of a new era. The ole Christian calendar was at the same time declared to be tainted with stocracy and a new calendar devised. Its chief feature was the invention of v names for the months, such as: Nivose, Snow month; Pluviose, Rain month; ntose, Wind month, for the winter months; Germinal, Budding month; réal, Flower month; Prairial, Meadow month, for the spring months, etc. It is worthy of notice that the Convention, a body of men unhampered by dition, discussed many laudable reforms and carried some of them into effect. e change has invited imitation. The ancient and conflicting systems of weights d measures were supplanted by the uniform metrical system.

Terror from the face of France. The municipality of Paris, the cita del of the rioters, was dissolved; the Revolutionary Tribunal dis persed; the guillotine dismantled; the functions of the Committe of Public Safety restricted; and, to make victory sure, the Jacobi Club, the old hearth of radicalism, was closed. During the nex year — the last of its long lease of power — the Convention rule France in substantial accord with the moderate opinion of the ma jority of the citizens.

But if the Terror fell, its overthrow was due not only to th horror it inspired but also to the fact that it had accomplished it end. Its cause, as well as its excuse, was the danger of France; an

The Terror successfully defends France

whatever else be said, it had really succeeded in organiz ing the resources of the country against the forces of tremendous coalition. On this defense the reader mus now bestow a rapid glance. In the campaign of 179 during which the Committee of Public Safety was engaged in creat ing its republican armies on the basis of a general conscription c the youth of the country, the French had been obliged to yiel ground at certain points. But by 1794 the work, largely due t Carnot's organizing talents, had been done, and the armies, numer ous, well-equipped, and commanded by young men of ardent spiri were enabled to carry the war into the territory of the enemy. Thu the tables were turned and monarchical Europe, instead of invadin republican France, found itself invaded. In the course of this yea (1794) an army under Jourdan conquered Belgium; and, shortl after, Pichegru seized Holland. Belgium, which ever since th Treaty of Utrecht had been a dominion of Austria, was promptl annexed to France, but Holland was left independent, though re constituted as a republic and subjected to French influence. Durin these stirring events the ancient animosities between Prussia an Austria had flared up anew and proved of incalculable benefit t France. Suspicious of each other over the final partition of Poland they refused to act whole-heartedly against the French, who wer in consequence enabled to occupy the whole left bank of the Rhine Thus incurable jealousies, coupled with the demoralizing effect c the revolutionary victories, undermined the coalition; and as th Thermidorians had no reason for continuing the war indefinitel they entered into negotiations with Prussia and Spain and in th spring of 1795 concluded peace with them at Basel. By thes treaties, which acknowledged the French conquests, France bega

emerge as victor. None the less fighting was by no means over, ce England and Austria remained in the field against her.

While these successes were being won abroad, the Convention ok up the long-neglected task for which it had been summoned and the course of the year 1795 completed a new constitution for ublican France. This constitution was ready to be omulgated, when the representatives, fearful that a e election might bring the royalists back to power, re- ved to provide for the perpetuation of the republic which they were devoted. They accordingly passed a v by which they virtually perpetuated themselves on the strength a provision declaring that two-thirds of the new legislature must composed of men who had sat in the Convention. Over this gh-handed measure the monarchists, who, favored by the powerful ction against the Terror, had become both numerous and bold, xed so exceeding wroth that in October they organized an armed ellion and swept down on the Convention in order to force it to cind its action. After a long succession of riots instituted by archical radicals France now witnessed the strange phenomenon an uprising of conservatives. Nothing could have shown more vincingly the recent sharp turn-about of opinion.

The Convention completes a republican constitution

However, the Convention was sufficiently in earnest about its ublicanism to resolve to defend itself and entrusted with the k one of its members, Barras, who had come to the front in the ermidorian period. But Barras, who was no soldier, nferred the command of the troops upon a young cer and acquaintance of his, Napoleon Bonaparte. naparte had already creditably distinguished himself Toulon and elsewhere and wanted nothing better than this portunity. When the rioters marched against the Convention October 5th he received them with such a volley of grape-shot t they fled precipitately, leaving hundreds of their comrades d upon the pavement. It was a new way of treating armed ular uprisings and it had its effect. Henceforth, in the face of firm resolution of the government to defend itself, partisan ups lost their taste for overawing those in power by means of rrections. Bonaparte and his volley of grape-shot meant the rn of *authority* and proclaimed with brazen tongue that violence squerading as liberty had seen its day.

Napoleon Bonaparte saves the Convention

The Convention could now without fear complete its remaining

business. On October 26, 1795, its stormy, cowardly, and yet, i some respects, highly creditable career, came to an end, and the ne constitution went immediately into effect. It is called the Consti

The Constitution of the Year III

tution of the Year III from the year of the republica calendar in which it was completed. Its main provision mark a return from the loose liberal notions of the co stitution of 1791 to a more compact executive. Nevertheless, th tyranny of the *ancien régime* was still too near for the objection against a too-powerful executive to have vanished utterly. There fore a compromise was found in a multiple executive of five mem bers, called the Directory. The legislative functions were entruste to a lower house, called the Council of Five Hundred, and to senate of two hundred and fifty, called the Council of Ancients This bicameral legislature, too, represented a departure from th constitution of 1791, whose single legislative chamber had prove a failure. Exactly as in the earlier constitution, however, th suffrage was limited by a property qualification with the result tha the Directory signified a strictly bourgeois régime.

THE DIRECTORY (1795–1799)

The Directory wished to signalize its accession to power by ter minating the war with a brilliant victory over the remaining enemie of France, Great Britain and Austria. But an attack upon Grea

The Directory plans a concentrated attack upon Austria

Britain was, because of the insufficiency of French nava power, out of the question. Austria was more vulne able, and Austria the Directory now resolved to strik with the combined armies of France. In accordanc with this intention, "the organizer of victory," Carno who had been elected a Director, worked out a plan by which th Austrians were to be attacked simultaneously in Germany and Ital and forced back upon Vienna. Two splendid armies under Jourda and Moreau were assigned to the German task, which was regarde as by far the more important, while the Italian campaign, unde taken largely to divert the attention of the Austrians from Germany was intrusted to a poorly equipped army of 30,000 men, whic through the influence of the Director Barras and in reward for serv ices rendered in connection with the October insurrection, was pu under the command of General Bonaparte. But the unexpecte happened. By the force of his genius Bonaparte upset completel

e calculations of the Directory and gave the Italian campaign
ch importance that he, and not Jourdan or Moreau, decided the
r.

Bonaparte's task was to beat, with his army, an army of Aus-
ans who, together with their Piedmontese allies, considerably out-
mbered him. Resolved to meet them separately, he managed by
swift and secret movement to wedge his way between **Bonaparte in Italy, 1796**
e allies, and by forcing the Piedmontese away from the
ıstrians toward Turin to hold them at his mercy. As a
esult the king of Sardinia-Piedmont sued for peace and retired
m the war (April, 1796). Demoralized by these successes of the
emy, the Austrians fell back toward Milan. But Bonaparte, who
oke every rule of the old deliberate strategy and moved with the
alth and swiftness of a beast of prey, outflanked them and, before
ay was over, had by a series of engagements driven them out of
mbardy. The pope and the small Italian princes, in alarm,
stened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of
rks of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover
ir lost position. But at Arcola (November, 1796) and Rivoli
nuary, 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat sig-
ly the forces sent against him. Then he crossed the Alps to
ade Austria and dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

This bold stroke of Bonaparte's determined the Emperor Francis
to sue for peace. Although his brother, the Archduke Charles,
d, at the head of the Austrian forces in Germany, beaten Jourdan
d Moreau in the campaign of 1796, the emperor was **The Peace of Campo Formio, 1797**
prepared to stand a siege in his capital. His offers
re met half-way by Bonaparte, and out of the nego-
tions which ensued there grew the Peace of Campo
rmio (October, 1797). By this peace Austria ceded her Belgian
vinces as well as Lombardy, recognized northern Italy as a
ere of French influence, and accepted for herself the principle
the Rhine boundary, the details to be arranged later with the
t of the Holy Roman Empire. In return for these concessions
received at Bonaparte's hands the ancient republic of Venice,
ich the young general had just seized with more than a soldier's
al absence of scruple. In spite of Austria's becoming established
his way at the head of the Adriatic, the Peace of Campo Formio
tually delivered all Italy into French hands. True, the ceded
mbardy became the Cisalpine Republic and the former city-

state of Genoa was transformed into the Ligurian Republic, but a both of these creations were modeled on the French Republic an submitted to control from Paris, they became, like Holland, timi clients of the triumphant Directory.

When Napoleon returned to France he was hailed as the nationa hero, who out of the bramble war had plucked the jewel peace. An what a peace he brought, a peace which French rulers had dreame of for generations and which, while establishing France firmly in northern Italy, carried her also into western Germany by giving her the whole left bank of the Rhine Undeniably by these acquisitions the republic reverted to the war aims of the Bourbon monarchy and turned its back on the eloquen declarations against conquest with which it had begun the struggl with Europe back in 1793; but in the exhilaration of victory these idealistic professions were conveniently forgotten and the conqueror himself received with all but divine honors.

Bonaparte the hero of France

That Napoleon Bonaparte should become the foremost man o France before he had reached the age of thirty would never have been prophesied by the friends of his youth. He was born a Ajaccio, on the island of Corsica, in 1769, of a poor but noble family. The inhabitants of Corsica, Italians by race, had long been under the rule of Genoa but had latterly asserted their independence. Disgusted at their inability to again subdue the islanders, the Genoese had in the year 176 ceded Corsica to the neighboring kingdom of France. At the time of Napoleon's birth, therefore, the French were occupied in establishing their rule over a people who resisted them heroically but without success. In the midst of the patriotic indignation caused by his country's overthrow the young Corsican grew up. When he was ten years old, his father took him to France to enter him as a cade in the famous royal military school at Brienne. In due course o time he became a lieutenant of artillery, and it was while he was holding this commission, among a people whom he still detested a the oppressors of his country, that the French Revolution broke ou and opened a career to all possessed of talent and ambition. The irresistible current of events caught up and bore the young Napoleo along until he forgot his narrow Corsican patriotism and merged his person and his fortunes with the destinies of France. We have noted how, at the age of twenty-four, he performed his first grea military feat at Toulon. The four years of warfare which lay be

Youth of Napoleon Bonaparte

een Toulon and Campo Formio had carried him by rapid stages the uppermost round of the ladder of success.

In 1797, after two years of existence, the Directory had reason to ngratulate itself. Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the Rhine boun-ry sounded a catalogue of brilliant achievements and assured ance a preëminent position on the continent. Unfor- **Foreign success, domestic failure** nately, the domestic situation continued to give trouble ce the country was still bleeding from the wounds in- ted by the divisions of the past years. The religious uation was particularly troublesome because the schism produced the persecution of the Catholic Church was farther than ever m solution. If we add that financial embarrassments threatened sitively to overwhelm the government, we can understand why, spite of Bonaparte's victories, the royalists steadily grew stronger. the national finances actually plunged into the abyss in 1797, a rd about them becomes absolutely imperative. We have seen at the Revolution from the very first turned to paper money *signats*) as the way out of the wilderness. Since then the printing-ss had served as the chief source of French revenue; billions of ncs had been issued with the result of a disastrous decline in their rchasing power; and when all this paper at last ceased to have y value at all, it was simply repudiated (1797). That meant nkruptcy, which, though hardly with strict justice, was laid at e Directory's door. Doubtless the wisest course would have been make peace and give France a chance to breathe. But the rectory had a different idea and chose to divert attention from e domestic woes by launching an attack upon the last remaining eign enemy, Great Britain.

For the year 1798 the government planned a great action in order bring Great Britain to terms. As the lack of a fleet put a direct ack upon the island-kingdom out of the question, it was resolved strike at Great Britain indirectly by threatening its **France attacks Great Britain in Egypt** onies. With due secrecy an expedition was prepared Toulon and Bonaparte given the command. Nelson, e English admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, s of course on the lookout, but Bonaparte succeeded evading his vigilance and in starting unmolested for Egypt ay, 1798). Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire urkey) and the key to both the Near and the Far East. By ablishing himself on the Nile, Bonaparte calculated that he could

sever the connection of Great Britain with India and the region beyond. Nelson gave chase as soon as he got wind of the move ments of the French; and although he arrived too late to hinde them from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruine their expedition when on August 1 he attacked and destroyed thei fleet anchored in Abukir Bay. Bonaparte might now go on con quering Egypt and all Africa — he was shut off from Europe and a good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Bonaparte in Egypt

In this way the Egyptian campaign, certainly from every angle a extraordinarily hare-brained enterprise, was lost before it had fairl begun. Bonaparte could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardl blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to re trieve the disaster to his fleet by his successes on land By his victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in th battle of the Pyramids (1798), he made himself master of the basi of the Nile; and in the year 1799 he marched his men to Syria. Th seaport of Acre, which he besieged in the hope of establishing com munication with France, repulsed his attack, while the plague deci mated his brave troops. Sick at heart over his failure, Bonapart returned to Egypt and, despairing of a change in his fortunes, re solved to desert his army. Contriving to run the English blockade, h landed on October 9, 1799, with a handful of friends, on the souther coast of France. Though the army he had deserted was irretrievabl lost,[1] that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings over the return o the national hero.

The Second Coalition, 1798, 1799

The enthusiastic welcome of France, which turned Bonaparte' journey northward to Paris into a triumphal procession, was du largely to the new dangers to which the country had been exposed dur ing his absence. Bonaparte was hardly known to have bee shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off th French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against th hated Republic. Austria and Russia, supported by English subsidies renewed the war, and the year 1799 was marked by a succession o victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany. At th time when Bonaparte made his appearance in Europe, an invasio of France had narrowly been averted by the heroic defense put up b General Masséna.

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around th dashing Corsican. What other French general had exhibited suc

[1] The army surrendered to the English in 1801.

nius as Bonaparte, had won such military glory for himself d France? Moreover, after the ceaseless agitations of the past n years people were tired to death of revolution, the party spirit, e financial and economic embarrassments, and the con- nued uncertainty of all social relations. Discontent was general that optimistic royalists predicted the early turn of the legitimate king. In short, France was in peless confusion and everybody turned spontaneously to Bona- rte as toward a savior.

The French public is weary of revolution

The general was no sooner apprised of this state of the French ind than he resolved to act. With the aid of some conspirators in wer and urged by public opinion he overthrew the gov- nment. The only resistance of note was offered by the namber of Five Hundred and was overcome by military rce. The ease with which the *coup d'état* of November 1799 (18th Brumaire), was executed proves that the onstitution of the Year III was dead in spirit before Bonaparte stroyed it in fact.

Bonaparte overthrows the Directory, November, 1799

THE CONSULATE (1799–1804)

The successful general was now free to set up a new constitution which an important place should be assured to himself. Instinc- vely he divined that what France desired was a strong executive, r ten years of anarchic liberty had disposed the people be again in love with authority. The result of Bona- rte's deliberations with his friends was the Constitution of the ear VIII, by which the government was practically concentrated the hands of one official, called the First Consul and appointed r ten years. To hoodwink the democratic enthusiasts still abroad the land the appearances of popular government were carefully eserved. The legislative functions were reserved to two bodies, e Tribunate and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed ls without voting upon them, and the latter voted upon them thout discussing them, their power was so divided that they cessarily lost all influence. Without another *coup d'état*, by means a few minor changes in the new constitution, the Consul Bona- rte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the Emperor Na- leon who would govern France as its absolute master.

A new constitution

With his position at home secured, the First Consul gave his

attention to the war with the Second Coalition. Very opportunely for Bonaparte Russia, disgusted with her Austrian ally, retired from the struggle at the close of the campaign of 1799. As the enemies of France were thus reduced to Great Britain and Austria, a situation presented itself to view closely resembling that of 1796. Not unnaturally Bonaparte resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Neglecting England as inaccessible and concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau into Germany, while he himself went again to meet her in Italy. By a strenuous and picturesque march in the early spring over the Great St. Bernard Pass, a feat which rivalled the performance of Hannibal in the days of antiquity, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat and force the enemy to make a stand. In the battle of Marengo, fought June 14, 1800, he crushed the Austrians and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801) he reconfirmed all the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the Holy Roman Empire became a party to the treaty, there was no longer any legal defect in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary, perfected in every detail, which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the treaty, furthermore, redelivered Italy into Bonaparte's hands, he straightway reëstablished the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics in their old dependence upon France.

Bonaparte again in Italy, 1800

Again, as in 1798, the only European state which held out against France was Great Britain. How reduce the great sea-power to submission? The French naval resources were as inadequate now as ever and as for striking at the British colonies, the recollection of Egypt quickly disposed of the idea. Sated for the time with success and glory, Bonaparte opened (1801) negotiations with the British government, and in March, 1802 concluded, substantially on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

Peace with Great Britain, 1802

After ten years of warfare, France was now at peace with the world. The moment was auspicious. But it remained to be seen whether the country would heartily take up the labors of peace and, while healing its wounds, would at the same time remove the justifiable apprehension with which it was regarded by cowed and defeated Europe.

France at peace with the world

Certainly the First Consul showed no want of vigor in attacking

e domestic situation, though the picture which unrolled itself be-
e his eyes was frightful. After the wholesale destruction and care-
s experimentation of the last decade, France needed, above all,
season of constructive statesmanship. Not that the
volution had not scattered plentiful seeds; but because **Bonaparte undertakes the reconstruction of France**
e harvest had not been awaited with patience, the
ds had failed to mature. The work before the First
nsul during the interval of peace which followed the
aties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than
e reconstruction of the whole social order. He shouldered his
ponsibilities with his usual ardor. In a public proclamation he
nounced that the disturbances had been brought to an end and
at he considered it his special task to "close" the Revolution and
"consolidate" its results.

One of his first cares was to bring back material prosperity. The
tional bankruptcy of the Directory now proved a help, for by
oing out the worthless paper money it enabled the new ruler to
ke a fresh and wholesome start based on the resump- **Return of prosperity**
n of specie payments. With the currency stabilized,
nfidence again began to prevail in business circles and industry
d commerce quickly recovered from their long depression. Surely
e country had reason to be proud of its "man of destiny." Sus-
ned by an unexampled popularity, he now undertook to create a
mber of fundamental institutions, which, in spite of the revolu-
ns of the nineteenth century, exist, in the main, to this day, and
e his best title to fame. Let us give these institutions a brief con-
eration.

The administration of France had, during the Revolution, fallen
o complete anarchy. The constitution of 1791 had divided France
o eighty-three administrative units, called departments, and had
oplanted the old royal appointees by a highly decen- **A new centralized administration**
lized system of local self-government. Practically
ery office was made elective, requiring a political ac-
ity of which the electors, unaccustomed to the exercise
such duties, became weary. They refused to attend the polls and
mitted the power to drift into the hands of a few professional
iticians connected with the Jacobin club. Even under the Terror,
ich favored a strong executive, local self-government had been
andoned; and now with Bonaparte's advent a deliberate return
s made to the traditional policy of centralized control. As a result

every department received an official head, called prefect, who wa appointed by the First Consul and reported back to him. By mean of the prefects the whole country was bound together by thread which met in the hands of the chief executive. With his wonderfu sense of precision Bonaparte so perfected his system that no monarch by Divine Right has ever in an equal degree made his will felt throug the length and breadth of his dominion. Democracy, the will-o'-the wisp pursued through blood and fire for ten agitated years, wa sacrificed, but the weary people were content for the present wit the order and security assured by the new administration.

Religion, which lay in as bad a tangle as the administration, en gaged Bonaparte's attention from the first. To understand hi action it will be necessary to review the whole history of the Catholi Church during the Revolution. That the French intel ligentsia, which dominated the National Assembly, ha developed a decided hostility toward the ancient institu tion was indicated by the confiscation of Church prop erty which occurred as early as November, 1789. A much more serious measure followed in July, 1790, which unde the name of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy ordained a com plete reorganization of French religious life. The Civil Constitutio of the Clergy was in essence an attempt to set up a French nationa Church, separated or all but separated from the universal Catholi Church and served by priests and bishops dependent on the state from which they drew their salaries. When the overwhelming ma jority of the clergy on order from the pope refused to accept the ne national Church, a schism was produced which gradually led to per secution and, in the period of the Terror, to the wholesale slaughte of orthodox priests and prelates. It was the lively animosity agains Catholicism which accounts for such extravagant episodes as Hébert' worship of Reason and Robespierre's cult of the Supreme Being But in spite of banishment and guillotine, Catholicism at the daw of the new century was still alive. Though Bonaparte, like the bour geoisie in general of his age, possessed no positive religious views, h had a splendid sense of reality and divined the superior vigor of th persecuted faith. Having also a clear appreciation of the suppor which the reconstituted Church might furnish his reorganized state he presently entered into negotiations with Rome. The result wa a treaty of peace, called the Concordat (1801): the Church resigne its claim to its confiscated estates and the state undertook the main

The religious tangle solved by the Concordat

nance, on a liberal basis, of priests and bishops; these latter were be nominated by the state and confirmed by the pope. If the atholic Church was reëstablished in France by the Concordat, it n not be denied that it was reduced to a much closer dependence the state than formerly.

With the administrative and religious snarls unraveled, Bonaparte xt gave his attention to the department of justice. The legal con-sion reigning in France before the Revolution is indescribable, r everything had been left to chance, and radically different systems of law were in force in the various sec-ons of the country or, often enough, in the same section. The Revolution had made an attempt to clarify the confusion but d not got far when Bonaparte came to power. With his usual ergy he soon had a commission of experts at work upon the crea-on of a precise and uniform system; and in 1804 he was enabled to blish the result of their labors in the Civil Code, called afterward e *Code Napoléon*. No legal labor of similar scope had been under-ken since the distant days of Justinian. While the Roman law as made the basis of the Napoleonic code, modifications were freely troduced dictated by the progress of the centuries and the principles the French Revolution.[1]

The new judicial system

Bonaparte also planned a general system of state education, nsisting of the primary, secondary, and university stages, but he ade headway with only the more advanced elements of the pro-am and was obliged through the pressure of events to postpone entirely the project for a much needed system primary schools. From his various achievements, wever, some idea can be gained of his constructive and ethodizing genius. Let us again note that his labors of peace have rvived [2] the subsequent revolutions, while the conquests of his ord have been "swept in fragments to oblivion." Bonaparte as rst Consul stood at the parting of the ways. He might continue e labors of peace so happily inaugurated or he might return to the

Bonaparte at the parting of the ways

[1] In enumerating the elements of the new France mention must imperatively made of the peasantry, even though their improved status was not due to any ion of Napoleon. The confiscation by the Revolution of the property of the rgy and nobility led to the numerous peasants becoming freeholders on their ms and therewith the most powerful and stabilizing element of French society wn to our day.

[2] The religious settlement laid down in the Concordat was rejected a century er by the French government (1905) under circumstances which will be ex-ined in their place.

policy of aggressive war lately closed with the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. We must remember that he was primarily a soldier, animated with restless energy and spurred on by boundless ambition, and that continued civil labors probably failed to satisfy an imagination which embraced the ends of the earth. Besides, he was the heir of the Revolution which with the apparent approval of the whole French people had turned its back on idealist professions and accepted conquest as the logical end of war. With conquest adopted as a national policy who could bring it to a halt or prescribe metes and bounds for it?

Prompted by these personal preferences and general conditions, Napoleon Bonaparte irresistibly lifted his vision to embrace Europe and the neighboring continents and girded himself for a role like that of Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great. Therewith the Revolution entered upon its last or Napoleonic stage, in which France becomes the tool for the realization of the ambition of the most remarkably endowed man of modern times. He took the initial step upon this path of self-aggrandizement when he modified the consular constitution in his own interest. In 1802 he had himself appointed consul for life; and in May, 1804, he dropped the last veil of republican pretense by the assumption of the title emperor of the French. The final step in this transformation occurred in December of the same year, when in the presence of the pope and with all the formality and pomp of the ancient régime, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine before the high altar of the cathedral church of Paris.

Napoleon, emperor of the French

THE EMPIRE (1804–1815)

The Consul Bonaparte, become Emperor Napoleon I, immediately turned his attention to the subject-republics with which France had surrounded herself. Republics no longer accorded with the new imperial style. At a nod from the emperor the Batavian Republic bloomed forth as the kingdom of Holland and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, a younger brother of Napoleon, as king. In like manner the Cisalpine Republic became the kingdom of Italy and offered the crown to its powerful protector. In May, 1805, Napoleon crossed the Alps and crowned himself king at Milan. The Ligurian Republic now had no further reason for existence and, like Piedmont some years before, was quietly incorporated with France.

Napoleon's action in Holland and Italy

Even before these signal acts of aggression had been carried out, e last grain of confidence with which the European governments garded Napoleon had disappeared. Unescapably it dawned on em that he was an insatiable conqueror, who was waiting only an opportunity to swallow them all. As rly as 1803 continued disputes over the Peace of Amiens d led to a renewal of the war with Great Britain. apoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and r over a year England was deeply agitated by the prospect of a scent upon her coasts; but the lack of a fleet of warships powerful ough to protect his convoys against the English navy under elson made Napoleon's project chimerical from the first, and in e summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

Renewal of the war with Great Britain

He gave it up because Great Britain had succeeded in playing upon e fears of Austria and Russia until they joined her in a new coalition curb the alarming power of France. No sooner had Napoleon got nd of this state of affairs than he abandoned his quixic English plans and threw himself upon the practical sk of defeating his continental enemies. His military nius presently celebrated new triumphs, for at Ulm he rrounded and captured the whole Austrian advance ıard; and on December 2, 1805, he followed up this advantage by lministering a crushing defeat to the combined Austrians and Rusıns at Austerlitz in Moravia. With his capital, Vienna, and much his territory occupied by the enemy, the Austrian emperor was duced to bow down before the invincible Corsican and sign the eace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805). By this document he gave o his Venetian acquisitions to the kingdom of Italy and the Tyrol Bavaria, which German state had acted as Napoleon's ally.

The Third Coalition: England, Austria, Russia

These provisions introduce us to a very characteristic feature of apoleon's policy of conquest. He did not plan to incorporate all e provinces which he might conquer directly with France but ther from France as a center to rule over a ring of ependent territories governed by princes under his conol. Especially in regard to Germany, his policy was to duce the influence of the two great powers, Austria and Prussia, fattening the smaller states at their expense. Therefore, Würtemrg as well as Bavaria received some of the Austrian spoils and both ere at the same time raised by him to the rank of kingdoms. Naoleon was now prepared for a still bolder step; he negotiated with

Napoleon's German policy

the many small German states with a view to bringing them into a special union under his presidency. As they had neither the power nor the moral stamina to resist his persuasions, the world was presently informed of the organization of a new German confederacy, composed of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and in its final form of all the states of Germany except Austria and Prussia. Of this union, called the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon became sovereign under the title of Protector. A glance at the map will show how this triumph made him master alike of Germany and central Europe.

Naturally, the creation of a new German organization administered the death-blow to the Holy Roman Empire, deserted by its members. It had been an unconscionable time a-dying, and now Napoleon, the product of a revolution which made sport of tradition, bade it begone. Emperor Francis spoke a last service over its remains when he resigned (1806) his now empty title, and in order not to suffer loss of dignity adopted the new designation, emperor of Austria. Certainly no German, however much he might regret the manner of its taking off, had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of this decrepit government. Though such was not his intention, Napoleon really did the German people an enormous service by lifting an incubus of centuries from their backs. With the Holy Roman Empire out of the way the path was cleared to a happier national future.

End of the Holy Roman Empire

But that future was as yet hidden behind the clouds of the gathering storm which threatened to destroy every vestige of German independence. For with Austria humbled and the small states reduced to subservience in the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon now turned his attention to the remaining factor in the German situation, to Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basel) Prussia had remained steadily neutral, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to renew the war against her western neighbor. Even after Napoleon became emperor, the government of Berlin pursued an amicable course, weakly hoping for all kinds of advantages from a close association with France. But as soon as Napoleon had disposed of Austria and secured the support of the small German states, he showed his true hand and inaugurated toward Prussia a policy of provocations, which the obsequious government of the incompetent king, Frederick William III (1797–1840), refused for a long time to resent. However, by the autumn of 1806 Napoleon's acts had grown so

Napoleon turns upon Prussia

grant that Prussia, to save the poor remnant of her self-respect, d to declare war.

Again Napoleon had an opportunity to show that the old military t of Europe could not maintain itself against his methods. As we amine these now, they surprise us by their mathematical simcity. To get ready earlier than the enemy, to march pre rapidly than he, and, finally, to strike him at the akest spot with concentrated energy — these were the principles Napoleon's military science which he combined with personal alities of such hot daring and cool foresight that they have perhaps ver been equalled.

Napoleon as a strategist

The campaign of 1806 against Prussia brought Napoleon's genius to view more clearly than any that had preceded it. But if the mperor won, his soldiers shared the honors with him. For the Prusan troops, well-drilled mercenaries without any enthuasm for the cause they represented, were as little the uals of the great national French armies, fighting for me and country, as the Prussian commander, the anent duke of Brunswick, who had been trained in the antiquated hool of Frederick the Great, was a match for the fiery young emror. On October 14, 1806, old and new Europe clashed once more, d at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, fought on that day, the ilitary monarchy of the great Frederick was overwhelmed. With bare handful of troops King Frederick William fled toward his ovince of East Prussia in order to put himself under the protection Russia; and before the month of October had passed, Napoleon tered Berlin in triumph.

The Prussian campaign, 1806

Practically all Prussia now lay in Napoleon's hand. Another man ould have preferred to rest before continuing his march of triumph, ut Napoleon was unsatisfied as long as there was anyone who red brave his legions. In order to humble Tsar Alexder, who had presumptuously allied himself with Prusa and was bringing an army to her aid, Napoleon set out om Berlin on a winter campaign which proved indecive. However, in June, 1807, he met the Russians supported by the mnant of the Prussian army at Friedland and won a brilliant vicry. Convinced that it was dangerous to penetrate farther east at at time, he now offered peace to Alexander and to the surprise of e world the enemy of yesterday became the bosom friend of day.

The campaign against Russia, 1807

Tsar Alexander was a mercurial young man, easily elated and easily discouraged, and when Napoleon in a succession of personal interviews developed political plans to him in which a considerable part was assigned to Russia, he lent a willing ear. The consequence of the deliberations of the two emperors, of which the disgraced king of Prussia was for the most part a silent witness, was the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). By this peace Russia lost not a single village, but Prussia was thoroughly humiliated and condemned to the sacrifice of half her territory. The Prussian provinces between the Elbe and Rhine were made the nucleus of a new kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's youngest brother Jerome; and the Prussian spoils of the later Polish Partitions were constituted as the grand-duchy of Warsaw and given to the elector of Saxony. Prussia became a third-rate power with nothing more to boast of than that she still lived.

Treaty of Tilsit and humiliation of Prussia

But more than by the peace the world was agitated by the close alliance with which Alexander and Napoleon capped their Tilsit negotiations. By its terms the tsar promised, in case Great Britain refused to accept a mediation aiming at a general peace, to become Napoleon's ally against her. In return for this favor the French sovereign agreed to support Russia in her projects on Sweden and Turkey; and by way of good measure he diverted the impressionable Alexander with the picture of a Europe divided, as in Roman times, between an emperor of the west and another of the east.

Alliance of Napoleon and Alexander

The Peace of Tilsit carried Napoleon to the zenith of his career, for with Russia as his ally the rest of the continent was subject to his will and obliged to wear his yoke. Let us for a moment with the map before us review his position. He held directly in his hand an enlarged France which overflowed into Germany and Italy. This central nucleus he had surrounded with a host of dependencies where subject-princes ruled according to his will. As he could count with greater certainty on the members of his family than on strangers he had freely promoted his relatives to dependent thrones. While his brothers Louis and Jerome served as kings of Holland and Westphalia respectively, his brother Joseph had been assigned to the kingdom of Naples and his brother-in-law, the brilliant cavalry general, Murat, had been made grand-duke of Berg. Berg, like Westphalia, was an artificial creation out of the German spoils; both states were of course incorporated in the

Napoleon at the height of his power

nfederation of the Rhine and helped to keep it faithful to its mighty ɔtector. As his most capable relative was probably his step-son, gene Beauharnais, son of the Empress Josephine by her first mar-ge, Napoleon employed him as viceroy in his kingdom of Italy. en in the Swiss Confederation he exercised control under the title Mediator. If we now add that by a succession of unparalleled ɔkes, delivered between 1805 and 1807, he had humbled Austria, ıssia, and Russia, we shall agree that he had nothing further to r upon the continent. He could therefore resume the struggle h his most inaccessible and elusive foe, with Great Britain.

This struggle is the most momentous chapter in Napoleon's career. journed at the Peace of Amiens (1802), it had broken out again e next year and led to the armament of Boulogne and the plan to ade the island. The project proved to be unrealizable **The war with Great Britain** ause Great Britain controlled the waters with a superior et; and such slight chance as it may have had of being rried out at a later time was completely blasted while Napoleon s fighting the Austerlitz campaign. For in October, 1805, Nelson countered the French fleet off Cape Trafalgar on the Spanish ıst, and though he paid for his victory with his life, destroyed the stile armament. Since Napoleon commanded no further naval ources, effective fighting on the seas came to an end with this aster. The Corsican might march with his invincible army from ɔital to capital; his control stopped with the shore.

Undismayed by his inability to attack England directly, Napoleon w resolved to strike at her indirectly by ruining her commerce and ɔping her wealth. He devised an elaborate commercial war which s received the name of the Continental System. In **Commercial war: the Continental System** s new war he fired his opening gun when in November, 06, he issued from Berlin a decree by which he ordered e seizure of all British goods in his own or allied terri-ies and rigorously excluded from their ports all British ships. His culation was that the requisite supplies of non-European articles, ch as sugar and coffee, would be furnished by the vessels of neutral wers, primarily by the United States. To destroy this hope the itish answered the Berlin Decree with an Order in Council whereby, der penalty of seizure, they forbade neutral ships to visit ports m which the British were excluded unless they had first put in at itish ports to take on a consignment of British goods. To this poleon's counterblast was to declare every neutral vessel which

obeyed the British order subject to confiscation. Plainly neutrals were between the devil and the deep sea and were welcome only i they rendered service to one or the other combatant. On signing the alliance with Russia Napoleon was able to carry his commercia war to its logical conclusion. This was hermetically to seal the whole continent of Europe against British trade. His dependencies had of course no voice in the matter and were simply expected to obey the orders they received; Austria and Prussia, having been defeated had already been obliged to meet the imperial wish and close their ports to British ships; and at Tilsit Russia, too, was persuaded to acquiesce in the Napoleonic policy. Nay, more, the tsar agreed to join the emperor in forcing the closure of ports to British goods or every state of Europe which still yearned for British trade. No continental neutrals were to be tolerated on any pretext whatsoever and the mass of Europe was to be flung into the struggle as an economic whole.

With Napoleon and Alexander standing together no state in Europe could resist the program. By persuasion or threats they all came in with the exception of little Portugal, which, being far away and de-

Continental System a main cause of Napoleon's ultimate failure

pendent for its living on English trade, ventured to refuse. Thereupon Napoleon sent an army across the Pyrenees which drove out the Portuguese royal family and successfully occupied the country (November, 1807). The seizure looked like the final triumph of Napoleon's system but appearances are frequently deceitful. At the moment indeed Napoleon's will was law from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, but in the long view of the emperor's career Tilsit and the Continental System mark, if a culmination, also the beginning of decline. In the first place his new purpose involved him in new and ever new wars; and secondly, by dislocating and ruining commerce and industry throughout Europe he created a discontent which lost him his popularity and proceeded at last from sporadic rebellions to a general revolt. It is necessary to remember in this connection that the emperor's astonishing successes had been won over old-fashioned absolute monarchies, set at such a height above their peoples as to be out of direct touch with them. In Italy and Germany more particularly the masses to a considerable extent had sympathized with Napoleon, for he represented the principles of the French Revolution and his armies brought in their train the overthrow of such feudal evils as serfdom and the reign of privilege. But this precious suppor

e emperor sacrificed when he paralyzed the economic life of Europe
d carried exasperation into every city and village. Greeted at
t as a liberator, he was gradually cursed as a scourge and reaped
e harvest of his policy in a series of national revolts which swept
nself, his throne, and his family off the face of Europe. It is of
ırse questionable whether Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, based
the subjection of so many ancient and spirited nationalities,
uld have endured under any circumstances; it is certain that by
ans of the Continental System he himself made adequate provi-
n for his failure.

If the occupation of Portugal was an act of unjustifiable violence,
dwindled to blue-eyed innocence compared with what happened
mediately after in Spain, for there the emperor struck a friend and
y. The history of Spain during the French Revolution is
a miserable tale, largely because of the despicable character of the Bourbon king, Charles IV, and the rank corruption of the court. Having made war upon the revolution in its first stage, the king had as early as 1795 signed a ace, which in the period of the consulate had ripened into an alnce with the late enemy. For the sake of his good friend Napoleon, arles IV had joined his fleet to that of France, and also for the sake that friend he had sacrificed it at Trafalgar, where, acting in supt of the French fleet, it had been all but destroyed. As a return these good offices, Napoleon now deliberately planned to seize e country of his ally, probably in the first instance because he did feel secure in Portugal unless he had Spain absolutely in his hands. king advantage of a quarrel between Charles IV and his son Fernand — two clowns as disgusting as any that have ever masquered in a royal mantle — he invited the pair to Bayonne, just across e border, in order to lay their quarrel before him. There the trap sed on them and the two simpletons were forced to resign their al rights to the wily arbiter (May, 1808). Spain was thereupon en to Joseph Bonaparte, who before assuming his new dignity s obliged to surrender the kingdom of Naples, held since 1806, Caroline Bonaparte's husband, Murat. For not quite two years ırat had served as grand-duke of Berg in Germany. These exanges of territory were a part of the system by which the omnipnt ruler impressed their servile status upon his political puppets. The shameless violence and duplicity by which Napoleon seized crown of Spain sent a thrill of horror through the Spanish

The policy of Spain during the Revolution

people. By disposing of them as if they were a nation at auctio he had wounded their pride, and instead of a peaceful occupatio he found himself confronted with an insurrection. It was a ne

The insurrection of Spain

phenomenon upon the emperor's path of which he utterl failed to catch the significance. Convinced, soldie like, that there was no obstacle in the world whic would not yield to force, he rapidly diagnosed the Spanish situatio as requiring a little treatment by cold steel. If the Spaniards ha met in the open field the regular army which he now launche against them, it is plain that their ineffective forces would hav gone down before the French eagles like the rest of Europe. Bu wisely they assembled only in small guerrilla bands, swept from am buscades upon French detachments and rear-guards, and were gon again before they could be punished. The summer of 1808 brough Napoleon through these tactics his first serious military disasters and to make things worse England at once took notice of the situa tion and projected herself into it. Having waited in vain fo Napoleon to seek her on the sea, she found and seized this oppor tunity to seek him on the land. In the summer of 1808 a Britis army disembarked in the peninsula for the purpose of supportin the Spanish revolt. When Napoleon, angered by the check receive by his political system, appeared in person on the scene (autumn 1808), he had no difficulty in sweeping the Spaniards into the hil and the British to their ships, but he was hardly gone when th scattered guerrillas ventured forth from their retreats and th British forced a new landing.

Napoleon had now to learn that a people resolved to live fre can not be conquered. The Spanish war swallowed up vast sum and immense forces, but the emperor, as stubborn in his way as th

Napoleon can not put the Spaniards down

Spaniards, would give ear to no suggestion of concessio Slowly, however, circumstances told against him. Th revolt showed no signs of abating; and when, in 1809, capable general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known b his later title of duke of Wellington, took command of the Britis forces, and, using Portugal as his base, foot by foot forced his wa toward Madrid, Napoleon's Spanish enterprise became hopeless. C course that was not at once apparent; but what did very soo become clear was that the enslaved states of central Europe we taking the cue from the Spaniards and making ready for a simil struggle with their oppressor.

In the year 1809 Austria, encouraged by the Spanish successes, s inspired to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. But the ort was premature, for as Prussia was still occupied by French ops and the whole territory of the Confederation of e Rhine was pledged to Napoleon's interests, only de- hed bodies in the Tyrol, in Jerome's kingdom of estphalia and elsewhere, responded to Austria's call. Wagram (July, 1809) Napoleon laid Austria a fourth ne at his feet. In the Peace of Vienna, which followed, she was ced to make fresh cessions of territory not only to France but o to Napoleon's satellites, such as Bavaria and the duchy of arsaw. The territory yielded to France included Austria's only -port, Trieste, and, joined to Dalmatia, was constituted as the yrian Province. It was but a trunk shorn of its boughs which the nqueror left; and it is not improbable that he would have felled e trunk, too, if he had not been forced at this time to provide for complete change of his political system.

Austria tries to organize a German insurrection

The fact was the Tsar Alexander was growing tired of the alliance Tilsit for many reasons, but chiefly perhaps because his adherence the Continental System proved ruinous to his country. Napoleon ticed the diminishing heartiness of the tsar and re- ved to secure himself against defection by means of alliance with Austria. That state was, after the war 1809, in no position to refuse the proffered hand; and en Napoleon further demanded the emperor's daughter, arie Louise, in marriage, that request, too, had to be anted. That he had ever since 1796 been married to Josephine auharnais was a slight annoyance which could be and was re- ved by means of divorce. Although various reasons were alleged support of his suit, the only genuine one was that the union had nained childless and that Napoleon imperatively needed a son perpetuate his dynasty. In April, 1810, the military upstart, for at is what Napoleon was from the point of view of the drawing- om and the court, celebrated his union with a daughter of the cient imperial line of Hapsburg; and when, in the succeeding ar, there was born to him a son and heir to whom he gave in his dle the resounding title of king of Rome, he could fancy that his pire had acquired a secure dynastic foundation.

Napoleon changes his political system, Russia being replaced by Austria

And surely never did Napoleon's power exhibit a greater outward endor, never did his behests meet with more implicit obedience

than in the year 1811. The spoiled son of fortune had now acquired the imperious habit of falling into a rage at the slightest sign of opposition. Imposing the Continental System with increasing rigor, he punished the pope and his own brother Louis with the loss of their territories when they seemed to him to slacken their vigilance toward British goods. One cloud would not disperse and that was the Spanish rising; but with the help of a little illusion that struggle could be comfortably minimized to an outbreak of bandits and guerrillas. As Napoleon looked about conquered Europe, he might not unreasonably imagine that now was the auspicious time to put an end to the last independent state of the continent, the eastern colossus, Russia. He had made a friend of that nation largely for the purpose of European solidarity against Great Britain; but now that the tsar was secretly opening his ports to British goods, he was adjudged to have broken the alliance and to have merited an exemplary punishment.

Review of Napoleon's position in 1811

The breach between Napoleon and Alexander became definite in the course of the year 1811. Both powers began preparations for war, and in the spring of 1812 Napoleon set in movement toward Russia the greatest armament that Europe had ever seen. A half million men, representing all the nationalities of Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, French, Germans, Italians, Poles, seemed more than adequate to the task of bringing the tsar under the law of the emperor. And the expedition was at first attended by many superficial successes. The Russians, retreating before Napoleon, drew him ever farther from his supplies; and when they at last made a stand suffered a defeat which cleared the road to Moscow. On September 15th Napoleon entered the Russian capital. It was his view that the submission of Alexander would now follow automatically.

Invasion of Russia, 1812

But he had underrated the spirit of resistance which animated the empire of the tsar. Here, as in Spain, a determination to die rather than yield possessed every inhabitant, and Napoleon had already received ample evidence of the national aversion in the deserted villages through which he marched. Any lingering doubt on this head was dramatically settled at Moscow. Rather than have their capital fall into the hands of the French, the retreating Russians set fire to it, leaving to the victorious emperor nothing but a smoking heap of useless ashes.

Napoleon at Moscow

In the vain hope that the tsar, unnerved by the invasion of his untry, would offer to make peace, Napoleon lingered among the ins of Moscow for over a month. But as for once Alexander as firm, their delay overwhelmed the French with dis- The Russian disaster ter. For since the retreat, unavoidable in a country ten bare of supplies, was not begun till October 19th, e troops were overtaken by winter in a vast country with impassable ads and were buried under its blasts. To the misery of cold were ded hunger, disease, and the constant raids of the swift-moving ssacks until the formidable Grand Army of the spring had melted to a few scattered bands of struggling fugitives. Napoleon directed e retreat through the first stages, but early in December he set out r Paris, realizing that he had sacrificed the greatest army ever ited under his command in an impossible enterprise. In his sence Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," fighting like a mmon soldier, did what valor could to save the honor of the French mpire and the remnant of its military power. Late in December a w thousand starved, broken, and half-crazed men, whose brothers rewed the frozen plains of Russia, tottered across the Niemen to the comparative safety of an area held by French reserves.

The loss of his splendid army was, in any case, a serious calamity r Napoleon. But it would become an irremediable catastrophe if encouraged Germany, long throbbing with suppressed indignation, rise in revolt and create new complications at a juncture The revolt of Germany hen he required all his strength to repair the supreme saster of his life. Unluckily for Napoleon the growing body of erman patriots felt this fact instinctively and were uplifted with e consciousness that never again would such an opportunity be fered them. They wanted a general and national rising; but they w that its success would be best assured if it could be organized ound Prussia as a nucleus. And Prussia, which Napoleon had ampled in the dust at Jena and shut in a tomb at Tilsit, did not ceive their expectations and raised the standard of revolt.

Prussia since her overwhelming disasters had gone through a novation which is one of the remarkable revivals of history. Her ading men had come to see that her overthrow was the inevitable nsequence of her backward conditions and reached the The renaissance of Prussia nclusion that new foundations would have to be laid by series of sweeping reforms. Temporarily silenced by s disasters, the stiff and reactionary king, Frederick William III,

hesitatingly yielded to their importunities. Stein, a man of broad vision, was appointed chief minister, and with Scharnhorst in charge of the war department and with other audacious spirits in high places a number of important reforms were carried through. Serfdom was declared abolished; and together with serfdom all the old feudal class divisions were swept aside in favor of a united citizenry equal before the law. Further, the old mercenary and professional army defeated at Jena was replaced by a national army based on the principle of universal military service first applied by the French republicans in 1793. Plainly such fundamental changes gave Prussia many of the advantages of the French Revolution. And with the new institutions was born a new spirit, unknown hitherto in this feudal and military state, which bound high and low together in a common passionate love of country. When this revived nation heard of Napoleon's ruin on the Russian snow-fields, all classes alike were seized with the conviction that the great hour of revenge had come; no debate, no delay on the part of the timid king was suffered; and resistlessly swept along by the rising tide of enthusiasm, he was forced to sign an alliance with Russia and declare war (March, 1813).

The disastrous campaign of 1812 would have reduced any other man than Napoleon to complete exhaustion. But he faced the new situation as undaunted as ever. By herculean efforts he succeeded in mustering and training a new army, and in the spring of 1813 appeared suddenly in the heart of Germany, ready to punish the new coalition. Everything hinged for him on his defeating Russia and Prussia before the Confederation of the Rhine, already simmering with revolt, and Austria, only waiting for a chance to recover her own, had declared against him. At Lützen (May 2) and at Bautzen (May 20) he maintained his ancient reputation by driving the allies from the field. But clearly the day of the Jenas and Friedlands was over, for not only did he capture no cannon or men, but the enemy fell back in good order on Silesia, while Napoleon had to confess that his victories had been paid for by such heavy losses that to win, at this rate, was equivalent to ruin. On June 4th he agreed to an armistice in order to reorganize his troops and to take stock of the political situation.

The campaign of 1813: first part

Both parties now became aware that the issue of the campaign depended upon Austria, for so delicately adjusted were the scales between the contestants, that the side upon which she would throw her influence would be sure to win. In these circumstances

Metternich, Austria's unscrupulous and juggling minister, undertook, first, the role of mediator; but when Napoleon indignantly rejected e conditions for a general peace which Metternich proposed, ustria threw in her lot with the European coalition, which this addition came to embrace the three continental owers and Great Britain. In August, 1813, at the ex- ration of the truce, there followed a concerted forward ovement on the part of the allies, now for the first time since apoleon's advent to power firmly cemented together. Prussians, ussians, and Austrians crowded in upon Napoleon, who sat en- onced in the heart of Germany, in Saxony, where he defended the rategic line of the Elbe river. Having the smaller force, he saw his utposts gradually driven in, himself outmanœuvred, and his dis- lving army crushed utterly in a savage three days' battle at eipzig (October 16–18). With such remnants as he could hold gether he hurried across the Rhine. Germany was lost beyond covery. The question now was: Would he be able to retain rance?

The campaign of 1813: second part

If the great conqueror could have seen a future for himself in rance in the role of a beaten man, he might have ended the war the acceptance of the Rhine boundary, which the allies now fered. But he believed that he could not afford to end e war with a defeat and by rejecting the proffered ace obliged his enemies to continue the struggle. In e winter they invaded France, resolved to annihilate him before had recovered his strength. His defensive campaign, conducted the cold of winter with slender forces, is regarded by military en as among his most brilliant achievements; but he was now pelessly outnumbered, and when, on March 31, the allies forced e gates of Paris, even Napoleon's confidence received a shock. s he looked about him he saw the whole east of France in the hands his enemies, while the south was as rapidly falling into the power Wellington, who in the two victorious campaigns of 1812 and 13 had finally pushed the French completely out of Spain and was w engaged in pursuing them across the Pyrenees.

The winter campaign of 1814

On April 6, 1814, at his castle of Fontainebleau, Napoleon ac- nowledged that all was over and offered his abdication. The allies nceded him the island of Elba (off the coast of Tuscany) as a resi- nce, and then gave their attention to the problem of the future France. Not from any enthusiasm for the house of Bourbon, but

merely because there seemed to them to be no other way out of the difficulties, they finally gave their sanction to the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII, brother of the last king. As regards the extent of the restored kingdom, it was agreed in the Peace of Paris that France was substantially to receive the boundaries which she enjoyed at the outbreak of the revolutionary wars in 1792.

Abdication of Napoleon; return of Bourbons

This important preliminary matter arranged, a general congress of the powers assembled at Vienna to discuss the reconstruction of Europe. The modern age has rarely seen a more brilliant gathering of notabilities. All the sovereigns and statesmen who had stood in the center of public attention during the last momentous years were, with few exceptions, present, and a single drawing-room sometimes held the mobile Tsar Alexander, the grave Wellington, the ardent German patriot Stein, the courtly Frenchman Talleyrand, and that passionate enemy of revolutionary change, the Austrian chancellor Metternich. But before the Congress of Vienna had ended its labors, the anti-Napoleonic coalition, which the congress represented, was once more called upon to take the field. For in March, 1815, the startling news reached the allied statesmen at Vienna that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba and had once more landed in France.

The Congress of Vienna

The resolution formed by Napoleon, after only a few months of exile, to try conclusions once more with united Europe, was the resolution of despair. Without doubt it was folly on the part of the allies to expect that a man like him, with a burning craving for activity, would ever content himself with the island-realm of Elba, especially as France, his willing prize, lay just a few leagues across the water. However, it was even greater folly on the part of Napoleon to fancy that he could thwart the will of united Europe. A gambler by nature, he waited till he saw what seemed to him a rift in the coalition and plunged into a new adventure. On March 1st he landed unexpectedly near Cannes, accompanied by eight hundred of his old veterans, who had been permitted to attend him in exile as a guard of honor; and no sooner had he displayed his banners than his former soldiers streamed to the standards to which they were attached by innumerable stirring memories. Marshal Ney, who was sent out by Louis XVIII, the restored Bourbon king, to take Napoleon captive broke into tears at sight of his old leader and folded him in his arms

Napoleon returns from Elba

ere was no resisting the magnetic power of the name Napoleon. e familiar "*Vive l'empereur!*" rang through France till the luke-rm partisans of the Bourbon dynasty fell away from it with erish alacrity. Discouraged by the diminishing ranks of his pporters, Louis presently fled across the border, while, hailed by soldiers and common people but hardly by the bourgeoisie whom perpetual wars had estranged, Napoleon once more entered Paris. The Hundred Days, as Napoleon's restoration is called, form a re after-play to the great drama which began with the coronation Notre Dame, reached its climax at Tilsit, and had the curtain ng on it at Fontainebleau. Napoleon's empire was a ng of the past and it was hopeless to revive it against e will of a united Europe. The proof is furnished by the action the members of the coalition at Vienna as soon as they heard of apoleon's return from exile: unhesitatingly they renewed the war d prepared for a fresh invasion of France. The issue was decided th spectacular suddenness in Belgium. There Wellington stood at e head of a composite Anglo-Dutch-Hanoverian army, and thither arched to his assistance from the lower Rhine, where he had been winter-quarters, Marshal Blücher with his Prussians. These emies, because they were closest at hand, Napoleon resolved to eet first. With his usual swiftness he fell upon Blücher on June 16th Ligny, before this general could unite with the forces of Welling-n, and beat him roundly. Leaving Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 en to pursue the Prussians, Napoleon next turned, on June 18th, gainst his remaining adversary.

The Hundred Days

Wellington, who had taken a strong defensive position near aterloo, resolutely awaited the French attack. All the afternoon apoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry against the "iron duke's" sitions without dislodging his tough opponent, and hen in the late afternoon the Prussians unexpectedly ade their appearance on his right he was caught between o fires. Blücher had evaded his French pursuer and by a forced arch had reached the battlefield. Unable to disentangle itself, apoleon's army was completely ruined. Precipitately the em-ror fled to Paris and there abdicated a second time. Deserted by in his misfortunes, he now planned to escape to America, but nding the coast guarded by English cruisers, was obliged to take assage on the British ship *Bellerophon* to be carried first to Eng-nd, and thence, in accordance with the verdict of his victorious

Waterloo, June 18, 1815

enemies, to the remote and rocky mid-Atlantic island of St. Helena. There, six years later (1821), he died, a lonely and embittered exile.

At Paris, meanwhile, the allies once more restored Louis XVIII to his ancestral throne by virtue of a new instrument called the Second Treaty of Paris. It differed from the document of the previous year in nothing more than that France was obliged to pay for her renewed acceptance of Napoleon by having imposed on her a few border rectifications and a considerable money indemnity.

Second restoration of Louis XVIII

. . . . . .

With Napoleon's elimination a reaction seized upon Europe which was as natural as it was irresistible. For not only was revolutionary conquest discredited when Napoleon fell, but no less so were the revolutionary principles in which he had his origin and with which he had been more or less identified to the end. The victory of the coalition was interpreted as a victory of monarchy by Divine Right as well as of the old feudal classes, the clergy and nobility, historically identified with monarchy. Through their triumph the monarchs and the old ruling classes gained a new and arrogant self-assurance, while the middle classes, which in 1789 had acted in the confident belief that their hour had at last struck, received a set-back. Plainly France and all Europe were about to experience a period of reaction.

The reaction

Before narrating the incidents of that reaction it may be well to assure ourselves that the eclipse of the middle classes could not in the nature of things be other than temporary. As their vigor had been steadily ripening for generations and was fundamental to the whole European structure, it was inconceivable that they should be permanently barred from political influence. Partly in consequence of the recent Revolution but chiefly because of a long evolutionary process, they had become reasonably clear in their minds as to their program and did not dream of abandoning it when the reaction temporarily triumphed. In fact, in so far as that program had already become an integral part of the social and legal system of France and her neighbors, the reaction itself did not dare to disturb it. This program, formulated with a view to undermining the conservative tradition in the state drew much of its sustenance from eighteenth century enlightenment; in the nineteenth century it has usually sailed under the summary

Persistence of the political program of the middle classes

me of liberalism. Although we are anticipating, its leading features serve enumeration at this point, since by means of them we learn t only what united the liberals throughout Europe after 1815 t also what conferred upon the civilization of the new century leading political characteristics.

1. *Equality before the law.* Incensed against the feudal orders th their privileges and honors, the middle classes insisted on a veling to be effected by means of a common citizenship involving ual rights and burdens for the whole population.

2. *Religious toleration.* For the middle classes a dominant church, hich undertook to dictate what men were to believe and which reatened to punish every departure from its standards, had become th an absurdity and a nuisance. Their growing sense of personal edom made them insist on liberation from clerical control coupled th toleration of all reasonable beliefs and cults.

3. *Sovereignty of the people.* To discredit monarchy by Divine ght it would have to be replaced by another principle. This in an e which was turning from dogmatism to empiricism, from gods to en, could only be the sovereignty of the people. That signified effect that the Divine Right of kings was replaced by the more edible Divine Right of the people. It is true that the bourgeoisie eant by sovereignty of the people the sovereignty of *their* people, at is, of the property holders. The proof is supplied by their unfail- attempt to limit the franchise. However, in theoretic discussion least the sovereignty of the people could not be held to signify ything else than the sovereignty of the whole citizen body; and e unassailable character of this logic always served to undermine urgeois exclusiveness and to favor the larger definition.

4. *Nationalism.* The bourgeoisie in fusing all classes into a single al class made possible the nation in the modern sense. Henceforth der middle class guidance all groups which felt a common im- lse due to community of race, language, customs, and institutions re certain to aspire to the leveling of accidental class and state rriers in order to effect a close political fusion. This self-assertion the national mass came to be called nationalism.

In these four features of the middle class program is indicated the ler of liberal ideas with which the conservative reaction of 1815 s met and finally overcome. Realized for the first time in the ench Revolution, they served on their revival as the basis for the litical reorganization of Europe.

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CHAPTER XX

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION

The Congress of Vienna, which met to arrange the affairs of Europe
er the unparalleled storms of the past generation, gathered the
eements reached among the powers regarding the many matters
debate in a summary document called the Final Act. The
ken in connection with the Peace of Paris, this docu- principles which gov-
nt traces the political geography of reconstructed erned the
rope. It also conveys an idea of the principles and Congress
timents which animated the victors. Although ve- of Vienna
nently condemned by the following generation, they can not fail
be recognized as the logical expression of the conservative triumph.
ce the Viennese diplomats felt that by erasing the old boundaries
l toppling over the old dynasties the French Revolution had
ated a general unrest, they persuaded themselves without much
iculty that the surest way to achieve security and permanence
uld be to reëstablish as far as possible all the states, great and small,
existence before the late disturbances. These states were said to
"legitimate," as against the illegitimate creations of the Revolu-
n and Napoleon. The desirability of separating the sheep from
goats on the score of this distinction of legitimacy, was, in the
erest of his master, the restored Louis XVIII, first championed by
supple French diplomat, Talleyrand, and gradually imposed
lf as a piece of divine wisdom upon the congress. But while
timacy made for a general restoration, the four victor powers did
forget to compensate themselves territorially for their past losses
l labors. Their hunger for land modified the plan of a restoration
e and simple; and that plan was further affected by the desire
heck all possible future aggressions on the part of the feared and
ed disturber, France. Legitimacy, territorial compensation for
victors, and hostility to France are the main forces out of the
raction of which grew the new map of Europe.

The greatest interest at the congress gathered around central
rope as the region which had been subjected to the most sweeping
itorial changes by the Revolution. In Italy restoration met with

few obstacles and was carried through with two notable exceptions Instead of being restored as an independent state the republic o Genoa was given to the king of Sardinia in order to strengthen hin against France; and the republic of Venice was delivere to the emperor of Austria as a compensation for the los of Belgium. The German settlement caused much mor trouble since a return to 1789 would have meant th reëstablishment of the Holy Roman Empire, which every body was glad to be rid of. But how to replace it? On thi head there were wide differences of opinion. A small group of fier patriots clamored for a strong united Germany, but the Germa princes were so attached to their separate sovereignty that the would agree to nothing but a loose federation, which was finall accepted. Great was the agitation when the question of territoria compensation for Prussia, one of the four victor powers, came up for Prussia desired to incorporate Saxony, a small German neighbor The right of Prussia to an indemnity was admitted in principle o account of its surrender to Russia of most of its Polish territory; an Saxony was in some quarters regarded as reasonable payment, on th ground that its king, having exhibited an exceptional attachmen to Napoleon, had forfeited whatever claim to be restored he migh have had under the theory of legitimacy. The truth was Prussi and Russia had come to a private agreement over the heads of th congress by which Russia, in return for the bulk of the Prussia Polish spoils, agreed to support Prussia in her effort to gain Saxony Over this issue the congress was rocked as a boat by a storm, fo Austria, Great Britain, and France firmly declared themselve against the Russo-Prussian bargain. Nor was the conflict adjuste by a compromise until both sides had begun to make preparation for war. By the final agreement Prussia got half of Saxony, th remainder being returned to the "legitimate" sovereign. For th part she gave up she received in exchange territory on the left ban of the Rhine (the Rhine province), which brought her into direc contact with France and imposed on her the defense of Germany against its western neighbor. In the final settlement of the Polish Saxon crisis the tsar received Napoleon's creation, the so-calle grand-duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the province o Posen which was left in the hands of Prussia. This Polish acqui sition Alexander agreed to constitute as the kingdom of Poland wit himself as king.

Restoration and compensation in Central Europe

Between France and Germany lay Belgium and Holland, both
corporated with France during the period of French ascendancy.
order to establish a strong bulwark against France
e congress consolidated these two territories and placed
em under the rule of the house of Orange. The new
eation received the name of the kingdom of the Nether-
nds. Great Britain, the oldest and the most successful
the enemies of Napoleon, was paid in ample colonial
rritory, receiving South Africa (the Cape), Ceylon, Malta, and the
orth sea island of Heligoland.

Belgium and Holland united; gains of Great Britain

The most serious danger to the permanence of these territorial
rangements arose from the fact that they disappointed the national
pes of the Italian, the Polish, the German, and the Belgian peoples.
t us examine the agreements from this point of view,
ginning with Italy. The Bourbon Ferdinand was
cognized as king of Naples and Sicily, joined under
e name of the Two Sicilies; the pope was restored to
e State of the Church; a younger branch of the house
Hapsburg to Tuscany; the king of Sardinia to Piedmont, increased,
we have seen, by Genoa; and Austria was given back her former
ssession of Lombardy, enlarged by the addition of Venetia. The
ser states, like Modena and Parma, we may leave out of considera-
n. Italy was thus in effect parceled out in five independent
ocks; and since no attempt was made to bind the parts into a whole,
d since further, ancient jealousies hindered united counsels,
ustria, a foreign power, by taking advantage of the inner divisions,
quired an easy paramountcy. That this ascendancy would give
ense to the national sentiment goes without saying. As for the
les, they remained distributed among the three partitioning pow-
, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and even though the mass of them
s now united under Tsar Alexander in the kingdom of Poland,
ey had every right to feel that they had been auctioned off like
ttle. In turning to the Belgians let us note that they had been
ited with the Dutch and placed under a Dutch king without the
st account being taken of their wishes. Finally, German nation-
st disappointment issued from a situation so complicated that it
quires a detailed explanation.

The rearrangements of Vienna disappoint national hopes

When Napoleon first undermined in order finally to destroy the
ly Roman Empire, he carried through an important domestic reor-
nization. With his military love of order and hatred of confusion

he abolished the many useless small entities, such as the free knights the free cities, and the prince-bishops, left over from the Middle Age In general he simply incorporated them in the larger dominions. A

The German situation

a result of this ruthless extinction of absurd survival there were, when the Congress of Vienna met, instead o some three hundred, only thirty-eight sovereign Germa states. These may be divided, for the sake of convenience, int three groups: first, the two great powers, Austria and Prussia second, the five middle-sized states, to wit, the kingdoms of Bavaria Saxony, Würtemberg, and Hanover, with the grand-duchy of Baden and third, Weimar, Hesse, and other petty principalities which together with the city-republics of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck constituted the numerous group of the small states. Now th national party, headed by the Prussian statesman, Stein, had o Napoleon's fall demanded a close federal union of the thirty-eigh existing states; but the Austrian chancellor, Metternich, who feared all novelties as revolutionary, played upon the dynastic sentiment of the German princes until they had been brought over to his pro gram of a loose association to be called the German *Bund* (Union) The Bund was authorized to transact business in a diet, which wa composed of delegates of the thirty-eight member states and which sat at Frankfort-on-the-Main; but as the heads of the states yielde none of their sovereignty to the common parliament, it will be seen — and such was Metternich's plan — that the Bund, as a means o effective union, was a farce. As a consequence of this futile organi zation Germany remained a mere geographical expression and th disappointment of the nationalists was keen.

But there was another sentiment besides that of nationalism offended at Vienna. We have already noted the set-back given t liberalism but perhaps we have not sufficiently emphasized the amaz

The political reaction; Holy Alliance and Quintuple Alliance

ing vigor of the current political reaction. Indeed mor than political, it was also religious and swept all the ruling circles of Europe fairly off their feet. Evidence of thi religious exaltation is furnished by a document drawn up by Tsar Alexander, in which he pledged himself t govern his state in accordance with the New Testament and which he induced all his brother-potentates either to sign or give their assent to. This mystical profession of Christian principles has become famous under the name of the Holy Alliance

[1] See the text in Translations and Reprints (University of Pennsylvania Vol. I. "It is verbiage," said the cynical Metternich.

owes its reputation less to what it contains (for it is a mass of hol-
v, well-meant platitudes) than to the circumstance that its name
Holy Alliance came to be applied to the actual and effective league
aintained after 1815 by the victors over the Revolution and Napo-
on. They achieved such a league by perpetuating their war-time
alition under the name of the Quadruple Alliance. In 1818, when
e restored Louis XVIII of France was admitted to membership,
e Quadruple became a Quintuple Alliance. Since the Quintuple
liance embraced all the great powers, it may without exaggeration
held to be the first attempt made in modern times to give the
stern world a permanent political organization. To give the ex-
riment still greater significance it was agreed that the five powers
ould meet from time to time in congress. In the light of these
cts it may with some show of reason be contended that the Quin-
ple Alliance, which the average man, incapable of fine distinctions,
nfused with Tsar Alexander's Holy Alliance, was a shadowy League
Nations. Only we should remind ourselves that it was not de-
gned as a means of directing the ever-changing life of Europe, but
at it was constituted solely to defend the arrangements of 1815
ainst even the minutest change. This immobility was, above all,
e obsession of the Austrian chancellor, Metternich. It was he who
came the leading champion of the policy of holding congresses but
ways and exclusively in order that any revolutionary activity
ght be crushed by concerted action as soon as it arose. In other
ords, Metternich was in favor of intervening, in the interests of
nservatism, in the internal affairs of the European states; and
ngresses and intervention became the chosen tools of the leagued
actionaries of Europe. Let us, since it has been hallowed by cus-
m, continue to call this system by the name of the Holy Alliance;
t let us also agree that such efficacy as it had rested on a definite
litical agreement laid down in the Quintuple Alliance and not on
e mystico-bombastic pronouncement of Tsar Alexander which has
proximately the importance of a magniloquent newspaper editorial.
We should now be in a position to understand the nature of the op-
sition aroused by the triumphant conservatism of 1815. For
veral years the Holy Alliance operated successfully under the
rection of its guiding spirit, Metternich, and actually
elled a number of revolutions. We shall presently
amine the particular incidents. But before we do so,
us agree that it was probably impossible to maintain for long that

The revival of liberalism

unanimity among the five powers necessary for success. It was t be expected that Great Britain, which had less cause than the con tinental powers to uphold an extreme conservatism, would presentl grow cold to the Holy Alliance. The first rift would encourage other until at last the whole system would violently fall apart. That is in deed what happened; but even before the collapse came, the reaction ary program had aroused against it throughout Europe those natura favorers of change, the middle classes. Admittedly their politica ideas, already summarized by us as the program of liberalism, ha suffered an eclipse in 1815. But under the rough trampling of a unrestrained conservatism, liberalism experienced a revival and soo joined battle with its foe all along the line. It is from this struggl of a resuscitated liberalism against an arrogant and triumphan conservatism that European history largely takes its color and at mosphere from 1815 to 1830 and even to 1848.

The first serious test of Metternich's policy of a Europe held i an unalterable mould by means of a conservative league of guardian came when certain Mediterranean countries were swept by a revo lution. The beginning was made by Spain. On the fal of Napoleon Spain had experienced a restoration in th person of the Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII, whon Napoleon had deposed and exiled. The sovereign showe his true face at once by committing a perjury. Although he ha sworn to maintain the constitution which had been drawn up durin his exile by the heroic defenders of the Spanish soil and which fro the year of its completion was known as the Constitution of 181 he not only set it aside as soon as he had his hand once more on th helm, but encouraged a cruel and wholesale persecution of the pa triots on the ground that they bore the terrible taint of liberalism Spain slipped back to eighteenth century conditions and was gov erned for the exclusive benefit of a corrupt and incompetent court an overbearing nobility, and a clergy which did not scruple to re vive the repressive rigors of the Inquisition. Before long signs c disaffection appeared everywhere but with particular insistence i the army. This was primarily due to the fact that the army wa being despatched to South America to subdue Spain's revolte colonies and that the enterprise, which carried the soldiers thousand of miles from home, was highly unpopular. In January, 1820, som companies about to be embarked at Cadiz raised the banner of re bellion and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Instantly garrison

The Spanish revolution of 1820

other parts of Spain took up the cry. At last Madrid itself rose nd refused to be appeased until the cringing sovereign had made is bow to the people by taking the oath to the constitution.

This Spanish success created imitators. In Naples the fall of apoleon had brought back another Bourbon, also named Ferdinand, ho bore a remarkable moral resemblance to his relative of Madrid. n receipt of the happy news from Spain the Neapolitan rmy raised the banner of revolt and with the aid of the eople forced the king to accept for his realm of Naples ne now popular Spanish constitution. Nor did this com- lete the tale of revolution. The contagion spread to Portugal. In ne absence of the royal family, which was still in Brazil, whither it ad fled on Napoleon's invasion in 1807, a provisional government as hurried into office which tried to conjure the storm by a profu- on of liberal promises.

Revolution in Naples and Portugal

Against these popular movements in the Latin south the indig- ant Metternich resolved to set in action his machinery of con- resses and intervention. But if he hoped for unanimity among ne powers for the maintenance of the conservative sys- em, he soon saw his mistake. A meeting in the Austrian own of Troppau (1820), called for the discussion of the eapolitan revolution, which from its nearness to Austria as particularly pressing, revealed that England and France had no esire to share in the proposed intervention. But as the Austrian's ounsel prevailed with Russia and Prussia, intervention was accepted principle, though it was agreed that it should not be undertaken ntil King Ferdinand himself had been heard in the case. The ongress was therefore adjourned to Laibach, another Austrian town ear the Italian border, and the mendacious Bourbon had no sooner ppeared (1821) and denounced his late liberal acts as wrung from im by force than Austria accepted the mandate of her friends and arched an army into Naples.

The Congresses of Troppau and Laibach

Unfortunately the Neapolitan liberals had not been able to call strong government into being. They lacked experience, and worst all, by falling out with the island of Sicily, which asked for home ule, were obliged to send a part of their army across the raits to maintain their authority. The mere approach the Austrian forces served to scatter the undisciplined eapolitan soldiery and break all opposition to the storation of Ferdinand as absolute king. When the patriots in

Intervention of Austria in Naples, 1821

the Italian north, more especially in Piedmont, tried, in aid of the liberal movement in the south, to raise an insurrection in the Austrian rear, Austria marched an army into Piedmont also. Thus did Metternich by the exercise of a police power, for which he found authority in his own principles and in the mandate of the eastern potentates, make Italy safe for the Holy Alliance.

This first success only stimulated the appetite of the three eastern courts; and when the court of Paris, which had been wavering, now came over to their side, they could take another important step.

Intervention of France in Spain, 1823

At a congress held at Verona (1822) they commissioned France to interfere in Spain. A French army under the duke of Angoulême, the king's nephew, crossed the Pyrenees and entered Madrid practically without opposition. The downfall of Spanish liberalism was as swift and ignominious as that of Naples and for substantially the same reasons. The body of liberals in these two backward countries was small and inexperienced and failed to attach the impoverished and ignorant masses to its program. Priest- and beggar-ridden Naples and Spain were not good soil for an immediate constitutional development. The consequence of French intervention was the restoration of an absolutism, marked, as in the case of Naples, by a cruel persecution of the liberals. The Spanish sovereign, as revolting a combination of imbecility, ignorance, and duplicity as ever disgraced a throne, now hoped that the European monarchs would extend their services to America. The Spanish colonies, embracing the vast regions of Central and South America, were in revolt, and Ferdinand argued that to put down rebellion across the seas was quite a holy work as repressing it in Spain.

The rebellion of the Spanish colonies had run a curious course, for it had begun not with a movement against the mother-country, but with the patriotic refusal to accept the usurper, Joseph Bonaparte imposed on the peninsula by his all-powerful brother.

Intervention in South America blocked by Great Britain and the United States

While Napoleon was engaged in fighting a losing war against the Spaniards, the colonies governed themselves and, acquiring a taste for independence, had, on Ferdinand's restoration, declared their unwillingness to return to the old allegiance without some provision for home rule. This the stubborn Ferdinand had rejected, with the result that the colonies, one after another, had renounced the Spanish connection. He at once levied war upon them but with such

oor success that in his despair he appealed at last to the Holy lliance. Metternich and his friends duly took up the question ius brought before their bar. However, they had hardly begun to ebate the issue when Great Britain and the United States thrust iemselves into the situation. The British foreign minister, Canning, ad recently succeeded Lord Castlereagh; and in place of the passive ttitude taken by his predecessor in regard to the Neapolitan and panish interventions, Canning resolved actively to oppose the xtension of the system of the Holy Alliance to the Spanish colonies n the purely practical ground that it would injure British trade. he insurrection of the South American colonies had proved a reat boon to Great Britain since the war against the mother-country ad delivered the South American markets into British hands. s the proposed restoration of Ferdinand VII would indubitably ring in its wake the revival of the ancient Spanish trade monopoly, anning, in order to avoid that contingency, was ready to risk a reach with the continental powers. In 1823 he boldly adopted the ourse of recognizing the independence of the South American re- ublics. In this policy he was ably seconded by the United States, rompted to be sure less by trade advantages than by pressing con- derations of national security. Through the mouth of President Ionroe the Washington government declared (Dec. 1823) in ringing ones that it would not look with equanimity on the attempt of an uropean coalition to subjugate the South American republics. The essage of President Monroe is memorable not only because it marks ie entry of the United States upon the stage of world politics but so because it formulates a policy of opposition to European enter- rise in the western hemisphere which, under the name of the Monroe octrine, has served the government of the United States as a iiding principle down to our own time.

The upshot of the energetic action of Great Britain and the United tates was that the Spanish colonies made good their independence nd that the leagued champions of reaction, to the joy of the liberal arties the world over, met their first serious check. Intervention in Portugal blocked by Great Britain

iortly after, they became aware that there were regions, ven in Europe, which they could not control. For with aples and Spain won back to absolutism, conservative gic demanded that Portugal be served the same way. ut Portugal, a coastal state, was accessible to Great Britain; and hen Canning prepared to protect it from interference by the use force, the allies saw fit to abandon the enterprise.

Reviewing the events in the Mediterranean countries, we observe that, after winning a number of important successes, the reaction headed by Metternich was obliged to relax its principles in at least two instances, owing to the veto of Great Britain supplemented by that of the United States. Such strength as the conservative program mustered resulted from union; and the defection of Great Britain under the direction of Canning showed that union, on the absurd and unhistorical basis of political immobility, could not be maintained for any considerable length of time. It is sometimes said that Canning destroyed the Holy Alliance. A more correct statement would be that Great Britain under Canning deserted the Holy Alliance, and that, weakened by defection, it was reduced to all but complete dissolution by another event to which we now turn — the Greek revolution.

The Holy Alliance goes to pieces

At the very moment when the eastern powers were formulating their policy against popular movements at the Congress of Laibach, the news reached them that the nefarious spirit of revolt had raised its head also in southeastern Europe and that the Greeks, subjected for centuries to the sultan, demanded independence. The Greek movement was the result of a nationalist revival coupled with the progressive decadence of the Ottoman Empire. The government of the sultan, exercised by venal and capricious agents called pashas, pursued the policy of squeezing every possible penny from its Christian subjects, besides treating them socially as an inferior group wholly at the mercy of their Mohammedan masters. If since their conquest in the fifteenth century the Greeks had meekly bowed their necks to the alien yoke, beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, they showed signs of an ominous unrest due to the coming among them of a new spirit. They again turned with enthusiasm to their great past; representative Greeks traveled and studied in Europe and on their return disseminated western ideas; and Greek traders, taking advantage of the long revolutionary wars which drove French commerce from the Mediterranean, prospered to a degree unknown for centuries.

The revolt of Greece, 1821

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greeks felt encouraged to prepare for a revolt against an intolerable tyranny and founded toward this end a secret political society with branches throughout the eastern Mediterranean. True, the mass of the Greeks lived in the restricted territory of ancient Hellas, that is, in

ne southern extremity of the Balkan peninsula, but scattered com-unities of their people might be encountered throughout the Balkan ea as well as in Asia Minor. North of the lower Danube lived ne mass of the Rumanians, while the heart of the eninsula was held by two Slav groups, the Bulgars and ne Serbs. As these three non-Greek peoples had been hristianized in the days of Greek ascendancy, they were embers of the Greek Orthodox Church which recognized s its head the patriarch of Constantinople. It further ontributed to Greek prestige among the non-Greek Christians nat a large part of the clergy, especially among the prelates, was f Hellenic blood and speech. This being the situation which the aders of the secret society, the *Hetairia Philiké*, had under their es, it is not strange that they should have laid their plans for an surrection against the sultan which, though under Greek guidance, ould embrace all the various Christian peoples. To their surprise ey discovered they had made a miscalculation. Their fellow Chris-ans refused to accept their leadership because the Greek control f the Slav and Rumanian Churches was almost as much resented as ne political control of the Turks. The division among the Chris-an subjects of the sultan appearing thus early in their period of wakening must under no circumstances be overlooked. Not only id it delay the process of Balkan liberation from the Turk by hin-ering united action, but after freedom had been gained it became ne source of a succession of disastrous conflicts which will engage ur attention in due time. At this point it will suffice to note that hen the Greek leaders unfurled the banner of revolt in the spring f 1821, they met with no response from either the Slavs or the Ru-anians. The movement would have been a complete fiasco, had ot the Greeks in ancient Hellas heroically resolved to go on with it, ven though they were unsupported by their fellow-Christians of ne other races. By sudden concerted action they succeeded in clear-ng almost all of the Morea (the ancient Peloponnesus) and central reece of the Ottoman enemy.

The racial and religious situation among the Balkan Christians

Thoroughly alarmed by the rebellion, the sultan made formidable forts to recover the lost territory. His armies penetrated (1822) nto the revolted districts but failed to break the resistance of the ttle people conducted chiefly in the form of guerrilla warfare. alked of their prey, the Turks committed abominable atrocities, to e followed presently on the part of the Greeks by acts of similar

fury. The tale of mutual butchery between the two races surpasse belief and becomes intelligible only when we remember that th animosity, usual between slave and master, was here blown into a unquenchable flame by wild religious fanaticism. In th year 1824 the sultan, recognizing the exhaustion of hi resources, invited the coöperation of his powerful vassal Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt; and the arrival on th political scene of this capable and unscrupulous ruler soon gav another complexion to affairs. The Egyptian mobilized an army and a navy under his son Ibrahim against the Greeks, and Ibrahim using the island of Crete as a base, gradually penetrated into th Morea. By 1826 he had made such forward strides that to th casual view the Greek cause seemed doomed. But at this poin Europe, hitherto painfully indifferent, interposed, and Greece wa saved.

The sultan fails to subdue the Greeks

As long as Metternich's influence prevailed among the power it was clear that Europe would quietly look on while the sultan waded in the blood of his Christian subjects. The *peoples* of Europe it is true, in contrast to the *governments*, made from th first no secret of their sympathy with the cause of free dom. Bands of volunteers, among whom was the famou poet, Byron,[1] gathered under the Greek banners; bu though they rendered welcome assistance, they could no hinder the triumph of the Egyptian forces. In thes desperate circumstances nothing was likely to prove o avail short of the action of one or more of the powers Great Britain was already pondering intervention, when in 182 she received welcome support from Russia. In the previous yea Tsar Alexander, who in his later days had fallen completely unde Metternich's influence, had died to be succeeded, in default of direc heirs, by his brother Nicholas I. Nicholas was as fanatical a reac tionary as Metternich, but he was also a Russian nationalist an therefore hated to see the sultan, the age-old enemy of Russia strengthen his hand by subduing the Greeks to obedience. Ap proaching the London cabinet, he discussed a modest program o intervention, which, by the admission of France, led in 1827 to th Treaty of London. Therein the three signatories agreed to put a end to the bloodshed on the basis of Greek autonomy. Here the was intervention but not of the Metternichian kind! That it wa

Great Britain, Russia, and France agree to interfere in behalf of Greece, 1827

[1] He died of fever, a martyr to the cause, in 1824 at Missolonghi.

tually to be exercised in favor of rebels gives the measure of the mpleteness of the shipwreck of the Holy Alliance.

The Treaty of London had no sooner been signed than the three wers ordered their fleets to concentrate in the Mediterranean and il to the bay of Navarino, Ibrahim's base in the Morea. They came announce the end of warfare; and when Ibrahim, itraged at the interference, failed to comply promptly ith the request to suspend hostilities, a battle ensued which the whole Turco-Egyptian fleet was shot to iftwood (Oct. 20, 1827). The roar of the guns at Nava- no announced to the world the birth of a new Christian state, but e sultan was not yet ready to concede the point. Profoundly irri- ted by the Navarino disaster, he opened a heated correspondence ith his chief enemy, the tsar, which Nicholas shrewdly utilized to sue a declaration of war. Thus the Greek rebellion culminated in nother Turco-Russian conflict, in which the Russians more signally an in any earlier instance exhibited an easy superiority. Their rces crossed successively the Danube river and the Balkan moun- ins and in 1829 reached Adrianople, only a few days' march from e Turkish capital. At this juncture the sultan's resistance col- psed; he offered to treat and in the Peace of Adrianople accepted l the Russian demands. Not only did he concede to the three wers the right to settle the affairs of Greece as they saw fit, but renewed and enlarged his former promises of home rule to Serbia d to the two Rumanian provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, be- des acknowledging the tsar as the guarantor of these concessions. he effect of the Treaty of Adrianople was nothing less than to make e tsar co-sovereign with the sultan over considerable parts of his alkan dominions.

The battle of Navarino (1827) and the Turco-Russian war of 1828–29

After prolonged discussions touching the settlement of Greece the ree powers agreed at length on these points: (1) that Greece was be not merely autonomous under the sultan but an entirely inde- ndent kingdom; (2) that its northern boundary against e Ottoman Empire was to be ungenerously drawn from rta to Volo, thus leaving large numbers of Greeks outside the ngdom; and (3) that the crown of the kingdom was to be given to young Bavarian prince, Otto by name. It was not till 1832 that ese conclusions were finally arrived at. The long delay was due the fact that shortly after the Peace of Adrianople Europe was aken by a new revolution in the old center of disturbance, France.

The Greek settlement

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CHAPTER XXI

THE BOURBON RESTORATION IN FRANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF 1830

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and again in 1815, was e work of the victorious allies, for the old royal family was as od as forgotten in France and aroused no enthusiasm among the ople. Its position, therefore, was precarious and its ecess would depend on the wisdom with which it used opportunity. Louis XVIII, the most moderate and elligent member of his family, made a not unpromising beginning en he published a constitution (*la charte constitutionelle*), which ognized the institutions of Napoleon — his administration, his al system, his church, his army, and even his nobility — and nceded to the people a share in legislation by two houses, an ap- nted chamber of Peers and an elected chamber of Deputies. The tem bore a certain resemblance to that of England, except that ultimate control remained vested with the king, inasmuch as the nisters were responsible to him and not to the chambers. The nstitution made a strong bid for middle class support by recogniz- that those objects of eighteenth century criticism, the feudal vileges and the absolute monarchy, had departed never to return. Having wisely inaugurated a policy of conciliation, the king next ned to the task of creating confidence and allaying suspicion. t this was difficult in view of the fact that he was surrounded at urt by the *émigrés*, who had returned with the fall of poleon and fatuously imagined they had brought the times back with them in their traveling-kits. At their head was count of Artois, the king's fanatic brother, who in twenty-five rs of exile had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. These rtly gentlemen thought chiefly of revenge and repression. Self- ly animated with the desire to recover their confiscated estates l to restore the Church to power, they compassed, after a few nemeral triumphs, their own ruin and that of the royal family. eir party policy — they were known as ultra-royalists — was not,

Louis XVIII grants a constitution

The ultra-royalists

at least for the present, to overthrow the constitution, but to insis on a sharp control of the press and to insure themselves a majorit in the lower chamber by manipulating the elections. This wa relatively easy because, the franchise being dependent on a hig property qualification, there were roughly only 100,000 citizens en titled to vote. It is on account of this limitation of the suffrag that the monarchy rested in last analysis on the small body of th well-to-do.

Louis XVIII, with laudable common-sense, at first resisted th clamor of the ultras and leaned upon the constitutionalists. How ever, he was too weak to maintain his position in the face of con tinued pressure. The assassination in 1820 of his nephe and ultimate heir, the duke of Berri, shook him pro foundly. Although the murder was the deed of a fanatic who acted only on his own prompting, the courtiers de clared that the real responsibility rested with the liberal ministry which was accordingly replaced with a ministry of ultras. Thus a last the conservatives had triumphed, and controlling the king, th ministry, and the chambers, muzzled the press, passed restrictiv electoral laws, and identified France with the Holy Alliance b accepting in 1822 the mandate to suppress the Spanish revolution With the ultras floating on the tide of power Louis XVIII die (1824). He was succeeded by the count of Artois, under the titl Charles X. His accession added the finishing touch to the triumph of the forces of reaction.

Louis, at first liberal, yields to the ultras

Events now rapidly traveled toward the inevitable crisis. B passing an act which distributed one billion francs among the an cient nobility as an indemnity for their estates confiscated durin the Revolution and by other measures of like tenor, th ministry deeply offended the bourgeoisie, who made u the bulk of the voters, and in the election of 1827 suffere a signal defeat. Though Charles X now changed hi ministers, he clung with such stubborn infatuation to his reactionar policy that the chamber of Deputies was more and more moved t withdraw its support. With the courage of the self-righteous h resolved to break the resistance of his legislature by an illegal act, so-called *coup d'état*. On July 26, 1830, he issued four ordinances b which, in the hope of getting a docile chamber, he arbitrarily change the laws governing the elections and the press.

Charles X carries out a *coup d'état*

The four ordinances sounded a challenge which was immediatel

ken up by bands of republican workmen and students. Parading e streets with loud cheers for the constitution, they presently sed the ominous cry, "Down with the Bourbons!" The king nself was at St. Cloud, just outside the capital, and the v thousand troops in Paris were not adequate to keep e insurgents in hand. Occasional conflicts soon led to pitched battle, in which the soldiers, outnumbered and fighting thout enthusiasm, yielded ground until their commander ordered em to evacuate the capital. On the night of July 29th, the people, mful, after three days of fighting, of the old republican spirit, ted from their bloody and triumphant work.

The revolution of July 1830

In spite of Charles's misrule there was a large monarchical party liberal tendency still in France, and this party now stepped forrd to save the country from anarchy. In contrast to the republan workmen who had done the street-fighting, its embers were recruited from the bourgeoisie. In a thering of leaders it was decided that what France nted was a genuinely constitutional monarchy and at the person to secure it was Louis Philip, duke of Orleans. The ke was head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon and d a revolutionary record, for he had served for a time (1792–1793) a volunteer in the republican army. This, and the fact that his her was the unsavory Egalité of Jacobin fame, had dug an unidgeable chasm between him and the elder branch of his house. the invitation of the moderates he left his country-place to come Paris and by an adroit conciliation of the republicans, who had cepted the aged Lafayette as leader, took the reins into his hands, actically without opposition. The first business of the improed government would in all likelihood be a struggle with Charles X. t the frightened king agreeably disappointed expectations. In a of despondency he resigned in favor of his little grandson, son of e murdered duke of Berri, and fled to England; but the chamber Deputies chose to take no further note of his acts and, on gust 7th, proceeded to proclaim Louis Philip king of the French. The substitution of the younger for the older branch of the house Bourbon, which at first blush seems to measure the whole achievent of the so-called July revolution, does not fully express the ange which came over France in 1830. In the first place, although e old constitution remained in force, it was liberalized somewhat a slight revision and, more particularly, by the passing of a law

The middle class turns to Louis Philip

which sufficiently lowered the property qualification for the franchi to bring about a doubling of the number of electors; and, secon the accession of Louis Philip signified nothing less than a comple change of system. Charles X represented legitimacy, wa identified with the *émigrés* and the Church, and rule by grace of God. Louis Philip, a revolutionary an illegitimate sovereign, was cursed and avoided by the convince royalists, and in order to secure his throne had to lean upon th monarchical middle class. For this reason the July monarchy is ofte called the reign of the bourgeoisie and Louis Philip himself the king the middle class (*roi-bourgeois*). Caricatures habitually represente him as a thickset, comfortable grocer, armed with a huge umbrell The final touch to this change of system was communicated by th replacement of the lily banner of the Bourbons with the famou tricolor of the Revolution.

Results of the revolution

Meanwhile the report of the revolution in Paris had travele abroad, producing joy among the progressive groups and consterna tion among the governments. Since the work of the reaction had bee so easily undone in France, there was good reason to thin that the national and liberal sentiment, outraged by th Congress of Vienna and persecuted by the mean-spirite police-control of Metternich and Tsar Alexander, might assert itse with success in other regions of Europe. France, since the Revolutio the acknowledged leader of progressive opinion, had given a signa to which her imitators and admirers everywhere joyfully responde

Effect of the revolution on Europe

The first people to be seized with the French infection were th Belgians. The reader will remember that by the Congress of Vienn the old Austrian Netherlands had been annexed to Holland in orde to create a strong state on the French border. But th union was unfortunate, for the Belgians felt that the were not admitted to complete equality by the Dutch while the fact that one people was Protestant and the other Catholi kept up a constant irritation, very cleverly fostered by the Belgia clergy. Besides, there was the question of race; while one-half of th Belgians were Flemings and, as a Germanic people, closely allied t the Dutch, the other half were Walloons, that is, Celts who used th French language. Lastly, Flemings and Walloons alike were imbue with French civilization and looked rather toward Paris for inte lectual guidance than toward The Hague.

The causes of Belgian discontent

In August, 1830, a revolt, begun in Brussels, spread so rapidl

at the Dutch army had to abandon the whole country with the ception of a few fortresses. King William, who had at first treated e Belgian national movement with contempt, now ffered concessions, but it was too late. Nothing short complete independence would satisfy the revolution- ts, and since the Dutch king resisted this demand, war emed to be unavoidable.

The Belgian revolt, August, 1830

When a conference of the powers met at London to deliberate the issue it was seen that the Holy Alliance was dead, for the nference actually decided to yield to the will of the Belgian people nd sever their lot from the Dutch. The truculent King Villiam was cowed into acquiescence and, not without any difficulties and delays, a Belgian assembly declared elgium a constitutional monarchy and elected a small erman prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, king. The boundary of e new realm caused a prolonged dispute with the offended king the Netherlands, but this matter, too, was finally disposed of, nd Belgium, a new state under a new dynasty, was added to the aternity of nations.

Europe interferes in behalf of the Belgians

In central Europe, in Italy and Germany, the revolution was not ceived with such enthusiasm as might be expected, when we nsider that in these countries the progressive groups had been lked of their dearest hopes by the treaties of 1815. In Italy there was no outbreak outside the papal states, here the government, exclusively in the hands of the pe and his clergy, was about as unprogressive as that of Turkey. course the pope called in the Austrians, who quickly extinguished e revolutionary fire. The fact was that Italy, in consequence of e defeat of its liberal hopes in 1821 and its experience of Austrian nnipotence, was unwilling for the present to risk an uprising. The tal result of the year 1830 for the peninsula was an increased sense enslavement to Austria and an increased hatred of the master.

The revolution of 1830 in Italy

In Germany political activity had been reduced to very meager oportions between 1815 and 1830. The Bund, as its projectors anned, was treated as a nonentity by the thirty-eight member ates and soon became a general laughing-stock. The only occasion which it showed signs of life was when, at the instance of etternich, it adopted severe police measures to bridle the expres- n of liberal opinion in the press and universities and to hunt the oradic democrats to their holes (Carlsbad decrees, 1819). In the

middle-sized states of South Germany — Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden — constitutions were granted by the rulers; and here all that Germany could show in the nature of popular political activity during this period took refuge. The two great states, Austria and Prussia, and almost all of the small North German states, were, in respect of popular participation in politics, as dead as extinct volcanoes. Throughout this area absolutism flourished unchecked. In Austria the reaction presented to view no single redeeming feature; Metternich's hand seemed to have paralyzed the national energies. In Prussia the case was somewhat different. The king had indeed not fulfilled his promise to his people, given at the height of the struggle with Napoleon, to create a representative government, but he offered some compensation for this omission by a rigidly honest administration and a progressive economic policy. A really notable achievement was the German Customs-Union, called *Zollverein*. Inaugurated by Berlin in 1818 and completed after patient efforts continued through a generation, it gathered around Prussia, under a uniform tariff system, all the German states except Austria. The student can not fail to see that by unifying Germany economically the Zollverein promoted prosperity, strengthened the middle classes, and pointed the way to German political consolidation under that same Prussian guidance which had proved effective in the economic field.

Germany during the dominance of Metternich

Such was the general situation — except for the fact that the Zollverein was as yet in an early, experimental stage — when the news of the revolution in Paris reached Germany. For a revolutionary movement to be really significant it would have to be initiated in the great states, Austria and Prussia; but as these remained quiet, the outbreaks in Germany never acquired more than a local character. In a number of the absolute states of North Germany — Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover — there were risings which were quickly quelled by the grant of a restricted form of representative government. Phlegmatic Germany, unused to the exercise of political rights, had not acquired the revolutionary habit, and the sole result of the action of 1830 was the establishment of constitutionalism in some of the lesser states. In Austria and Prussia the absolute system seemed to rest on granite, though it was as clear as daylight that the rise of a powerful liberal opinion could not be long delayed.

The revolution of 1830 in Germany

It deserves special notice that the German movement of 1830 s not only a scattered and local disturbance but also exclusively ncerned with liberal aims. No cry was raised for a more effective tional organization and no hand was lifted against the ble and despised Bund. In the light of the unimportant ppenings of 1830 we are forced to the conclusion that ile the liberal movement in Germany was more de- loped than the national one, both alike, hardly yet out their swaddling clothes, awaited the development of a more werful middle class.

The German movement of 1830 liberal, not national

If the year 1830 saw hardly more than storm-signals in Germany, ere was a fierce tempest of the east of her, in Poland. We have n that at the Congress of Vienna the Tsar Alexander, to whom d been assigned the grand-duchy of Warsaw, converted into the kingdom of Poland with himself as king. At same time he gave it a constitution, by which it came a separate entity from Russia with a Polish ad- nistration and army and with a Polish diet enjoying a consultative ce in internal affairs. That this constitution represented an act unusual liberality for the times can not be denied, but it did not isfy the Poles. They chafed under the remaining restrictions on ir independence and could not forget the time when the parts re reversed, and they, and not the Russians and their tsar, ruled tern Europe.

Alexander creates the kingdom of Poland

The discontent was kept under control as long as Alexander, the er of the constitution, lived; but Nicholas I had no sooner ceeded his brother (1825) than the signs of conflict multiplied. e excitement spread through Europe by the July olution applied the torch to the accumulated dis- tent, and in November, 1830, the capital, Warsaw, e in insurrection. The country took the cue from metropolis; the few Russian troops in Poland retired h all possible speed; and not without surprise at the ease of the ievement, the Poles discovered that they were free under a revo- ionary government.

The Poles rise in revolt, November, 1830

Plainly the success of the movement would depend on united, elligent action. But that was hard to obtain, owing to the political xperience of the leaders and to the lamentable social divisions erited from the past. For one thing the great nobles, who as ners of vast estates were the most powerful group in the country,

found it difficult to agree with the democratic element in the city o Warsaw which was largely responsible for the revolution; and second the bulk of the nation were agricultural laborers in a condition little above that of brutes. Serfs for centuries, they had indeed been declared free by Napoleon (1807); but as nothing was done to convert them into peasant-proprietors they lived from hand to mouth and were, at least in a material sense no better off than before. Nevertheless the revolutionary government, aided by the general enthusiasm, managed to create a national army, which with next to no training and a very deficient equipment sustained a most honorable combat when in the spring of 1831 Tsar Nicholas launched his Russian legions against it. However, mere valor was of no avail; at Ostrolenka (May, 1831) the Russians overwhelmed the Poles with their numbers, and a few months later (September) entered Warsaw in triumph. Thus the seal of fate seemed to be set upon the *finis Poloniæ* pronounced in the previous century.

Reasons for the Polish failure

When the Russian autocrat again took hold, it was with the grim resolve to make every possible provision against another Polish revolution. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with because he and his predecessor had proved themselves too generous. He would not err in that way any more. He began by abrogating Alexander's constitution not without calling attention to the fact that the Poles had preceded him in abrogating it by rising in revolution. Then he merged the ex-kingdom into Russia as a Russian province and carried through a succession of measures which aimed to break the rebellious spirit of the Poles: a Russian army of occupation was saddled on the country; Russian was made the official language; the press was put under strict supervision; and most of the Polish educational institutions were closed. Poland fell into complete eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia, but as long as the blood coursed in their veins the people were determined to cling to their national memories.

Poland crushed by the Russian autocracy

Reviewing the revolution of 1830 throughout Europe, we may assert that though its fruits, outside of France and Belgium, were small, a new era was struggling into being. The liberal platform as yet indubitably monarchical but affirming the right of every people to a share in the political direction of the state, had called general attention to itself and could never again be treated as a negligible item. Nationalism too, always more or less allied with liberalism, had asserted itself

Results of the revolution of 1830

uccessfully in Belgium, unsuccessfully in Poland. Through the ovements of 1830 the Holy Alliance received its last blow and ex-ired; and although Metternich and other reactionaries might hope o revive it and actually never ceased trying, their effort was fore-oomed to failure because a new day which would not be denied had awned.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIP (1830–1848) AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

We have seen that the consequence of the July revolution was tha Charles X was obliged to vacate the throne of France in favor o his relative Louis Philip, who owed his elevation to the favor an resolution of the bourgeoisie. He thus represented no the united nation but one of its social divisions, and thi identification with a limited group largely determined th character of his reign. Friends and enemies alike referre to him jocosely as the king of the bourgeoisie (*roi-bour geois*); and the phrase has a double significance since it defines no only his political status but also to a certain extent his personality Abandoning the traditional pomp of royalty, he exhibited an eas fellowship with men of all classes, lived simply in the midst of hi numerous family, and, like his bourgeois subjects generally, wa shrewd, thrifty, and obstinate.

King Louis Philip identified with the middle class

The July monarchy never enjoyed a day of complete and unques tioned security. In the legitimists and the republicans it had fron the start two uncompromising political opponents. The legitimists devoted to the older Bourbon branch, worked at all time against Louis Philip, but apart from a single outbreak i that revolutionary home of troubles, the Vendée, wer content to bide their time. In the Vendée, the duchess of Berri mother of the young Bourbon claimant, whom legitimists calle Henry V, courageously headed a movement (1832) which, thoug appealing to the imagination of the royalists, by its failure to arous the masses proved that legitimism was practically without popula support. Far more serious was the enmity of the republicans. Th leaders were stubborn enthusiasts, often of the middle class, who drev their inspiration from the doctrines of the Revolution; and the fol lowers were the workingmen of Paris, Lyons, and other city centers Prepared to take risks for the cause in which they believed, republi

Legitimists and republicans

an groups appealed in 1832 and again in 1834 to arms only to be uppressed with bloody consequences. After the second rising the overnment passed a series of repressive acts (the September laws, 835), which by special courts for the trial of offenses against the curity of the state made republicanism practically a felony, and hich by an extraordinarily severe censorship drove all republican gitation underground.

But far more important than all the surface agitations of politics nd indeed largely explanatory of them was a social and economic heaval inaugurated in Louis Philip's reign. The upheaval has been dinarily called the Industrial Revolution. As it will be given later a systematic treatment, it will here suffice to indicate some of its leading aspects. We have already noted [1] that the Industrial Revolution was an offspring of science and that its powerful emblem was the machine.

The Industrial Revolution and the origin of socialism

ouis Philip's reign saw the dawn of the modern machine age which gnified, in the French as in every other case, the familiar changes sociated with factories and tenements and the innumerable prob-ms born of the conflict of capital and labor. Its most immediate fect was to strengthen still further the position of the middle classes nce, as the groups endowed with capital, they became the powerful asters of the machines. But the workingmen, too, were strength-ed, though at first only in numbers. Since the law forbade them to rm trade unions for the purpose of protecting their economic in-rests, and since it also prohibited their agitating politically through republican organization, they were wholly at the mercy of their em-oyers. Greatly exasperated by their bondage, they inclined a will-g ear to a new type of radical thinker who taught that as long as e bourgeoisie owned the means of production the existing injustice ould inevitably continue; the only effective cure, according to the w gospel, was for the working people to overthrow the régime of ivate capital and to possess themselves of the machines and fac-ries. A journalist, Louis Blanc, was the first to preach in clear rms this doctrine, to which came to be attached the name of social-n. The striking feature of Blanc's program was the proposal that given body of workmen apply to the state for a loan of capital in der to undertake the coöperative management of a factory under e name of a national workshop. While Blanc and his followers re sincere republicans, their position, envisaging a radical economic

[1] See Ch. XVIII.

upheaval, went far beyond the purely political demands of ordinary republicanism. This difference of purpose between republicans and socialists should be carefully noted, as under Louis Philip a deceptive impression of republican and socialist unity was created because both happened to stand shoulder to shoulder against the common oppressor.

The division of the bourgeoisie into conservatives and progressives

Though the socialist development is interesting in itself and potentially significant, we must not credit it with an important role in the conscious political life of France under Louis Philip. Under the prevailing constitution politics was the exclusive preserve of the middle class and, apart from occasional flurries caused by legitimists and republicans, only the bourgeoisie and their affairs held the stage. Had this middle group remained closely united, it might have continued its rule almost indefinitely. But it fell apart over an issue as irrepressible as life itself. The bourgeois control of the state came to a head in the chamber of Deputies, where one political party took the usual conservative position that the existing system was so entirely satisfactory that it required no change at all, while a minority party scouted this immobility and advocated a moderate program of reform. What the reformers particularly urged was the lowering of the franchise requirement with a view to enlarging the body of the electors. After 1840 the famous historian Thiers assumed the leadership of the progressive minority, while the equally famous historian Guizot served as the head of the conservatives. King Louis Philip leaned strongly toward the conservatives, indeed had so consistently leaned toward them from the first day of his reign that with unimportant intermissions they may be said to have held the power so long as the Orleanist rule lasted. In 1840 the king called Guizot to the ministry, and Guizot steadily maintained himself in office with the support of a majority among the deputies. To be sure he employed highly questionable means to hold his followers together since he rewarded party fidelity with distributions from the vast patronage at his disposal. Though, with a majority behind him, his rule was constitutionally impeccable, it was profoundly corrupt; and this situation led the minority under Thiers to insist with greater and greater vehemence that the only way to break the iron ring of the conservatives was to enlarge the electorate to such an extent as to make bribery by a system of individual favors entirely impracticable.

The method which Thiers chose to carry his agitation for electoral eform among the people was a series of banquets at which the im- obility and corruption of the government were denounced by ery speakers. During the year 1847 these banquets ere in progress throughout the country; and one, set for aris on February 22, 1848, was planned to be a particu- rly impressive occasion to be inaugurated with a public procession. cenling danger, the government forbade the meeting, but crowds athered nevertheless and began to demonstrate noisily to show their ispleasure. The next day the rioters resumed their activity, calling insistently for reform that the king yielded and dismissed the npopular Guizot. This met the wishes of Thiers who hoped to ep into Guizot's shoes; but the passion of the populace having been roused, the agitation mounted steadily like a flood until on February 4th it burst all bounds. The morning of that day began with an ssault upon the district of the Tuileries by the republican masses, hich exhibited such savage determination that the timid king abdi- ated the throne in favor of his little grandson. While the aged overeign with his queen sought safety in ignominious flight, his aughter-in-law, the duchess of Orleans, led her young son, the ount of Paris, to the chamber of Deputies and had him proclaimed ing. But it was already too late to save the Orleanist dynasty. he republican multitude invaded the hall, ignored the deputies, nd set up a Provisional Government. Owing to the fact that the ocialists had helped in the street-fighting and were in possession of ertain strategic buildings, some of their leaders, including Louis lanc, were absorbed into the government; and the two united ctions began their rule by announcing to the world that France as henceforth a republic.

The February revolution

The harmony between the two groups lasted long enough for the rovisional Government to proclaim universal male suffrage and omplete freedom of the press. But it was subjected to a great rain as soon as the socialist minority developed its ew that the political revolution was merely a beginning be followed as promptly as possible by a sweeping conomic upheaval. To keep the government intact compromise was arrived at to the effect first, that the ate should recognize "the right to work," and second, that in lfilment of this pledge, which meant that the government agreed to ovide labor for every applicant, it should accept Louis Blanc's

The struggle between republicans and socialists

socialist prescription, the national workshops. The two declaration represented the limit of the concessions which the republicans were prepared to make to their socialist colleagues. And even these were quickly jeopardized. For when early in May the National Assembly elected to give France a new constitution, met in the capital and took over the powers of the Provisional Government, it was at once seen that it would not tolerate even the mildest socialist experiments. What had happened was that the French people, called to the polls to choose between republicans and socialists, had shown their horror of the unfamiliar tenets of the new school by returning an overwhelming republican majority. Alarmed at this situation, the socialists rose in rebellion (May 15th), on the suppression of which the angered republicans voted to abolish the national workshops. Thereupon in order to save their one valuable concession, the socialists, rendered desperate, made a second attempt to overthrow the Assembly which was only defeated after four days of the bloodiest fighting Paris had ever seen (June 23–26, 1848). Several thousand men were killed defending the barricades they had erected, and other thousands, captured by the victorious soldiers, were either shot or exiled. By this disastrous outcome the socialist party was eliminated for many a day from the political situation.

The national workshops

A great deal of interest has always attached to the national workshops because they represent the first experiment with a frank socialist label made by the government of any European state. But the interest is spurious since the national workshops, as actually instituted, were socialist only in name. Accepted by the republicans against their conviction and under street pressure, the national workshops plan was put into the hands of an anti-socialist management for the express purpose of sabotaging it. Instead of specially trained and reliable workmen being joined in a coöperative enterprise supported by capital advanced from state funds — the program of Louis Blanc — the republican enemies charged with the execution of the plan indiscriminately sent all men applying at the bureau of labor to work with pick and shovel at the fortifications of Paris. This was a not unfamiliar method in France and elsewhere of meeting the unemployment situation and may be defended on the ground that the public disturbances had closed the factories and thrown thousands of men out of work. However, it was very costly to the national purse as the unemployed grew from week to week until their number threatened to become fantastic

That the anti-socialist members of the Assembly had no stomach or this type of poor relief is intelligible in view of the fact that they would have to meet the expenditure with increased taxes. That they nally resolved to save the budget by ruthlessly suppressing a very aphazard system of unemployment doles, falsely called national orkshops, is also intelligible. But when the socialists for their art then and afterwards contended that their scheme had never een tested, they were undoubtedly supported by the facts. So ar as the much vaunted experiment of 1848 was concerned, no ght whatever was shed on the workableness of the national work-nops proposal.

A safe inference from the savage struggle of the spring of 1848 as that France, although a republic, was not ready to indulge in azardous experiments. With the socialists out of the way the ne republican majority of the Assembly proceeded to ulfil its mission of giving France a constitution. In- sting on the democratic principle that "all public owers emanate from the people," it drew up a document hich vested the legislative power in a single assembly of 750 mem-ers elected by universal suffrage. The executive power was con-rred on a president elected for four years. As to the manner of ne president's election, it was agreed after much discussion, that he, oo, was to be chosen directly by the people. In order to inaugurate ne new system the election was ordered for December 10, 1848, nd to the surprise of all unacquainted with the heart of the French eople their choice fell, not upon General Cavaignac, the leader of ne republicans and the hero of the battles of June, but upon Louis apoleon.

The republican constitution of 1848

That this prince should ever be called to the head of the nation y popular vote could hardly have suggested itself to the most rophetic spirit. He was the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, king f Holland, and after the death of Napoleon's only son at ienna (1832) was regarded as chief of the house of Bona- arte. As such he felt it his duty to conspire for his dy- asty and made two attempts, in ludicrous imitation of Napoleon's eturn from Elba, which were greeted by Europe with a burst of omeric laughter. In 1836 he suddenly appeared in Strasburg, but spite of his uncle's hat, sword, and boots, donned for the occasion, as only stared at by the amused populace and promptly marched f to prison. Louis Philip felt so secure that he freed the theatrical

Career of the new president

hero without more ado. Undaunted, the young man made in 184 another attempt to rouse France by crossing from England to Bou logne; but the boat conveying him and a few helpmates capsized and wet and dripping he was fished out of the channel by the ubic uitous police. Punished for this second escapade with imprisonmer for life, he effected his escape after a number of years and again too up his residence in England. On the proclamation of the republic h became a candidate for the Assembly and easily won the electior Plainly he was outliving the ridicule he had aroused and by h clever trading upon the magic name Napoleon was rallying about hir all those classes, especially the peasants, who clung to the tradition of the empire. When some months later his compatriots elected hir president, they were thinking less of him, of whom they knew nothing than of the dead warrior, whose brilliant victories his name recalled Undeniably, however, the election to the presidency of a prince, wh had never let an opportunity pass to declare himself heir to the Frenc throne, was a clear indication that republicanism as a principle wa not yet deeply anchored in the national conscience. Under thes circumstances it might well be that the republic would prove but passing phase.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY

If the revolution of 1830 produced no great stir in central Europe, was, as we have seen, because the liberal and national sentiments d not yet become powerful and, more fundamentally still, because middle classes, the historic carriers of these sentiments, re insufficiently developed to make successful headway ainst the conservative interests in control of the govern- nt. Hence in the period after 1830 the reaction re- ined in the saddle throughout Germany, Austria, and ly. Still the areas of popular unrest continued to ltiply, while the growing well-being and self-assertion of the siness and professional groups was a certain indication that the ys of an uncompromising conservatism were numbered. To people the alert state of mind of the central European liberals the Feb- ry revolution at Paris came as a challenge to action. Amidst a neral outburst of jubilation they rose here, there, and everywhere, claring for popular government and a national state. While it is deniable that France had once more asserted the liberal leadership Europe by setting an example which the other countries imitated, remains a fact that by 1848 the liberal movement had developed ficiently in Germany, Austria, and Italy to make an impression its own inherent vigor.

Central Europe ready in 1848 for a liberal and national upheaval

t is one of the ironical touches so frequent in history that Metter- h's own capital, the chief shrine of the spirit of reaction, was ong the first to voice the new freedom. On March 13, 1848, nna rose and drove the aging prince, who since 1815 l been the not undistinguished mouthpiece of an out- rn system, from the chancellery of the Austrian empire and n the capital. With Metternich's ignominious flight the whole vernment collapsed without more ado: absolutism was renounced, l the feeble Emperor Ferdinand, frightened by the tumult in the eets, speedily promised a constitution, a parliament, freedom of

Revolution at Vienna

the press, and whatever else the rioters exacted. With the suddenness of melodrama a new era seemed to have dawned upon the petrified realm of the Hapsburgs.

The news of the fall of Metternich caused exultation throughout Germany, on which his hand had rested with no less heaviness than on Austria. In many of the small capitals riots broke out which were placated by liberal concessions; and overshadowing these disturbances, on March 18th Berlin followed the example of Vienna and rose to protest against the autocratic system. In view of Prussia's failure to respond to the revolution of 1830 this action may seem somewhat surprising. But the last decade had been preparing changes. The old king, Frederick William III, who had endeared himself to his people because of his connection with the War of Liberation against Napoleon, had died in 1840. His successor was his son, Frederick William IV, and the new generation surrounding his throne let it be known in no uncertain tones that, while it approved of the efficient administration maintained by the state, it did not intend to let itself be excluded any longer from a share in legislation. In spite of his firm belief in Divine Right, the new king had, as early as 1847, yielded so far to public opinion as to summon to Berlin the representatives of the several provincial estates. This assembly, called the United Diet, at once assumed the airs of a Prussian national parliament; and although it did not accomplish anything, the fact that the king had been obliged to call it together proves that the revolution of 1848 was more than a sudden popular caprice. As a result of the March days, which did not pass without the spilling of blood, the intimidated king surrendered completely to the people. Not only did he, by withdrawing his troops from the city, hand Berlin over to the agitators, but he promised to call an elected parliament and, in addition, to promote to the best of his ability the cause of German unity.

Revolution at Berlin

Thus was all Germany in the course of a few days won over to a thorough-going constitutionalism. But there was also another aspect to the stirring movement: it was animated by a fiery nationalism. The middle class leaders of the revolution were convinced that the time had come to scrap the ludicrous confederation of 1815, the Bund, in order to erect upon its ruins a really effective German union. Resolved to strike while the iron was hot, they met informally in March and quickly came to the conclusion to issue a call for a general German

The revolution is national as well as liberal

arliament to be elected by universal manhood suffrage and to be ndowed with full authority to create a strong federal government. o this bold invitation the German people responded with an exaordinary and apparently united enthusiasm.

When the German parliament, elected on these terms, assembled May, 1848, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, it was found to be by very moral and intellectual standard a very distinguished body of en. But all their learning and high principles did not rve to cancel one fatal defect inherent in their position: long as they had at their disposal neither an administation nor an army, that is, so long as they possessed one of the realities of power, their status hardly differed om that of a debating society. In the early days of the revolunary triumph this weakness might be offset by an irresistible ublic opinion; but if opinion sagged, as it regularly does since it an not be forever maintained at high tension, and if the state overnments, panic-stricken by the first glimpse of the revolutionary rment, recovered breath and courage — what then? The Bund, vept off the stage by the national hurricane, had been established xpressly to guarantee the sovereignty of the thirty-eight member ates, which would certainly yield their dearest possession only nder duress. Austria and Prussia, in particular, proud of their osition as great powers, could hardly be expected without some ow of resistance to recognize as their superior the democratic and evolutionary body sitting at Frankfort. Sooner or later Austria Prussia or both together would follow an independent policy, nd the clash, testing the question of supremacy, would be at and.

Strength and weakness of the German parliament

The clash came over the Schleswig-Holstein complication. This, ne of the most confused questions of nineteenth century history, aunted the European chancelleries like a nightmare for more than generation. But apart from its enormous legal difficulties it is quite simple since it is a characteristic issue the new nationalist type. The united duchies of chleswig and Holstein occupied the southern half of the eninsula of Jutland and were inhabited, except for the northern rt of Schleswig, which is Danish, by a German population. By n accident of inheritance the king of Denmark was also duke of chleswig and Holstein, but the two duchies were otherwise indeendent, having their own laws and administration. This independ-

The Schleswig-Holstein difficulty

ence of Denmark the two duchies, because they were preponder antly German, were firmly resolved to preserve. Toward the middl of the century an issue dawned which put the Germans on thei guard. The royal house of Denmark, about to die out in the mal line, was faced by a constitutional difficulty. By the law of Denmar the crown would descend to a female line, while by the Schleswig Holstein law, at least as interpreted by the German population, th crown of the united duchies would pass to the nearest male relative This prospect of an early divorce between Denmark and the duchie rejoiced the Germans as much as it grieved the Danes, and in 184 the king of Denmark took the weighty step of issuing a publi declaration to the effect that, come what may, he would see to i that the ancient union was maintained. This declaration the Ger man population regarded as a breach of law and custom; they wer thrown into a revolutionary mood and, taking advantage of th general agitation of 1848, they rose in revolt, proclaimed Schleswig Holstein independent of Denmark, and appealed to the Germa parliament at Frankfort for support.

The German parliament at once responded with fair words, bu when it came to deeds found itself hampered by the fact that it ha neither an army nor other resources at its disposal. In consequenc it was obliged to appeal to Prussia, which bordered o the duchies, to go to the aid of the rebels. Enterin Schleswig-Holstein, the Prussians drove out the Danes but the latter retaliated by seizing the Prussian merchan vessels in the Baltic. This fact, coupled with the inter ference in behalf of Denmark of Russia and Great Britain induced King Frederick William, who had only wit reluctance obeyed the German parliament, to sign a truce wit Denmark (August 26th). By its terms he practically redelivere the duchies into the hands of the Danes. Thereupon the legislator at Frankfort mounted their high horses, branded Frederick Willia as a traitor, and declared the truce null and void. On sober secon thought, however, they recognized that without an army they coul not coerce Prussia and, reversing themselves, endorsed all tha Prussia had done. The incident was highly instructive as to th distribution of effective power between Prussia and the Germa parliament. Greatly humiliated the members turned to the con stitutional labors for which they had been summoned, resolved t bring them to a conclusion before the revolutionary tide which ha

The German parliament bows to Prussia in the matter of the Danish war

ept them to power had completely ebbed. At this task we shall ve them while we look into the affairs of Austria and Italy.

The Austrian Empire was as strange a patchwork of states and oples as has ever been pieced together by fortune and policy. rmans in Austria proper, Hungarians along the middle Danube, lians in the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia annexed in 1815, and at least six different groups of Slavs chiefly in the northern and southern areas were expected to live together as brothers in a common household. Surprising as it may seem, it is undeniable that the experiment proved rly successful so long as the emperor at Vienna exercised an unpaired absolute power and the national sentiments of the component peoples remained in abeyance. But as soon as the March volution had undermined the emperor's autocracy at the central at, the nationalist passion of the various peoples was fanned into me and the whole Hapsburg structure threatened to fly apart th violent centrifugal action. In the course of a few weeks the alians at Milan and Venice, the respective capitals of Lombardy d Venetia, drove out the Austrian garrisons and declared for dependence; the Hungarians, ignoring Vienna, set up their own vernment; and while the Slavs remained relatively quiescent, me of them, notably the Czechs of Bohemia, inaugurated measures oking, if not toward complete sovereignty, at least toward home le. To the casual observer the proud Austrian Empire seemed to ve reached its end. Let us follow these insurrections in their ading centers.

Austria falls into its component parts

In Italy the fall of Metternich was no sooner reported than the ople of Lombardy and Venetia, long restive under his lash, rose, l upon the troops, and declared for independence. The Austrian my, yielding to the sudden pressure, retired in good order under its general, Radetzky, to a chain of impregble fortifications prepared for just such an occasion at e foot of the Alps and known as the Quadrilateral. A ovisional Government at Milan appealed to all Italy for help and pecially to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia-Piedmont, the most werful of the Italian princes and the only one devoted to the neral cause. As for the moment the national movement was esistible even the other rulers, such as the king of the Two Sicilies, e grand-duke of Tuscany, and the pope, who traditionally served ly their local interests, agreed to send contingents to fight side

The Italian patriots turn upon Austria

by side with the Sardinians for the liberation of the northern provinces. It was Italy's first great national war; its purpose the expulsion of the foreigner.

In this heroic enterprise, originating in the spontaneous action of the people, there was one weakness which no enthusiasm could overcome. Among the motley and undisciplined Italian forces the Sardinian army was the only efficient body and its numbers were too small to resist the Austrian legions. When on July 25th the decisive clash came at Custozza, within the Quadrilateral, whither the king of Sardinia had led his army in order to dislodge the Austrians, the veteran General Radetzky inflicted a complete defeat on the Italians, reconquered Lombardy, and obliged Charles Albert, in order to save Piedmont from invasion, to sue for a truce. When at the expiration of the truce the war was renewed, the Austrians won another great victory at Novara (March, 1849), and the struggle was over. Sick at heart the defeated Charles Albert abdicated, and his son and successor, Victor Emmanuel, made haste to sign a treaty with Austria by which, in return for abandoning the national cause, he received back his undiminished realm. That left the Austrians free to deal with their two revolted provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, being already in their hands, siege was now laid to Venice and the city obliged, after a courageous defence, to capitulate.

Austria defeats Sardinia and her allies

Though the struggle in the north against Austria marks the climax in the drama of the Italian revolution, the rest of the peninsula shared in the aspirations and delusions of that year of turmoil. While the revolutionary movement was at its height, the pope, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the lesser princes had made every conceivable concession to the liberals; but as soon as the tide receded, they hurried to revert to the cherished system of absolutism. The king of the Two Sicilies was the first to cast aside his liberal mask. A despot without a scruple or, rather, a vaudeville sovereign in real life, he overthrew the constitutional system, first in Naples and afterward in Sicily. A reaction worse than that imposed by the Austrians in Lombardy, because its author was more despicable, fastened upon the fair provinces of the south. Far more memorable was the march of the revolution in the central section, in the State of the Church, of which Pope Pius IX was sovereign. In fact the course which the revolution

The revolution in Naples

k at Rome throws so much light on Italian problems that we must
mine it somewhat more fully.

ius IX, elected to the papacy in 1846, was a kind and affable man,
a reputation for liberalism which he owed to nothing more
ificant than an occasional good-natured word and deed. How-
, as a born Italian, he did in a measure sympathize with
the Italian national movement; and undeniably when
n Lombardy revolted against Austria, he gave evi-

The revolution at Rome

ce of approving the action by sending a papal contingent to the
els' aid. But as soon as he became aware of the consequences of
step he called a halt. To send troops against Austria meant a
aration of war against that power and the adoption of a martial
cy hardly consistent with his position as head of the universal
rch. He found himself in a dilemma, the inevitable consequence
is dual character; for as pope and successor of the Prince of Peace
ad spiritual obligations toward the whole Catholic world, while as
lar lord of an Italian territory he had definite temporal interests,
imperative one at the moment being to join with the nation
nst the foreign conqueror. Obliged to choose between his obliga-
s to Catholicism and those to his temporal state, he naturally
erred the greater to the less and, to the relief of Austria but to
ense indignation of his Roman subjects, withdrew from the
trian war. The incident proved that a pope, who wished to play
nsistent international role, could never follow exclusive national
s. But the Romans, who were not philosophers but passionate
ians, showed their disgust with their sovereign by rising in revo-
on. A strong republican faction pronounced against Pius as a
tor to Italy; and when, alarmed at the situation, he sought refuge
vember 24, 1848) with his friend, the king of Naples, the revolu-
ists took affairs into their own hands and converted the papal
inion into a republic. The leading spirit of the new govern-
t was Mazzini, a high-minded, life-long prophet of Italian unity
a tireless conspirator against the selfish reigning houses of his
ded country.

he Roman Republic never had more than a fighting chance.
holics the world over were horrified at the dispossession of the
y Father and several Catholic governments considered measures
ing to his restoration. Louis Napoleon, just elected president
ne French Republic, was especially delighted at the opportunity
ed to curry favor with the Catholic clergy and peasantry of

France; and intent only on his own advantage and heedless of th fact that he was pitting one youthful republic against another, l sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his followers out the city. General Garibaldi, who had been created com mander-in-chief of the Roman forces, offered a gallan but hopeless resistance. In July, 1849, the French entere the conquered city. When on the invitation of h rescuers the disillusioned Pope returned to his capital, he was cure of such slight predilection for reform as he may once have felt an reëstablished the traditional autocratic system with all its tim worn abuses.

France overthrows the Roman Republic

Thus with a harvest of disappointments the Italian revolutionar action of 1848–1849 came to a close. Affairs relapsed to their forme state; the brave effort had been apparently in vain. But one fac shining out like a star in the night of their discouragemen was that patriotic Italians had found in the king of Sa dinia a sovereign dedicated to their cause and in his arm the one substantial hope of a future renewal of the war for indepen ence. True, Charles Albert had been defeated; but not only had h stood by Italy till his overthrow, but his successor, Victor Emmanue showed an even more resolute spirit. For though subjected in tur to Austrian threats and bribes, he refused to give up his interest Italy or to qualify as a reactionary by withdrawing the constitutio granted to his country in 1848. Such sturdy attachment to th liberal-national program roused a love and admiration which dre the eyes of the Italians of north and south alike toward Piedmont an the house of Savoy.

Italy looks to the house of Savoy

At the same time that Austria was occupied with stamping out th Italian revolution, she was obliged to attend to rebellions in sever other sections of her extended dominions. We have already note that the March rising of the Germans at Vienna ha served as the signal for nationalist upheavals among th Italians, Hungarians, and Czechs, not to mention a num ber of smaller groups. With chaos ruling in the capital an with the imperial authority paralyzed at its core by the unfortuna circumstance that the Emperor Ferdinand was a harmless imbecil it is more than likely that the Austrian Empire would have been los had it not been for the army. Its ancient traditions and effecti discipline held it together in spite of the intolerable confusion Vienna. In Italy, as we have seen, it furnished incontrovertib

The army saves the Austrian Empire

dence that it had not gone to pieces like the civil government; d with the Italian example before them the Austrian generals in mmand in the other rebellious areas became desirous of employing detzky's remedy of the sword to the situation under their eyes. unruly multitude imposing its will by street demonstrations is ver a match for trained soldiers under professional command. hen, in June, General Windischgraetz, commanding at Prague in hemia, came to grips with the insurrection of the Czechs, he snuffed out without much trouble. His next logical step was to attack revolution of the Germans in Vienna. Arriving in October before city, he encountered a resistance which broke when his troops rmed the gates and forced their way into the town. With the ech and German movements once more under control and the lian cause on the road to ruin there remained only the Hungarian olt to crush for Austria to be her accustomed self again.

The Hungarian revolt turned out to be the hardest nut which the strian army undertook to crack and which it might not have acked at all if it had not received help from an unexpected quarter. was in the sixteenth century, as the reader will remem- , that the crown of Hungary had passed into the ssession of the house of Hapsburg. The kingdom of Magyars had an ancient constitution which conceded nsiderable power to a representative parliament; and although Hapsburg sovereigns, aiming at the unification of all their terri- ies under their absolute rule, had frequently set the constitution naught, they had never succeeded in entirely abrogating it. The agyars for their part clung stubbornly to their political inheritance; d when the Viennese absolutism collapsed suddenly through the pact of the March revolution, they gained at a stroke all that they d been demanding. As a result Hungary to all intents and pur- ses seceded from the Austrian Empire, although it continued to ognize the Hapsburg sovereign as its king. But with the insur- tionary fires extinguished in Italy, Bohemia, and at Vienna the ffled central government again plucked up courage and ceased to nge before the Magyars. Disputes over questions of competence ween the parliament at Budapest and the Hapsburg sovereign to a state of war, and in December, 1848, the hitherto victorious ndischgraetz directed his army upon the Hungarian capital. The uggle which followed constitutes a splendid tribute to the un- unted spirit of the Hungarians. Ever since the revolution had

The revolution in Hungary, 1848–1849

begun, it had been under the powerful guidance of Louis Kossuth who at the approach of the supreme crisis assumed the dictatorship of the country. Kossuth put the army under the command of the capable General Görgei, who by the adoption of a bold strategy succeeded in driving the Austrian army back upon Vienna. Elated by this success, Kossuth, a convinced republican, issued a decree declaring the deposition of the house of Hapsburg. The measure was of doubtful wisdom, for not only did it divide the Hungarians many of whom, perhaps a majority, were royalists, but it reduced the Viennese court to desperation and persuaded it to accept the proffered help of Tsar Nicholas. The Russian autocrat, long waiting for an opportunity to ride into the lists in behalf of the monarchical principle, promptly sent an army across the Carpathians which took the Hungarians in the flank. Caught between two fires, the rebels gave a good accounting of themselves; but by August, 1849, their forces had been overwhelmed and with Kossuth, Görgei, and the other leaders either captured or driven into exile the movement for Hungarian independence came to a tragic close.

Thus Austria had emerged from the terrible revolutionary crisis feeble and wounded but intact. It remained to dismiss the general Austrian parliament, which had been summoned on the demand of the people, and to shelve the constitution which the parliament had elaborated. A capable and unscrupulous man, Prince Schwarzenberg by name, who was appointed prime minister late in 1848, carried through these measures of reaction. Then with the scene swept clean of the revolutionary débris, Schwarzenberg frankly returned to the pre-revolutionary absolutism, which envisaged the Austrian Empire as a unitary state under a common army and a common administration and took no account of either traditional rights or national claims. As the feeble-minded Emperor Ferdinand was incapable of supporting so vigorous a policy, and as, besides, he was compromised by having given too many liberal pledges, Schwarzenberg, as early as December 1848, had persuaded him to resign in favor of his young nephew Francis Joseph.

Austria returns to the absolute system

On returning now to the affairs of Germany, we are immediately struck by the fact that the progress of reaction in Austria greatly encouraged the conservative party in all the German states and more particularly in Prussia. King Frederick William IV, who, though yielding to revolutionary pressure, had remained an unconverted

solutist, was readily persuaded that the time had come to treat volutionary Berlin as Windischgraetz had treated revolutionary enna. By royal order the Prussian parliament, which was engaged making a constitution for the state, was first prorogued a provincial city and then dissolved (December 5th). the same time the troops reëntered the capital and erawed radicals and liberals alike. Riding on a tide reaction, the king might now have returned to the old absolutism, t deterred by certain moral scruples, he offered his subjects a nstitution of his own making. Most certainly it was a document nich failed to incorporate the full liberal demands. In its final m adopted in 1850, it left to the executive the appointment of the nisters, who therefore acted as agents not of the Prussian parlia- ent but of the king. Moreover, in the matter of the franchise the -called three-class system was adopted, by virtue of which the en of voting age were divided into three classes in accordance with e amount of taxes paid by them. As all the well-to-do were in the st two classes and the rest of the citizenry in the third, and as, rther, the representatives of the first two classes by standing to- ther could outvote the representatives of the third the candidate ected to the parliament in a given district was always an agent the men of property. Nevertheless a Prussian legislature, which ade the laws and voted the taxes, secured to the Prussian people nceforth a share in the government and furnished evidence that in ussia almost alone in central Europe the revolution had not been tirely in vain.

The reaction reaches Germany and Prussia

The next body to feel the chill breath of the reaction was the erman parliament at Frankfort. We left it at the time of its dis- mfiture in the Schleswig-Holstein matter, when the proof of its eakness had been furnished by its inability to control e policy of Prussia. Since then it had proceeded, in ite of multiplying signs that the revolution had passed meridian, with its work of uniting all Germany by a tional constitution. The greatest barrier in its path as Austria. As this country, a mixture of half a score of nationali- es, would cut a strange figure in a German national state, it was ally resolved to exclude it from the proposed union. Unfortunately e action excluded also the Austrian Germans, who, ideally, were of urse a part of Germany. However, the elimination of the Haps- rg Empire settled almost automatically the related difficulty of the

The German parliament completes its constitution, 1849

headship of the new Germany. Not without heated discussion, it was decided that the chief executive should be a hereditary emperor and that the post would be offered to the king of Prussia. In April, 1849, a deputation from the parliament journeyed to Berlin to offer the crown of united Germany to Frederick William.

The king of Prussia rejects the proffered crown

Their answer was a refusal. Frederick William was too deeply penetrated with ideas of Divine Right to have any sympathy for a popular and democratic honor; he was convinced that the constitution was in many of its features unworkable; and — he was afraid of Austria. Under the energetic Schwarzenberg Austria was just effecting a phenomenal recovery and notified Berlin in no uncertain language that the acceptance of the imperial office by a Hohenzollern would be deeply resented. The Viennese view was that if the German crown was to be revived, it must revert to the house of Hapsburg which had worn it for so many centuries. Frederick William was a weak, well-meaning man of mystical, confused ideas, and, like all waverers, ended by yielding to the various pressures brought to bear upon him. The committee of the parliament went back to Frankfort and reported its failure, whereupon the German assembly sadly acknowledged its inability to go on with its work and not without a small flurry of revolt retired from the scene.

The Prussian and Austrian plans for a German union

Frederick William IV, who, in spite of his refusal of the German crown, felt that he was pledged to do something for the national cause, now made an attempt to persuade the German governments to negotiate among themselves about the bases of a new union. His thought was that since the people, acting through their representatives at Frankfort, had failed to solve the German problem, it behooved the princes to try their hands at it. But against this plan, too, because it excluded the Austrian Empire, the Austrian government threw the full weight of its influence. Finally, Vienna came to the front with a German plan of its own, which proved to be nothing other than the Bund of 1815. Of this ludicrous confederation the great attraction was that it left Austria in Germany; that it did not impair the sovereignty of the member states; and that it reduced the king of Prussia to the level of the other German princes. Although in the spring of 1848 the Bund had fallen like a house of cards before the first revolutionary gust, Austria once more boldly set it up at Frankfort. Then it issued an invitation to all the former members

enter and complete the happy German family. With their eyes ected, above all, to their sovereignty, the German princes deserted ederick William's proposed union under Prussia and gathered der the Austrian standard. Almost before he knew it, the Prus- n king found himself alone like an actor on a deserted stage; and en Austria, aware that she was dealing with a timid man, now ughtily ordered him to give up every idea of a closer union and satisfied with the Bund, he yielded without a struggle (Treaty of mütz, November, 1850). The old Bund — that was the ridiculous ue of the two years' labor of the nation for a better union.

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schles- g-Holsteiners, who had rebelled against their sovereign, the king Denmark, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in gust, 1848, they several times renewed the fray, only be crushed definitely in 1850. A conference of the wers gathered in London to consider their case and cided the succession question against them. It was agreed rotocol of 1852) that the union between Denmark and the duchies ould be maintained and that on the extinction of the reigning line nce Christian of Glücksburg should succeed to both inheritances. hough the German population of Schleswig-Holstein protested ainst the decision, they bowed to the verdict of the powers in the pe of finding a future occasion to reassert their rights.

Schleswig-Holstein crushed

With the German parliament banished to the shades, the duchies Schleswig and Holstein redelivered to the Danes, the Bund set up ain at Frankfort, and Austria restored under an absolute sover- n, the Metternichian system with all its attendant series and abuses had been given a new lease of life. tional and liberal circles were filled with despair. But no evil is without some grain of good, the confusion of the revo- ion had shown two things: it had proved that the greatest enemy German unity was the Austrian court and that a German union, t ever came, would have to be effected under Prussian leadership. ussia's prestige, it is true, was, after her many failures, lamentably . But something remained: it was not forgotten that the na- nal hopes had for a short time turned enthusiastically to her; l by her adoption of a constitution she had begun to divorce self from eighteenth century forms in order to plant her feet in present.

The German situation

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Again and again it has been emphasized in the course of this book hat the leading consequence of the modern social development had been to give an increasing importance to the middle classes, and hat up to the time of the French Revolution it was the middle classes of England which had reaped the greatest benefits from an altered world. Among them the abandonment of older attitudes and usages and the experimentation with new ways had gone farther than among the corresponding groups of the continent. It was in England that he absolute monarchy first broke down through an uprising of the middle classes; and it was also in England that the gild system, which minutely regulated the production and sale of goods, first ave way. By the eighteenth century, when the gilds still exercised n unbroken domination over the industry of countries like France nd Germany, they had as good as vanished altogether from English oil. In their place had appeared, above all in the flourishing textile ndustry, a free contract or capitalist system, in accordance with hich a small number of wholesalers advanced the raw material vool, cotton) to individual workers, who converted it into the nished fabric in their homes and on its redelivery to the wholesaler ffected a financial settlement. Although the workers labored in heir own homes, which were also their workshops, and although they ere technically independent producers, it is undeniable that they ecame more or less dependent on a small group of powerful men ith capital and energy, who determined the price to be paid to the orkers and dominated the market.

Emergence in England of a middle class, capitalist régime

Such a system attached a wholly novel importance to personal itiative and must have served to stimulate the spirit of invention, any case it was again in England, after gild obstructionism had ecome a thing of the past, that men first perfected devices which reatly improved the ancient processes of the textile industry. It

is notable that so long as the gild system, whether in England or elsewhere, exercised its conservative sway, these processes followed the same familiar groove for centuries. The two most important operations in cloth-making are spinning and weaving. Between 1740 and 1790 a number of ingenious individuals, such as Kay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton introduced numerous improvements, among which we may note the spinning jenny and the power loom, with the aid of which one man could in the course of a day turn out as much work as had formerly required three, four, and even five men. There was now need of more cotton. It was met by planting a larger acreage with cotton in the southern section of the United States, but also by the invention of an American, Eli Whitney by name, who constructed a cotton gin capable of picking the seeds from the raw cotton more swiftly than several score of negro slaves.

New inventions revolutionize the textile industry

Into the rapidly changing textile situation of the second half of the eighteenth century James Watt projected (1769) his steam-engine. Harnessed to the new spinning and weaving machinery, it replaced the motive power of man with that of water-vapor. It is a work of supererogation to descant upon the significance of this invention to a generation which is in daily and hourly contact with the miracles wrought by the expansive power of steam. Rather must the student, familiar with the present-day uses of steam, be cautioned against seeing the eighteenth century situation in the light of the twentieth century development. He must not indulge his imagination by assuming that the world changed magically within the hour in which Watt stood before his completed model. It took many additional improvements before the first engine could be put economically to use; and even after it had been annexed by the texile industry, the most advanced of English trades, many decades passed before it was adapted to other forms of enterprise. As its application to transportation had particularly important consequences, we should not fail to note that an American, Robert Fulton, was the first man to build a practicable steamboat. In 1807 his side-wheeler, the *Clermont*, equipped with a Watt engine, made the trip up the Hudson river from New York to Albany. Some years later an Englishman, George Stephenson, built a steam locomotive which, being powerful enough to draw a train of cars, encouraged a group of capitalists to construct 1825) the first English railway. On the heels of these two inventions

The revolution wrought by the steam engine

ere followed so intensive a building of steamboats and railways at in a few decades the conditions of travel and transportation in e world had been completely revolutionized.

Such are a few indications of the earliest applications made of the eam-engine. Because it was hitched before long to the printing-ess, saw-mill, pumping-station, and a hundred other kinds of achinery, it became a commonplace to speak of the neteenth century as the age of steam. But the century as not yet old when a rival power was discovered in elec-icity. While it took some decades before the possibilities this new agent were fathomed, before the nineteenth ntury came to a close its secrets had been sufficiently mastered utilize it for running trains and street-cars; in fact every indi-tion pointed to an electrical development which would make the ventieth century as distinctly an age of electricity as the previous ntury had been the age of steam. However, long before the ex-riments conducted with electricity as a motive power had been owned with success, ways and means had been discovered to apply to the simpler purposes of human communication. In 1832 the elec-ic telegraph was invented; and in 1866 the first submarine cable was id across the Atlantic. In 1876 followed the invention of the tele-hone, to be succeeded before the close of the century, in 1895, by e wireless. In how masterful a manner the telegraph and, later, the lephone have facilitated and intensified the communications main-ined among modern groups and individuals will appear to any one ho tries to imagine his daily life without them.

Electricity revolutionizes the system of communication

The changes in ways of living effected by innumerable inventions, eat and small, but chiefly by the invention of power machinery iven by steam-engines have been so immense that men have agreed ey constitute an Industrial Revolution. But if the In-ustrial Revolution may be conceived of as beginning in ngland in the second half of the eighteenth century, two atures touching its growth must be steadily kept in ind. In the first place, as soon as the Napoleonic wars ere over, it leaped across the channel to France and read thence, though often with conspicuous delays owing to special cal conditions, to every country of the continent. In this connection is well to remember that wherever the French Revolution had rced an entrance, it had destroyed the antiquated gild system; ereby creating the free labor market which already existed in

The Industrial Revolution; its spread and cumulative energy

England and which had been the chief cause of the ferment leading up to the machine. In the second place, the Industrial Revolution must be thought of as a continuous movement still persisting in our day and bearing along the present generation in an ever broadening and more irresistible stream. As for the countries which it has chiefly affected, doubtless Great Britain, where the revolution began, enjoyed an industrial primacy throughout the nineteenth century. Not till the days of Louis Philip and Napoleon III was neighboring France definitely won to the movement. Under these sovereigns France made great forward strides, acquiring an unquestioned ascendancy in certain specialized lines such as silks, velvets, and the highly diversified articles of female apparel. Somewhat later than France, though not systematically till its unification (1871), did Germany experience the Industrial Revolution. With a mighty effort it then came from behind, quickly outstripping the other continental countries; and as the twentieth century dawned, it was plainly girding its loins to catch up with the industrial leader, with Great Britain itself. At the same time Belgium, although a small state, became highly industrialized, while other countries, such as Italy and Austria, felt indeed the new forces but somewhat less intensely. Generally speaking, the measure of a country's industrial possibilities is furnished by the abundance of its supplies of coal and iron. These have proved themselves the basic raw products of the machine age; and because Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium, in the order named, have the largest and most convenient deposits of these minerals, these four countries hold a foremost place in the Industrial Revolution.[1] The rule here formulated for Europe is confirmed by the case of the United States. With iron and coal deposits larger than those of all Europe put together and with abundant other raw materials such as copper, lumber, and fuel oil, hardly less valuable than coal and iron, the United States, although starting later than Europe, was able in recent years to overtake the older continent as a producer of machine goods. Henceforth America's position as the industrial leader of the world is bound to become more and more clearly manifest.

Social and economic consequences of Industrial Revolution

While it is permissible to pass hurriedly over all the external and obvious phenomena of the Industrial Revolution — machines, steam-engines, steamboats, railways, telegraph, etc. — because they have become as familiar as

[1] This order reflects the situation as it was up to 1914.

omestic animals, whom indeed they have in part replaced, it is ecessary to consider much more carefully, because they are less pparent, the leading social and economic consequences of the new ıovement. They may be conveniently classified under five heads:

1. *Enormous increase of wealth.* It goes without saying that the ndustrial Revolution greatly increased human possessions. Not nly were clothes, shoes, hats, china, chairs, and other articles now ıanufactured quantitatively, but, produced by machines at a lower .bor cost, they could be placed more cheaply on the market. The ıeaper price in turn attracted a larger number of buyers and greatly imulated consumption. Statistics prove the rapid increase in the ıass of marketable goods, but as we have little space for this type f evidence, let the figures of the British textile industry suffice to il-ıstrate the point. In 1760 the value of British cotton manufactures as $1,000,000; one hundred and fifty years later, in 1910, it was 600,000,000. The ratio of one to six hundred probably gives with easonable accuracy the increase of wealth, that is, of articles of use, ı Great Britain between the above dates.

2. *Accessibility of raw products and of markets.* The new means of ansportation — steamboats and railways — made it possible to .p supplies of coal, iron, lumber, etc., which in the days of the horse ehicle and the sailing vessel were practically inaccessible. None ıe less long hauls continue to mean increased production costs, and ıerefore the rule has been for great manufacturing centers to develop close proximity to coal and iron beds. Much more expedient than ıe transfer of bulky raw materials is the despatch of finished articles; ıd with the expansion of the new means of transport not only have ıe European countries been drawn closer together but the other ontinents have, as it were, been brought to Europe's dooryard and ooded with factory-made goods. In fact, in measure as goods were ultiplied beyond the power of the European peoples to absorb ıem, it became absolutely necessary to find American, African, and siatic markets on which to unload the surplus. Thus obliged to ok beyond the boundaries of their little continent, the European ates entered on a new and more intensive phase of colonial expan-on which, toward the end of the nineteenth century, took on the ecial form called imperialism. In this way the Industrial Revolu-on has become a lively and even a leading factor in world politics.

3. *Machines and factories bring the triumph of capitalism.* We have en that capitalism had become a factor in European economics

beginning with the Renaissance and Reformation. The early capitalists were generally wholesalers who organized the expeditions into distant countries and assumed the heavy risks which these entailed. In case a large foreign trade developed, these early capitalists became wealthy and automatically exercised a decisive influence in the affairs of their city and, ultimately, of their nation. When the English wholesalers broke down the prerogative of the gilds and organized production around themselves on a simple contract basis, they climbed another rung or two up the ladder of success. But not till the coming of machines did the capitalist discover the path which led to the domination of society. The reason is not far to seek, for first, machines cost a great deal of money, and second, they have to be housed in specially constructed factories. Plainly these and other advances, such as wages, must be met before there is any return from the sale of goods. In consequence a limited group of moneyed men entered into possession of the means of production and became masters of the situation. While many of them performed immediate, indispensable services in the role of promoters, superintendents, and salesmen, considerable numbers, entirely outside the active management, made a money contribution in return for an interest payment. The investment system predicated on interest gave the new production methods a vast power of expansion, since not only the rich but small individuals also with only petty savings in their stockings were enabled to share in capitalist enterprises. However, the relatively broad participation of the public must not induce us to close our eyes to the fact that in every industrial nation a relatively restricted class of capitalists was created with almost unlimited control of that nation's economic life. The age of machines became synonomous with the age of capitalism.

4. *Growth of population.* Wherever the Industrial Revolution has taken root it has greatly increased population for the simple reason that the production of more goods has enabled more people to live. Statistics would seem to show that the increase is only partially due to an improved birth-rate (or lowered death-rate) and that it most often presents itself to view as migration from the rural districts to the urban centers in possession of the machines. In the case of England, which serves as the industrial type, the total population doubled in the first half of the nineteenth century and has continued to increase since at a scarcely slackened rate. Concomitantly the rural population has in this same period slowly declined until at

esent fewer people live on the land than in the eighteenth century. helps us to grasp how the Industrial Revolution has altered the ial aspect of England if we recall that fully three-fourths of the abitants of the island reside at present in cities. The food deficit ulting from the enormous increase of the urban population is made by importations from abroad paid for with the export of manufac-ed goods. No other country is exactly in the English class, since other took, after grave political conflicts to be noted later, the glish course of deliberately sacrificing agriculture to industry. rmany, for instance, has tried to save its agriculture by protective easures; but even with this support, the German agricultural pulation has at best remained stationary, proving that the con-erable German increase of population belongs to the towns and of industrial origin. However, while giving the machines their e as population producers, let us not forget that science, which has de machines possible, has, chiefly through the revelations of emistry, revolutionized also the practices of agriculture by causing ee, four, and more blades to grow where but one grew before. nceding that Europe's amazing growth of population is overwhelm-gly industrial and urban, we are obliged, in considering the prob-n of the maintenance of this human increase, to take account t only of the new foreign markets but also of the improved pro-ctivity of the soil.

5. *Economic and social depression of the industrial workers.* What e Industrial Revolution meant specifically to the new class of chine-workers is a special story of the greatest importance. awn from privately owned looms or lured from the farm to e factory, they found themselves in frankly deplorable conditions. om having been, to a certain extent at least, their own masters, ey were reduced to slaves of iron monsters, to whose wants they ended during long hours and at wages arbitrarily fixed by the ployer class. Owing to the novelty of the situation they were mpletely helpless, for with the employers owning the only available ans of livelihood the alternative before the hapless immigrants m the country-side was to work or starve. They were unknown to e another, they lacked even the rudiments of an education, and if self-defense they tried to combine, they encountered rigorous laws ich forbade them to form associations to the end of increasing ges or reducing hours of labor. In England such a prohibitive tute was formally renewed as late as the year 1799. And yet the

wages were literally starvation wages and the working day was com monly reckoned at from fourteen to sixteen hours! As though al this were not misery enough, there was in addition the grim, per sistent threat of unemployment. Again and again it descended lik a bludgeon, sometimes owing to the ever recurring industrial crises sometimes because of the employer's discovery that much of th machine-work could be done by women and children, ready an eager to sell themselves at a reduced rate. The social degradatio resulting from this wage slavery completes the revolting picture. Th towns, springing up like mushrooms around the factories, exhibite a disorder which indicated the complete absence of plan on the par of the people in authority. The workers and their families, herde in cheap tenements, constituted a slum with disgustingly filthy streets and the scantiest supply of such hygienic necessities as light heat, and water. Of course disease was rampant, periodically assuming an epidemic form and mowing down its victims by the hundreds Even in the most favorable years the general death-rate of the slum was high; among infants and children more particularly, owing to the lack of milk, cleanlinesss, and fresh air, it was so excessive as to reach the proportions of a national tragedy. It is not unusual to attach the responsibility for these conditions to the middle classes; and since the Industrial Revolution occurred under their auspices, they might it is true, have fairly concerned themselves with its human impli cations. However, they were fully occupied with a great utilitarian work which absorbed all their energies and won them the applause o the world, and after the fashion of men at all times they proudly drove their chariot forward until a rumble as of a coming storm warned them of their peril. Then with the damage done they gradually faced the problem — with results which we shall presently examine

An economic and social movement to begin with, the Industria Revolution necessarily brought in its train a political upheaval be cause its immediate effect was to strengthen the middle classes that is, classes which already for generations had been slowly adding to their vigor. We have repeatedly pointed out that they were the leading agency which undermined the feudal system and created the national and absolut monarchy; and we have shown that it was again they who, first in England and then in France and elsewhere insisted on an immediate share in the government by means of the constitutional system. It was the English middl

The political program of the middle classes may be summarized as liberalism

sses who made up the strength of the Whig, that is, the consti-
ional party; and in the nineteenth century they and the awakened
ldle classes of the continent were identified with the various liberal
ties which, though separately organized in each country, had,
n the point of view of their general purpose, a strikingly inter-
ional character. In a purely historical sense liberalism, meaning
principles of the liberal party, is not a better or a nobler pro-
m than conservatism; it is merely the program by which a
verfully expanding group proposed to secure for itself those bene-
and that control which were necessary for the realization of its
s. Wishing to break down the annoying interference of the
gy, liberalism pronounced for toleration; desiring to terminate
political monopoly of the king, it aimed at the constitutional
tem; and anxious to level the obstructive barriers of a narrow
vincialism, it championed the larger cause of nationalism. In
er words the liberal program, in spite of its often abstract
aseology, has a very concrete basis in the middle class will to
ver. And when we now recall that the middle classes built the
hines and furnished the capital; that it was they who supplied
engineers, technicians, and financial advisers; that, finally,
rs was the group which organized the educational systems
trained and employed the lawyers, physicians, teachers, and
er professional servants, we have the clue to the political up-
vals of the nineteenth century and the explanation of bourgeois
ess. For, although the bourgeoisie met with resistance on the
of the conservative interests in control and, even after a victory,
erienced an occasional set-back, its march to power was on the
le uninterrupted. The age of the machine and capitalism is
the age of the middle classes and of their program of liberalism.
longside its political philosophy the dominant group developed
economic and moral philosophy in close harmony with it. Al-
s and everywhere can we observe among men the passion to
e their outlook on the world consistent in all its
s. We made acquaintance with the beginnings of
bourgeois economic philosophy when we glanced at
physiocrats of France with their *laissez faire* and at
m Smith with his free trade, that is, trade freed as
h as possible from artificial restrictions. While these thinkers un-
otedly subjected political economy for the first time to scientific
nization, they at the same time planted it on characteristic middle

Laissez faire the economic philosophy of the middle classes

class ground, as even a superficial examination will show. For th bourgeoisie was the class which, identified with business enterpris found itself systematically thwarted by the mercantilist policy state interference with the processes of production and distributio *Laissez faire* and free trade alike advocated a policy of "no inte ference," since, the more the state abandoned its regulative an patriarchal program, the more the bourgeoisie gained the liberty craved to exercise to the full its initiative in developing the world natural resources. The extreme middle class ideal of the sta came to be an institution of such exemplary modesty that it habi ually kept itself out of sight. Should it ever step forth into th light of day, it was to do so hesitatingly in the role of the benevole policeman quelling a disturbance. Generally speaking, it was volu tarily to leave the stage, on which the great human action unfolde to the hero of the piece, the bourgeoisie. *Laissez faire* or "hand off" was, when first raised, the cry of an economic opposition inte on breaking down a hostile system of control. No sooner, howeve had the middle classes gained control themselves than *laissez fai* changed to an exultant: leave *us* alone, leave everything to us!

While this attitude discloses a vigorous selfishness and materia ism, it is indispensable to recognize that it also contains a definit moral core. Let us rest assured that, had they not been supporte by a profound ethical conviction, the middle classes coul not have pushed so relentlessly to the front and pe formed their amazing work. The conviction which su tained them and which in their view represented the service to the world was — to put it simply and sweep ingly — that theirs was the cause of freedom. They sav or their thinkers saw for them, that the course of events since th Middle Age had been to deliver man from bondage: the bondage the Church, the bondage of the feudal law and of dead tradition, th bondage of the absolute state, the bondage of the mercantilist sy tem. Having served a hundred masters, many of them reduced b the wear of time to the merest shadow, man was now to be manu mitted and free. The moral philosophers of the bourgeoisie preache *the free man* as the goal of human endeavor. Liberated from th tutelage proper to a ward and a minor, human beings were to b summoned henceforth to assert their manhood. They were to stan on their own feet, to shape their own destiny, and to realize th dignity inherent in them as the crown and glory of creation.

Freedom and individualism the ethical philosophy of the middle classes

owed from this view of man's development from an early bar-
ous plane to ever higher levels that life was considered to be
ntially a struggle, a free competitive game in which the unfit
ished and the best came out on top. There was of course misery,
erty, and defeat, but they were the unescapable reverse of the
dal. One forgot about them over the intoxication induced by the
viction that the world was engaged in a movement of uninter-
ted progress, that it was driving onward and upward under the
dance of its natural leaders. It was not the degraded mass that
nted but the tested and selected few. And even the degraded
ss would benefit in the long run from the increased production
lting from a liberated and multiplied activity. Stated in ethical
philosophic terms this position may be defined as a vigorous
ividualism.

However, neither the middle class nor its philosophy was left in
et possession of the field and, as the irony of history would have
the challenge to their ascendancy issued from the group, which,
e it was the child of the Industrial Revolution, the
ddle class had in a sense called into being. This group
the industrial workers. We have looked at their lowly
dition in the first phase of the industrial movement
to the novelty of the situation coupled with their own
ntal backwardness. The best chance for their social
ance lay, on the one hand, in a better education, and, on the
er, in the strength to be derived from organization. Turning first
popular education, we note that it was as yet woefully neglected.
all the great powers of Europe only Prussia possessed in the first
of the nineteenth century a broad public school system that
cessfully reached the masses. The other countries did not pre-
ly ignore popular education, but they left it to the churches or
private enterprise, and gave it at best a half-hearted support.
till the second half of the nineteenth century were the European
es other than Prussia shamed into establishing public and com-
sory systems of primary education. Great Britain made a be-
ning with the Education Act of 1870; France passed a measure
imilar intent in 1881. That these enactments, strengthened by
r supplementary legislation, were crowned with success is proved
the fact that the percentage of illiterates in both countries was
dily reduced until at the beginning of the twentieth century it
rapidly approaching the remarkably low percentage which

Reasons for the impotence of the working class: (1) lack of education

Prussia, as the oldest champion of popular education, had alread succeeded in attaining.

It is thus clear that the European workers were for a long tim grossly uneducated and that in this condition they might easil be dominated by their employers. Still, despite their profound ign

(2) Lack of organization

rance, they might have counted for something if they ha stood together and made vigorous, concerted demands o their masters. Therewith we have touched the second factor in the social depression, the lack of organization. Divining the power purposeful numbers, the forehanded lords of industry had sough to protect themselves by spreading upon the statute books of a the European countries measures forbidding workingmen to unit It was not until 1824–1825 that bills were passed in parliamen making it possible for the British workingmen to combine in orde to promote their interests. And as it was not till the revolution of 1848 that labor unions came out into the open on the continen it is clear that they were very slow in unfolding their strength, es pecially as the revolution of 1848 was followed by a reaction whic canceled, for a time at least, all that had been won. Not till 186 did France pass legislation definitely permitting workingmen t form unions. In short, as it was not till the second half of the nine teenth century that laborers became generally free to combine, the inability promptly to help themselves, ascribable in part to the lack of education, becomes wholly comprehensible.

In the absence of self-help the first effective succor was extende to the workingmen by sympathizers of the middle class. Humanel disposed people founded societies for medical aid, for distributin milk among babies, for better housing conditions, an other similar purposes. All such activities may be class fied as philanthropy; but while conceding that the alleviate suffering and honor those who sincerely practis them, let us agree that they do not penetrate to the ro of the working class problem. That problem called f more than a tender heart, much more; it demanded, if it was ev to be solved, a thorough, objective study of all the conditions tha surrounded it. Robert Owen (d. 1858) in Great Britain and Sai Simon (d. 1825) in France may be named among those who, thoug prompted in the first instance by philanthropy, rose in some sort t the exercise of thought and method; and it is interesting that bot different as their proposals were, agreed that the existing system

The problem attacked in turn by philanthropy, Utopianism, and science

competition and capitalist control would have to be abandoned he workingman was ever to have his due. What they offered by of cure of the existing evils was so utterly impracticable as to plainly Utopian — which goes to prove, if proof were necessary, t first ventures into complicated social issues are almost certain be failures owing to insufficient information. When in the course he forties the Frenchman, Louis Blanc (1811–1882), took up the mpionship of the workers, he was already in possession of better a and hence his famous proposal of national workshops represents, n if it is still rather visionary, a forward step on the hard road of s. However, the view generally held that it was not till the appearance of Karl Marx that the working class problem received a uinely scientific treatment is probably correct. Marx's approach y claim to be "scientific" in the sense that it analyzes and classi- the body of economic data in order to let them, so far as possible, ak for themselves.

Karl Marx (1818–1883) was a German Jew of an intellectual, olutionary bent, who first announced his economic position in a ument issued in 1848 under the name of the *Communist Manifesto.* the terminology in the new field of thought was still **Marxian socialism** y fluctuating, he used the word communist to indicate nething that was later called socialist, and therefore we may act his Manifesto as the first great pronouncement of modern ialism. Devoting the rest of his life to the study of political nomy from the working class angle, he laid down his conclusions a fundamental work, *Capital*, of which the first volume appeared 1867 and the other two after his death. Marxian socialism is not y an economic theory but also a philosophy of life. Combating various bourgeois philosophies with their emphasis on liberty, tresses equality and looks to the welfare not of distinguished iduals but of the mass of men. The equality which is its goal is be attained by the many taking over from the few the machines, railways, the mines, in sum, the total characteristic tools of dern production. The transfer need not necessarily involve vioce and bloodshed. It may, indeed it must result primarily from unescapable operation of historical forces, for the laborers are oming constantly more numerous as compared with the middle sses and, sooner or later, will be in a position to assert their ecoic will. The new socialist society of equals owning in common the ans of production will thus come about by peaceful stages, by

evolution rather than by revolution. However, the workingme can hasten the happy day by becoming class-conscious, a proces involving the absorption of the Marxian philosophy as well as th fixed determination to reorganize the world according to its dicta To this end they must stand shoulder to shoulder in close ranks lik an army marching to conquest. As a class name for the army o workingmen Marx favored the word proletarians. With the idea o winning them to united action he supplied them with an electrifyin slogan: Proletarians of all countries, unite! You have nothing t lose but your chains!

Even this bare outline of socialism would be incomplete, if it di not bring out, in addition to the above, that the working class move ment was to be not so much national as international. It was t

The Social-democratic party and The International

encircle the earth and ultimately make socialism a ne world order. Until that not too distant day it was t lock horns with the bourgeois ruling group, and in orde to make an effective fight under existing constitutiona conditions, it was to organize as a party and descen into the political arena. In this manner socialism would becom under the name of the Social-democratic party a factor in the politic of every country of Europe. While each separate Social-democrati party would make its own fight in its own way and in response t the particular conditions which confronted it, it would recognize it world obligations by periodically despatching representatives to a International Social-democratic congress for an exchange of views This crowning and world organization of socialism would bear th name of The International.

The immediate business of each Social-democratic party was to per suade the workingmen to enter its ranks and vote its ticket. Bu that, despite the siren character of the Marxian song, was not s

Anarchism and syndicalism

easy as it looked. Naturally, as soon as the workingme got the franchise, the older parties, Conservative an Liberal, also made a bid for the support of the workers and in so far as they persuaded the laborers that the small, soli benefits offered by them were worth more than the immense bu vague promises of the Social-democrats, they actually captured th humble vote. And therewith we have not yet exhausted the lis of competitors for working class favor. Since socialism set the fash ion of reconstructing the world on a new philosophic plan, it wa not to be expected that it would remain alone in the field, especiall

the realization of its program called for a vast bureaucratic or-
ization of the state in order to administer the tremendous prop-
es to be held in common. This feature of an omnipotent state
s intensely repulsive to a group of thinkers who carried the middle
ss creed of freedom to its last consequence. To them, too, it was
udable undertaking to break away from the various bondages of
past, but they saw no reason why a halt should be called before
heaviest bondage of all, the state! They declared themselves to
enemies of the state, that is, anarchists, in the hope that by its
truction the individual man might resume his last and most im-
tant right and become his own master, acknowledging literally no
erior on earth. While anarchism never became popular, and while
ut rarely, because detested and persecuted by its enemies, the
sting governments, succeeded in establishing itself in any country
a regular political party, it must none the less be acknowledged to
resent one of the most revolutionary forces of the modern world.
sently by the side of pure and uncompromising anarchism a type
socialism found advocates which, without abandoning the main
ialist tenets, took over something of its anti-government bias
n anarchism. Late in the nineteenth century this movement,
ed syndicalism, saw the light. While aiming, with socialism,
he capture of the great modern trades by the workers, it put its
h, with anarchism, in the violent destruction of the political
e.[1] Though syndicalism has made a more powerful appeal to the
ge-earners than anarchism and though, above all, in the Latin
ntries such as France and Italy, it has enjoyed a remarkable
cess, it has no more than anarchism, pure and simple, been able
ndermine the strength of the socialists.[2] So far at least as Europe
oncerned, the respective Social-democratic parties may fairly be
to have steadily increased their following among the workingmen
n their origin to the present day.

Vith the dominant state confronted with so many opponents
ically opposed to it, it seemed not improbable that the industrial-
countries of Europe would face a domestic situation, which
er certain conditions might assume the extreme form of civil
. The French revolution of 1848, in which the republicans

Syndicalism, on being transplated to America, gained the support of a body
adical workers who call themselves the I. W. W. (International Workers of
World).

Since the Great War syndicalism, in the non-violent form of Gild Socialism,
made considerable headway in England.

(bourgeoisie) and socialists (workingmen) waged a ferocious battle over the national workshops, illustrates the ever present hazards of the social cleavage. Before long other instances, to be examined at the proper time, accumulated in other countries. And yet, in the main, civil and class war has been avoided because, while some men will fight at the drop of the hat, most fortunately for the cause of a slow and steady development of society the majority is so constituted that its members are always ready to abate something of their extreme demands in the interest of social peace. They will seek a compromise; and compromise has, on the whole, been the most characteristic feature in the relation of the two classes, employers and employees, carried to the front by the Industrial Revolution.

Civil war or compromise?

The most striking evidence of the triumph of compromise is furnished by what is usually called Social or Labor Legislation. The theoretic position of the middle class was, as we have seen, for the state to leave the economic world alone, meaning, in practice, to the capitalists. But in no single instance have they been able to maintain this attitude. If we turn to the always typical case of Great Britain, we discover that as early as 1824–1825 the workingmen were accorded the right to combine and a decade later (1833) parliament passed its first important Factory Act, which protected children and youths against the most extreme forms of current exploitation by declaring that they might be employed in textile factories no more than nine and twelve hours per day respectively. In 1842 followed the Mines Act, which prohibited underground work for boys under ten years and for women of any age. Slight and almost derisory as these earliest protective measures were, they are important as marking a departure from an uncompromising devotion to "industrial liberty." In the second half of the nineteenth century they were succeeded by a rain, which became almost a deluge, of industrial enactments, providing Great Britain with a great labor code. By virtue of it the state once more "interfered," and on a tremendous scale, in the social-economic situation by restricting or forbidding outright the labor of children and women, by reducing and regulating the hours of employment for both sexes, by providing for light, air, and sanitation in the factories, and by appointing inspectors whose duty it was to see that the regulations were strictly enforced.

Social Legislation

While this Social Legislation was being drawn up in the earlies

ne of the machine, the other European countries launched similar asures so that by the end of the century elaborate provisions were ead on every national statute book against the most crying abuses the industrial system. Then, in the eighties, Ger- **Insurance** ny took the lead in a measure which constituted a **Legislation** sh inroad on the unlimited control originally claimed by the ›italists. The Reichstag passed its famous Insurance Legislation, which it insured the workingmen against some of the worst evils their lot, such as illness, accidents, and invalidism due to old age. ıer countries have copied and, in the case of Great Britain, have ›n enlarged on the German legislation with the result that Social gislation culminating in Insurance Legislation may be said to resent the generally accepted program of every modern industrial iety and state. This program, let us again note, travels the line of ıpromise; but while its benefits are unchallengeable, it is certain t it has not succeeded in removing the most striking antithesis of age, the antithesis between the middle and the working classes, ween capital and labor.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MOVEMENT IN SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY

The intimate connection of the Industrial Revolution with the tural sciences, on which we have all along insisted, makes it desirle to follow up the picture of the nineteenth century social-ecomic transformation with the developments in this same ntury not only in the immediate field of science but o in the general intellectual outlook. Turning first to ence, we are better prepared to see the recent phases their true perspective if we pause to recall the earlier velopment. In putting out his theory of the ordered movement the planets around the sun Copernicus stimulated investigation o the whole body of phenomena connected with matter in motion. ese researches, conducted by many scholars, among whom Kep-, Galileo, and Newton are the most shining names, culminated in e theory of gravitation and the recognition of an eternally estabned and majestic universe of law. Hand in hand with these brilnt physico-astronomical discoveries went the development of thematics, which reached its eighteenth century culmination h the invention of calculus by Newton and Leibnitz. It was culus that made possible the accurate and complicated measureents demanded by the study of moving objects and it was in maematical terms that the laws of motion not only of solid bodies but o of such physical phenomena as sound, heat, and light were stated. These magnificent physico-mathematical achievements encouraged ery other kind of scientist to new endeavor. Perceptible advances re made in the eighteenth century in such subjects as botany, ology, and ethnology, but far and away the most promng development occurred in chemistry and is marked the great name of Lavoisier. Almost at once with voisier's discoveries there was a crowding of investigas into this field, which meant that a new type of curity was gaining ground, the curiosity to follow up the knowledge of tter in motion with the study of its composition. What four gene-

Early science investigates matter in motion

Science turns with chemistry to study the composition of matter

rations of chemists since Lavoisier have discovered touching the con stituent elements of the universe is one of the wonders of the ag but can not be dilated upon here further than to point out that chem istry is founded on the atom and that the infinitesimal atom, instea of being the ultimate, irreducible form of matter, has been recentl discovered to be a complicated structure of still minuter parts. Thu with so many triumphs to its credit chemistry faces a still mor splendid future; and the same may be confidently said of physic and astronomy. For, in spite of a certain air of finality attaching t Newton's crowning work, the discoveries of physicists and astron omers have continued since Newton's day as before to pour forth i an uninterrupted stream. Rightly or wrongly, however, a hurrie sketch like this, primarily concerned with indicating the new orienta tions of science, claims the right to neglect the old lines of investiga tion in order to call attention to strictly pioneer labors. Even these because science, growing ever more confident, has branched out on hundred new lines, are so numerous and overwhelming in their yiel that the baffled writer is reduced to a system of meager short-han notation.

Under no circumstances may one omit to speak of geology. I was around 1830 that Sir Charles Lyell headed the study of the eart in a new and profitable direction by his *Principles of Geology*. I

Science turns with biology to the study of life

this book he ascribed the present physical appearance o our earth to the operation through an almost incalculabl period of time of causes still busily at work today. Thi proof of the steadiness and continuity of earth-force together with the immense stretch of time during whic they have operated favorably affected the study of living organism already undertaken by botany and zoölogy. Concerned hithert chiefly with tabulating the great variety of vegetable and anima forms to be found in all countries and climates, botanists and zoölo gists now turned to the problem of their origin, growth, and structur and therewith became biologists. In this entirely new field, i biology, nineteenth century science produced perhaps its most epoch making work. And it did so, as usual, by slow accumulations. Lon before there was an official study called biology an occasional indi vidual like the poet Goethe (d. 1832) had proclaimed on the basis a much of intuition as of precise scientific data that all life was akin and Lamarck at about the same period declared that species wer not fixed from all time and for all time but were derived from a re

ote common stock. The records of the rocks as read by Lyell and ners repeated this tale of immemorial relationships among living ings. There was therefore a growing consensus touching the mmon origin of plant and animal forms, but how formulate a single clusive principle which would account for the enormous multi- city of living shapes? At last in 1859 a book, *On the Origin of ecies*, was put out by the Englishman, Charles Darwin, and here, pported step by step by personal observation, the theory was vanced that the factor which explained the great variety of exist- g species, both vegetable and animal, was Natural Selection. y Natural Selection Darwin wished to signify the tendency of at individual in each species to survive which is endowed with me tiny variation calculated to give it a better chance in its en- ronment. Producing offspring in its turn emphasizing the same riation, the first variable individual might, it was suggested, by perceptible accumulations through many generations become the cestor of a new type or species.

Thus biological study and speculation, continued for some decades, nverged upon a comprehensive principle which came to be called e theory of evolution. Embracing all life, it made of course no ception of man. Our human kind is of the same essen- l stuff as the tiger, the rat, the rose, and the jelly-fish; d if it flatters our vanity to put man on a special pedes- l, the only scientific justification for our bias lies in the rcumstance that man is indeed a higher species making very late appearance in the evolutionary process. Without doubt ere is something beautifully unifying and inclusive about the evo- tionary theory. Bred in the hard realm of science and having a lemn scientific air, it yet brings to many people something of the pansive feeling of religion. Though such have welcomed it as a w hope, a modern pantheism, we should not fail to see that to the ict scientist it is no more than an invaluable hypothesis. Or rather, mitting that the evidence in favor of an evolutionary development animate nature is overwhelming, the method by which the develop- nt takes place and which Darwin assumed to be Natural Selec- n remains hypothetical. As early as 1866 a German Catholic onk, Gregor Mendel by name, adduced evidence in favor of the dden production of new species through the accidental breeding of ports"; and by the early twentieth century this Mendelian theory d received wide acceptance. While it did not disprove Darwinism,

The theory of evolution; Darwinism, Mendelism

it caused it to be modified; but the theory of evolution as such, let it be understood, does not depend on the validity of either the Darwinian or the Mendelian hypothesis. These are merely suggestive formulations as to how evolution works; and if the darkness of the process is not yet by any means cleared up, the movement itself may be accepted as certain. In any case it supplies the most magnificent framework conceivable for the whole mass of scientific data making up the universe of the modern man.

The new geology and biology culminating in the evolutionary doctrine and imposing a wholly novel picture of creation profoundly disturbed all the followers of historical Christianity, whether they were attached to the Roman Catholic or to any of the Protestant Churches. For all Christians alike accepted the Bible account of creation, according to which God made the world in six days, and while giving every species its definite, individual form from the start, fashioned man by a special act of grace in his own image. No wonder they were disgusted and enraged with a theory which, while shattering the Bible story *in toto*, seemed intolerably to humiliate man by endowing him with an ape ancestry at the trifling remove of a few hundred thousand years! A crisis rocked the churches which continued for decades and from which some of them have not yet recovered.

The theory of evolution and Christianity

But in the long run a difference made itself felt in the adjustment to the new thought of the Protestant churches, on the one hand, and of the Catholic Church, on the other. Admitting that all Protestant churches rested on the foundation of the Bible, let us take note they had, beginning with Luther himself, insisted also on the right of private judgment. This opened an avenue of escape which the more adventurous Protestants had for centuries back taken advantage of to assimilate the data of science and the various empirical philosophies built thereon. Protestantism in the nineteenth century was therefore no longer what it had been in the sixteenth. It had imperceptibly changed and was, at least in an advanced section of its membership, in some sort of sympathy with an inclusive doctrine of development like evolution. Then, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Protestant historical scholars, taking up the study of the Bible, made the startling discovery that, far from being the indubitable product of divine inspiration, it was manifestly pieced together by different authors writing under very different conditions. More-

Slow adjustment of Protestantism to modern thought

er, while becoming, according to these same critics, a wholly human ument, the ancient book actually gained in dignity and interest! e orthodox elements, everywhere in control, rejected these conclu- ns as blasphemous and vigorously defended all the old positions; t the fact remained that the new liberal thought slowly captured portant elements of both clergy and laity within the various Protes- nt denominations and, in spite of strong and prolonged resistance, epared the way for an adjustment between the old faith and the w discoveries. By the first quarter of the twentieth century much the fury which had marked the struggle in its earlier phases had appeared. Without doubt important orthodox groups cling to this y to what is to them the security and finality of their divine in- ritance; but if to generalize a complicated situation is not too zardous, the statement may be ventured that the Protestant urches either have already or are about to adjust themselves to entific discovery, including evolution, and that, should they join e modern standpoint to their ancient ethical purpose, instead of ting themselves adrift, they are likely to become an invaluable tor in the better integration of society.

The quarrel of Catholicism with the new thought was from the t far more uncompromising and the possibility of an adjustment ch more remote. Catholicism was based on an absolute, un- erable body of doctrine and possessed in the Church an ormously powerful institution to inculcate and defend position. Moreover, this vast organization had at head a single, authoritative official, the pope. When spoke even great states were obliged to take notice ce his views determined the attitude of tens of millions of voted followers. Ever since the advent of eighteenth century ionalism the papacy had found itself out of sympathy with the ection taken by European thought and had often pronounced itself hout reserve on the subject of sceptics and atheists. Then came French Revolution with its confiscation of Church property and fanatic persecution of the clergy. Quite naturally Catholicism ame violently anti-revolutionary and anti-liberal and identified lf in every country of Europe with political conservatism. In first half of the nineteenth century the Catholic clergy regularly od shoulder to shoulder with the forces of the past, with the aris- racy and the absolute monarchy. When the Italian nationalist vement took shape, the pope became its leading victim, being

Pius IX attacks the modern world; his Syllabus of Errors

subjected to a long series of acts of spoliation in the name of peninsular unity. To Pius IX, in whose long reign (1846–1878) these misfortunes befell, liberalism and nationalism must have seemed to be indistinguishable evils. And when the theory of evolution was now put forth with its implied refutation of the Biblical version of creation, the pope's cup overflowed and he saw the whole modern movement as a systematic, sinister attack on the Church. Thirsting for the fray, for he was a man of deep convictions, he denounced the age in fiery invectives, culminating in 1864 in an encyclical to which he attached a *Syllabus of Errors* recounting the principal aberrations of our times. Free-thinking scientists, advocates of religious toleration, supporters of lay marriage and lay schools, opponents of the temporal power of the Church — such are a few of the human categories whom the pope solemnly condemns. Indeed it would be difficult to discover a specifically modern movement of thought or politics which Pius IX did not declare to be in conflict with religion.

It is clear that in the eyes of Pius IX the Church was fighting for its life and that it needed to put itself unwaveringly under his supreme command if it desired to survive. This frame of mind explains his calling an Ecumenical Council of the Church. The last previous meeting of such a body had taken place at Trent three hundred years before. He summoned the new council to his palace of the Vatican and in the course of many sessions, but not without grave difficulty, persuaded the assembled prelates to promulgate (1870) the dogma of papal infallibility. By virtue thereof it was declared that when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in his official capacity he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals, his word must be accepted as infallible. If, as Catholic writers have frequently pointed out, the claim of infallibility was not entirely new, it is yet undeniable that the definition of doctrine in the past had in the main been reserved to the Church Councils. This historical function the Vatican Council now resigned into the hands of the pope. Henceforth there could hardly be found a good reason for summoning another Council. The pope, long absolute in political matters, had become equally absolute in matters of faith and doctrine. As with these new powers all the resources of the Church without any exception became concentrated in his sole hand, he had the satisfaction of feeling that he could confront a hostile world with an army, the members of which would respond as one man to his word of command.

The Vatican Council proclaims (1870) the dogma of papal infallibility

When on the death of Pius IX Leo XIII (1878–1903) succeeded the throne of St. Peter the struggle with the system of modern ught as well as with the many European governments which had tailed the rights of the Church continued, but soon a erence made itself noticeable. Inclining, in distinction m the emphatic and downright Pius IX, to the subtle l elastic diplomatic tradition of the papacy, Leo XIII no reason for quarreling with governments merely be- se of their democratic form. He let it be known that to him the itical form was immaterial; also he took a stand in favor of Social gislation. By these means he reëntered the political arena in some t of alliance with both the Catholic bourgeoisie and the Catholic rkingmen. That something like a truce with the European governnts resulted and that the Church drew recognizable benefits m this situation is certain. But a politic *modus vivendi* is not a render. Neither Leo XIII nor any later successor of Pius IX ever even faintly hinted that he considered it possible some day bridge the gap between Catholicism and the general thought vement of the modern world.

Leo XIII aims at a truce with modern governments

Because philosophy reflects as in a mirror the concentrated movent of life and thought, this book has undertaken to indicate at st the main philosophic trends within the compass of occidental ilization. It has pointed out that in the Middle Age hilosophy (scholasticism) saw the light which ordered leading data of experience under the majestic con- t of Christian revelation. In the Renaissance, owing the vigorous impact of newly acquired knowledge, scholasticism ntegrated without anything particularly satisfactory and conuctive being put in its place. If we celebrate Descartes (d. 1649) the first modern philosopher, it is because he attempted a new egration of experience on another than the traditional and Chrisn basis. None the less, like the scholastics, he sought an absolute l eternal truth and brought unity into our multitudinous existence reference to an omniscient and omnipotent creator. His succes-s, like Spinoza and Leibnitz, while following independent lines of uiry and drawing a hundred subtle distinctions between themves and all other thinkers, propounded systems as absolutist and ically coherent as that of the great Frenchman. It was Locke first definitely took a new track by sacrificing coherence and npleteness in favor of a procedure which paid more attention to

Philosophy, the mirror of civilization

the immediate evidence of our senses. He thus became the father o empiricism and, drawing philosophy from heaven to earth, brought or tried to bring it into closer touch with the natural sciences. There followed a conflict between the absolutist and dogmatic tendency on the one hand, and the empirical and observational movement, or the other, which Kant brought at least to a provisional solution by assigning a particular function to each and thus justifying both.

With the coming of the nineteenth century the issue could not rest where Kant had left it for the simple reason that the enormous expansion of our mundane life hopelessly disturbed the Kantian balance. With a more varied and experimental living in state and society, with the influx of new knowledge along a hundred avenues of investigation, there was a steadily increasing concentration on the problems of our earth together with a more marked withdrawal from the cold and unprofitable peaks of metaphysics. Empirical philosophies tended to flourish, absolute philosophies tended to decline. Not that this was everywhere the case or at least consistently and from the start. In Germany, for instance, the absolute type long continued to dominate the situation, producing in the work of Fichte, Schelling, and, above all, Hegel, a number of world-constructions, which, though brilliant, were also highly romantic in character as might be expected of products of the Romantic Age. Nor need these men, merely because they were metaphysicians, be thought of as living wholly in the clouds, out of touch with contemporary discovery. Hegel (d. 1831), for instance, marched sufficiently abreast of his time to cast the universe and God Himself in an evolutionary mold. Universe and God became under this philosopher's touch as dynamic as the age in which he lived. But Hegel marks a peak. His prophetic exaltation could not last; and Schopenhauer (d. 1860), discouraged by a mechanical universe propelled by the force of a blind Will, plunged into despair and pessimism. It was left to Schopenhauer's follower, Nietzsche (d. 1900), to break with absolutism in all its numerous disguises from the scholastics down to Hegel and to assign to man the task of facing his earth-born destiny with just his earth-born powers. With Nietzsche German absolutism gave up the ghost and German thought resigned itself to the relativity of experience.

Two main philosophic types: the absolute and the empirical or relativist

The absolutist trend, which, although most conspicuously represented in Germany, found champions in every country of Europe

ne, perhaps in order to distinguish it from its Cartesian and other totypes, to be called idealism. The name has been helped to ater currency by reason of the fact that the followers of the posite or empirical school, concentrating more and re exclusively on the material furnished by the senses, uired the title of materialists. Since in some instances y believed that the true test of knowledge was its use- ness to man, they were also often called utilitarians. ese must be understood to be hard, scientific classifications, carry- no suggestion of praise or blame. To be an idealist is no merit in lf nor is being a materialist or utilitarian a demerit. It is essen- ly a question of two attitudes, which, objectively considered, are ally valid and between which the individual makes a choice ally on the basis of that subtle shade of personality called tem- ament. However, owing no doubt to the success and preponder- e of science during the most recent period, there are now more ple than was once the case who are so endowed that they instinc- ly incline toward a materialist and utilitarian interpretation of world. The materialist schools, broadly empirical, have there- e been particularly active and an examination would show that y have flourished in England, France, Germany, Italy, and in ry other country, besides developing within each country a dozen erent varieties. In England let us select for illustration the great ne of Herbert Spencer (d. 1903). Spencer undoubtedly commun- es a very personal message and like every distinguished spirit des strict classification; but by virtue of his intense preoccupation h the natural sciences coupled with his use of evolution as a frame his picture of the universe, he belongs decidedly with the empiri- s. So, on the whole, does his older French contemporary, Comte 1857). He founded the so-called Positivist school on the theory t if the method of science, which had given such sure results, e only resolutely applied to human affairs, nature and man would n be joined in a new and magnificent synthesis. Both Spencer l Comte were system-builders like the idealists whom they de- ed, but at least their systems purported to rest on the evidence he senses and to meet the most severe criteria of science.

Prevalence of philosophies of the empirical type

To more than one reader it may seem that these few generaliza- ns about modern philosophy are so broad that it would be better to broach the matter at all. Admittedly modern philosophy continent which a man may hardly hope to subdue in a lifetime

of effort. And yet, though our superficial procedure fails wholly to do justice to the subject, it may still pass muster if it has succeeded in showing that the natural sciences have with each new generation tended more and more to dominate philosophic thinking. A noticeable consequence of this development has been a tendency to abandon such venerable and unsolvable problems as the soul, immortality, the origin of good and evil, the nature and purposes of God. These belong to the realm of final truths, acknowledged even by the Christian saints and doctors to lie beyond the reach of our human powers and frankly and avowedly beyond the reach of the modern scientific method. Devotion to science means to abandon the pursuit of what is remote and absolute in favor of the innumerable tiny data cognizable by our senses and serving to build up an ever changing, relativistic world. The modern man, whenever he is oriented in a truly scientific way, accepts as his one great purpose the making of himself and of his kind more completely at home on earth. That means more, much more than the gross materialism with which he is often charged and with which he is, alas, too often content. It means for each one of us an unremitting effort in his fleeting hour to bring mankind to a level of ability and understanding on which the struggle for existence without ceasing to be a struggle, will take on something of the aspect of a vast, associative enterprise among all the nations and peoples of the earth.

The modern man accepts an experimental world

And therewith we have touched on a feature of human thought which constantly recurs in history. It is man's search for unity. The significance of medieval Christianity lies in the very fact that, having realized unity for a considerable part of mankind, it aspired to become nothing less than universal. But Christian unity was built on faith and presented itself to view in a changeless and eternal form. On this account it quarreled with something else working irrepressibly in man and nature, it quarreled with "the law of becoming" which we have just encountered as a principle of science under the modern name of evolution. As this history has shown, from the period of the Renaissance the strong forces of development, identical with life itself, were engaged in undermining Christian unity with such success that by the nineteenth century the one and indivisible Church had been replaced not only by countless Christian sects but also by the numerous bands of disbelievers and agnostics who had put themselves entirely outside the

Man and the search for unity

ristian fold. To many an anxious observer it must have seemed
t the growing disorganization could only end by engulfing society
chaos. But almost imperceptibly, even while chaos was still gain-
ground, the principle of unity had set to work again, this time
owing a path in close keeping with the experiential attitudes
ich were at the root of the Christian disintegration. The early
odern Age (the period just before and after 1500) witnessed explo-
ion and discovery, it brought commerce, industry, and the inten-
ed activity of the new monarchical societies. While it is true that
nflicts multiplied and that the whole struggle for existence assumed
iercer aspect, it is also true that a counter-current aiming at the
luction of disorder was set in motion by the practical needs of
n of affairs. They were inexorably impelled by the pressure of
ir daily interests to put travel and exchange on a basis of security.
nce a treaty of peace closing a war came invariably to include
ong guarantees for traders and presently involved so many com-
cated details touching the inviolability of private property, the
ety of persons, tariff regulations, and other similar matters that
was found desirable to negotiate special treaties of amity and
mmerce. Then, in the seventeenth century, the Dutchman, Gro-
s, took a further step by setting up a body of international law
ich aimed to secure certain basic rights to all men and all societies
both peace and war.[1] Although Grotius's deductions met with
position and were honored more often in the breach than the ob-
vance, a body of international practices none the less did gradually
erge which tended to take on the character of compulsion. In
s way they materially contributed toward a régime of smoother
ations among states in time of peace and toward the elimination
some of the more brutal features of warfare. Slowly, with many
-backs, men were working out rules of universal intercourse.
To this spinning of threads across the boundaries of states the
eteenth century added a tremendous impulse. We have in this
nection only to recall the railroad, the steamboat, and the tele-
ph to realize at once that the old jealous barriers would
ve to be modified and that governments which wished to
d support to the most pressing interests of their peoples
uld be obliged to do their utmost to promote travel,
mmunication, and the exchange of goods and ideas.

Accelerated movement toward unity in the nineteenth century

e rapidity of this movement in recent generations mocks descrip-

[1] See p. 276.

tion. Luckily most of the facts are so much a part of our daily experience that it suffices to tabulate a few of them for purposes of illustration. Nineteenth century governments were obliged to make postal arrangements which logically culminated in a Universal Postal Union. Similar agreements about the telegraph were followed by others, hardly less sweeping, touching railroads and steamboats. At the same time private business groups, especially bankers, entered into negotiations for discounting bills and floating loans until to speak of capital as international became a commonplace. Certainly money has recently flowed without particular concern for political boundaries over all the countries of the world. No less important have been the unifying influences of science. A discovery in any one country was immediately appropriated by the others, and scientists, aware of this interdependence, did not hesitate to come together in international societies of physicists, chemists, engineers, physicians, and finally even of historians and artists in order to exchange views and to organize their search for knowledge on the most effective and harmonious plan. And when in the last quarter of the nineteenth century socialism had succeeded in gaining a foothold among the new classes of industrial workers, it, too, organized itself on an international scale and by a system of international congresses brought the workingmen into line with the efforts of business men and intellectuals toward a better coördination of the forces of the world.

Although the governments, enamoured of their sovereignty and deeply entangled in traditional rivalries and enmities, were reluctant to yield to the growing movement of association, it will not do to represent them as consistently hostile to it. So far for instance, as improved communications by post, telegraph, and railroad were concerned we have seen that they seized upon them with an almost rapturous eagerness. But when it came to a modification of their selfish pursuit of power in the form of better boundaries and new territories they not only hesitated but resisted. The idea had become rooted in the conviction of all the European peoples that an unlimited sovereignty was the *summum bonum* of earthly happiness and that its essence was a relentless competition with reference, in the last resort, to war. It was for this reason that they had systematically developed their armies and navies; and even when they permitted their regiments and ships to remain idle

The governments based on conceptions of absolute sovereignty reluctant to give up their freedom

many decades together, they kept them in reserve like a pack of ngry hounds, and even while they negotiated in apparent amity ey pointedly drew attention to the leash resting in their hands. deniably two contrary currents had taken possession of the modern rld and the unity promoted by the rapidly expanding practical eds of men was confronted with the old and rooted absolute con- otions of sovereignty. And instead of these latter declining in ength, it so happened that the extraordinary opportunities un- ded before the European governments in the most recent period Africa, Asia, and other backward areas stimulated and exaggerated ir selfish energy. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century e great powers entered upon the most frenzied phase of their age- g rivalry, the phase known as imperialism and which will be ated in due time. One and all without exception steadily en- ged their means of offense. It became a period appropriately led the armed peace. A growing nervousness possessed the world l forward-looking individuals and groups everywhere raised a cry warning. Even the governments did not close their eyes to the ks they were running; and when in 1898 Tsar Nicholas II issued an itation to a meeting to consider means for the preservation of ace all the important states sent delegates to The Hague where the embly took place (1899). Something was done, although in ence it amounted to no more than a beautiful gesture. A court of itration was set up to which governments were advised to mit their disputes, and the rules of war were codified in the in- ests of a more humane prosecution of armed conflicts. A second gue conference held in 1907 also confined itself largely to a dis- y of eloquence. In such immediately pressing matters as the uction of competitive armaments and of exorcising the dangerous rit of imperialism it did as little as its predecessor.

The most one can say touching the interesting attempts of 1899 l 1907 to bring the question of world peace under the competence a world parliament is that they disseminated through mankind reater awareness of the perils involved in a conception sovereignty which acknowledged no limits in its pur- of imperialist rewards. No one capable of seeing world as a whole could fail to grasp that the European develop- nt had by the beginning of the twentieth century reached a athless stage. Doubtless the most promising and characteristic es of the age were at work to bring men together in a new unity

The terms of the world problem

based on immediate, mundane, and experimental considerations at the same time the old governments with their absolute and obsolete ideas of sovereignty hesitated to surrender as much as a jot or tittle of their boasted self-determination. In seeking to express the situation in the language of philosophy, one might be tempted to say that unity and freedom, both desirable and both dominating forces in human history, had been brought into sharp confrontation with each other, and that unless they could somehow be reduced to an accommodation, a catastrophe of world proportions was inevitable.

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CHAPTER XXVI

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

The indication furnished by the choice of Louis Napoleon as sident, that France did not really want a republic, was converted o positive proof by the elections of May, 1849, to the Legislative sembly, the first parliament under the new constitution. e country returned an immense monarchical majority; d the only reason the republic was not immediately erthrown lay in the circumstance that the monarchists re divided into three groups: legitimists, favoring the er Bourbon line; Orleanists, devoted to the family of Louis Philip; d a rising Bonapartist faction, supporting the president. While ng his best to strengthen his personal supporters, Louis Napoleon, irous above all of weakening the republic, encouraged a combi- ion of all the monarchists to reduce the popular rights secured the recent revolution. Yielding to its conservative bias, the sembly limited the freedom of the press, forbade political meetings, d finally (1850) capped this anti-republican legislation by a bill ich put an end to universal male suffrage, probably the most portant popular achievement of the revolution. By making the frage dependent on certain residence and tax requirements, ctically the whole body of the workingmen was deprived of the e. Evidence of the prince-president's close attachment to the nservatives (monarchists and clericals) was at the same time fur- hed by the military expedition sent in the spring of 1849 against Roman Republic. While the responsibility for this action, of ich mention has already been made, falls upon Napoleon, he ld not have carried it through without the support of the re- ionaries, who plainly delighted in wrecking republics wherever opportunity beckoned.

Louis Napoleon favors the monarchical elements

More than a year passed before the monarchical majority of the sembly perceived that the president was playing their game not their sake but for his own. In view of his past exploits they

looked upon him as a rather comic figure, kicked upstairs by capri cious Fortune and not sufficiently intelligent to be a serious threa to the state. Under cover of the Assembly's contempt he was there fore able to pursue unmolested his inalterable cours looking toward an imperial restoration. As it was th time of railroad-building, the president was constantl invited to all parts of France to assist at the forma opening of some new section, and on these occasions h never failed to make a speech. Beginning with railroads and th blessings of industrialism, he rose rapidly to a vision of the pas glories of France under his great uncle and with the last sentence o his peroration had the crowd shouting "*Vive Napoléon!*" and a few perhaps specially planted individuals, forgetting their republica manners to the point of intoning "*Vive l'empereur!*" In this way h built up a powerful personal following; and when the Assembly, a last enlightened regarding his fixed purpose, drew away from him, i discovered that the conservative sentiment had rallied to the presi dent, while the liberals, offended by the stream of anti-popular legis lation, had lost interest in the republic. In 1851 Napoleon, rendere confident by the large personal party he had brought together, le fall the last veil from his plans by presenting himself before th Assembly with the request to alter the constitution to his advantage The constitution fixed the presidential term at four years, withou the right to reëlection. As by the operation of this article Loui Napoleon would have become a private citizen in 1852, he urge repeal upon the legislature. When the legislature refused, he resolved in order to maintain his power, to overthrow the government.

The president builds up a personal following

The *coup d'état* was set for December 2, 1851. The most importan preliminary step, taken during the preceding months, had been t win over the leaders of the army; and with these secured the succes of the conspirators was certain. While the troops occu pied Paris, closed the hall of the deputies, and put th president's leading opponents under lock and key, th president himself announced by placard the return t the system of the great Corsican as embodied in the Constitution o the Year VIII. The country, called upon to express its opinio upon these proceedings, indorsed the *coup d'état* by a large majority Louis Napoleon thereupon completed his government on the basis of granted constitution, which he provided with a false façade of liberal ism by means of a legislature elected by universal suffrage. But sinc

The *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851

e legislature was carefully deprived of all effective powers, the con-
l was concentrated in the sole hand of the chief executive. There
s nothing left to make the triumph complete but to gather its
t fruits, and exactly a year after the *coup d'état* the president
umed the title Emperor Napoleon III.

The new emperor never forgot that he was a usurper, who could
ain his throne only if he acquired and kept the good-will of the
ench people. Clever politician that he was, he therefore tried to
ry favor with as many social classes as possible. **The policy of Napoleon III**
therto his electoral victories had been chiefly due to
e peasants, whose conservative and clerical sympathies
had systematically flattered. Without ceasing to appeal to them
directed his attention also to the middle classes. He had a suffi-
ntly alert and modern mind to recognize the importance of fac-
ies and railways, and by vigorously favoring their multiplication
played into the hands of the bourgeoisie. But chiefly he wished
impress all classes alike with his personal prestige, and in order to
rease it, he resolved to embark on an adventurous foreign policy.
is was taking a page from the note-book of Napoleon I, who had
quently remarked that what the French people preëminently
nted was military glory. Whither the doctrine led that great
n we are aware. Napoleon III, too, at first had his military tri-
phs, but without ever climbing as high as his exemplar managed
the end to fall much lower.

Napoleon had hardly seated himself on the throne when a brilliant
portunity presented itself for fishing in the ever troubled waters
the Near East. The alarming feebleness shown by the Ottoman
pire in the Greek War of Liberation persisted during
succeeding decades and prompted Tsar Nicholas of **Tsar Nicholas and the Ottoman Empire**
ssia confidently to expect the early agony of the rival
te. He referred to the sultan cheerfully as "the sick
n," and became convinced that Russia and Great
tain, as the likeliest heirs, should anticipate the sultan's demise
coming to an agreement on the division of the heritage. But as
ry probable scheme of division would place Russia in possession
Constantinople, and Great Britain, far from wishing to put that
ategic point in the hands of the tsar, was delighted to have it held
a sovereign so weak in naval strength as the sultan, Nicholas's
rtures were firmly rejected. Other complications, more particu-
y a dispute between Nicholas and Napoleon as to which of the

two enjoyed the right to protect the Holy Places of Palestine, added to the bitterness which gradually charged the tsar's soul. In April, 1853, it suddenly and wrathfully overflowed in the form of an attempt to wrest from the sultan an acknowledgment of the tsar's special position with reference to the Ottoman Empire. In peremptory words the sultan was ordered to concede to the tsar the protectorate over all Greek Christians resident in Turkey. As this would have made Nicholas co-sovereign with the sultan in the Turkish dominions, the British ambassador at Constantinople urged the Ottoman government to refuse. The answer of the Russians was to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia (the Danubian principalities) in order to enforce their claim; and after much diplomatic sparring, in which all the powers took part, another war broke out between the tsar and the sultan.

But Turkey was not left alone this time as in 1828–1829. Great Britain, having prompted the sultan to resistance, was in honor bound to help him; and though no vital French interest was at stake, Napoleon, glad and eager to find an occasion to put himself forward, offered Great Britain his alliance. Together the two western powers signed a treaty with the Ottoman Empire (March, 1854) and declared war upon Russia. What had threatened at first to be merely another Turco-Russian conflict, thus became a European war, the first on any considerable scale since the Napoleonic struggle.

Great Britain and France support Turkey

The first important move of the campaign of 1854 was that the Russians retired from the Danubian principalities into their own territory and stood on the defensive. The allies therefore were obliged to agree upon some point for attack, and after much waste of time hit upon the fortress of Sebastopol in the Crimea. The war practically reduced itself to the siege of this great stronghold, which the Russians defended skillfully and vigorously for a whole year. Its fall in September, 1855, discouraged the Russians greatly; and as Tsar Nicholas, whose pretensions had caused the war, had died during the siege, to be succeeded by his more moderate and conciliatory son, Alexander II, negotiations were begun which led to a general European congress at Paris and to the signing in March, 1856, of a peace. As the Ottoman Empire had been the ally of France and Great Britain, the treaty in effect registered, even though the fighting had been done by the two western powers, a victory of the sultan over his ancient foe, the tsar

The Crimean War, 1854–56

a result of the peace the tsar was obliged to renounce not only plan of a protectorate over the Greek Christians but also certain cial rights secured by earlier treaties with regard to such semi-onomous territories as Serbia and the Danubian principalities umania). In fact Russia was put on an exact level with all the er powers in regard to the Ottoman Empire, the independence territorial integrity of which were solemnly guaranteed. As for Christian subjects of the sultan the treaty affirmed that their per and natural protector was their Mohammedan sovereign he alone. To discourage Russia from renewing her attacks on rkish territory, the conferees, largely at the instance of Great tain, wrote a provision into the treaty neutralizing the Black and obliging Russia to promise to maintain neither a naval base warships on its waters. Doubtless the treaty of Paris leveled eavy blow at Russia; but whether it would have a long life was ther question, since it was based on the absurd assumption that disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, which had been proceeding centuries, could be stopped by the paper command of interested lomats. Was it, in the nature of things, possible to decree either cessation of Turkish decay or the arrest of Russian growth?

The Crimean War, signalized by the spectacular capture of Sebas-ol chiefly through the action of French troops, and brought to a se at Paris under the eyes of Napoleon, greatly enhanced the Em-or's influence, though, as already remarked, it would hard to say what advantage France reaped therefrom. poleon III's policy was personal, not national. That is the con-sion which his whole reign confirms, and particularly the steps now took in the Italian question.

Napoleon's prestige

As his career must by now have fully convinced us, Napoleon, spite of his name, was less a soldier than a clever and juggling itician endowed with a consuming ambition and a few general as derived from the age in which he lived. We have n that he supported the Industrial Revolution; at same time he was so persuaded of the power of nation-m that he looked upon a nationalist reorganization of rope as inevitable. It is one of the pleasanter sides of his nature t he was occasionally willing to risk something in behalf of a se which stirred his soul. The spectacle of Italy in chains had ited his sympathy when, as a young exile from France, he had elt on Italian soil. It was even popularly held that he had joined

Napoleon reopens the Italian question

the Italian revolutionary society of the Carbonari. His youthful memories now led him to play with the thought of the liberation of the peninsula from Austrian rule — a generous impulse without doubt, but one explained by his personal predilections, not grounded in the necessities of the French state of which he was the official guardian.

Ever since the failure of the rising of 1848 Italy had been again swayed by Austria. In these circumstances the hopes and prayers of the patriots turned with increasing fervor to Sardinia-Piedmont, now a constitutional state under a young and vigorous king, Victor Emmanuel II. In 1852 the king appointed as the head of his ministry a remarkably gifted nobleman, Count Cavour by name, who cautiously and systematically prepared the liberation and unification of the peninsula. In Cavour's view the great national movement was to radiate from Sardinia-Piedmont as its center; but because this state could not by itself defeat Austria, the minister held that one of the great powers would have to be persuaded to lend military help. That could only be France, which had never ceased to regard Austria's hegemony in Italy with a jealous eye and whose sovereign did not conceal his sympathies for the oppressed Italian people. With remarkable skill Cavour manipulated the various elements of the situation. In order to curry favor with both Great Britain and France he took their side in the Crimean War and actually despatched a Piedmontese expeditionary corps to Sebastopol; then having laid Napoleon under obligation, he lured him with the prospect of a greater than the Crimean glory to be won across the Alps; and at last, in 1858, he drew him into an alliance (agreement of Plombières). The Franco-Sardinian alliance was directed against Austria, which was to be deprived of Lombardy and Venetia and driven out of Italy.

Cavour obtains an alliance with Napoleon

The war began in the spring of 1859 and was over in a few weeks. By two victories, at Magenta and at Solferino, the allies — France and Sardinia — drove the Austrians out of Lombardy back upon the Quadrilateral. Italy was ablaze with bonfires and with tumultuous enthusiasm hailed Napoleon as its liberator wherever he appeared. But much remained to be done. The Quadrilateral, one of the strongest defensive positions of Europe, would have to be taken before the Austrians could be said to have been really driven from Italy. Just as everybody was expecting a fresh advance of the allies, the telegraph flashed the news of a dra-

The Italian war of 1859

tic change: Napoleon had met the Emperor Francis Joseph of stria in private conference at Villafranca and arranged a peace ly 11th). By its terms Austria agreed to give up Lombardy, was permitted to retain Venetia and therewith a powerful thold in the peninsula. Disgusted with what he stigmatized as poleon's perfidy, Cavour resigned from office — luckily only porarily — but Victor Emmanuel II accepted the Villafranca angements, comforted by the reflection that the cause of Ital- unity had for the first time successfully unfurled its banner.

The considerations which moved Napoleon to his sudden turn- ut were manifold. He was not a masterful character and easily victim to his fears. One of these concerned the military problem breaking through the Quadrilateral. So strong was this ition that not improbably the French might bleed mselves to death before it. The second fear concerned ssia, which, moved by sympathy for Austria, was paring to mobilize upon the Rhine and threaten his exposed k. And finally, he was filled with dismay by the wild nationalist pest sweeping over Italy from the Alps to the straits of Messina. gave Lombardy, representing one-half of the stipulated terms, Victor Emmanuel and hurried home, resolved to wash his hands he troublesome Italian question. Tempted as much by his own stic hopes about nationalism as by Cavour's promise of easy rels, he had plunged into a movement of liberation which he ected to control at every point. In place thereof the self-deceived venturer faced a national turmoil which broke all bounds and cked at compulsion.

Napoleon's reasons for making peace

To this turmoil we must now give attention, for it brings us face ace with the piece-meal method by which Italian unification was ught about. Elated by the war against the national enemy, scany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna (the north- section of the Papal States), making up together north- tral Italy, rose against their princes and, driving m from their thrones, declared for annexation to dinia. Victor Emmanuel, pleased though he was, ed not accept these territories without the consent the all-powerful Napoleon. Feverish negotiations owed, which ended (March, 1860) in an agreement t permitted the annexations in return for the cession to France of oy and Nice. It was a typical political trade based on the prin-

Sardinia annexes (1) Lombardy (1859); (2) the north-central states (March, 1860)

ciple of give-and-take. The cession of the Alpine county of Savoy deeply hurt the king, for it was the original home of his dynasty but as Savoy with even Nice thrown in was manifestly worth less than the north-central states, Cavour persuaded Victor Emmanuel to yield. In the course of a single year the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont had absorbed first, Lombardy, and second, the remainder of northern Italy with the exception of Venetia. These two acquisitions represent the first and second steps in the process of Italian unification.

Garibaldi conquers the Two Sicilies

The third step was the capture in the summer of 1860 of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This was accomplished by a daring buccaneering expedition led by Italy's soldier of fortune, Giuseppe Garibaldi. Secretly encouraged by Cavour, Garibaldi gathered at the port of Genoa one thousand volunteers called from their conspicuous attire his thousand Red Shirts, and in May suddenly set sail for Sicily. He had only to show himself with the national colors for the Sicilians to toss their hats into the air and abandon the hated Bourbon king. Sicily conquered, Garibaldi crossed the straits to the mainland, and again proof was furnished that the imported, Spanish-minded Bourbon dynasty had never taken root among the people. The victory fell as usual to the courageous heart, and, acclaimed as a savior the bold conqueror in September entered the unresisting city of Naples. Being a convinced republican, Garibaldi now took up the plan of organizing his conquest as a separate democratic state. The project alarmed and outraged Cavour, who regarded it as the wreck of his unitary policy. He therefore persuaded his king to march the Piedmontese troops through the Papal States into the southern kingdom in order to dispute Garibaldi's possession. In the face of this opposition and, on the further ground, that the south Italians manifestly desired annexation to Sardinia, Garibaldi yielded his position and generously surrendered his power into the hands of King Victor Emmanuel. A plebiscite taken (Nov. 1860) in Sicily and Naples gave a staggering majority for absorption into the northern kingdom. With the defeat and exile of the Bourbon king, Francis II, who made a last stand at the fortress of Gaeta, the Neapolitan incident was brought to a happy close.

Simultaneously with Naples another issue had arisen and become pressing. In driving through the eastern sections of the Papal States Cavour had become aware that these territories too (Ancona, Um

a) passionately desired annexation to Sardinia. The weak papal ces were easily disposed of and, encouraged by a favorable biscite (Oct. 1860), Cavour carried through the annexation of ese territories. While these events were proceeding, the npestuous Garibaldi attempted to wring from the king rmission to lead an expedition against the city of Rome; t as Rome was held by French troops and the attempt capture the capital of the pope would have meant a war with

Annexation of the bulk of the Papal States

ance, Cavour interposed a firm veto. He was a statesman who ew when to go forward and when to retreat; and although he held h Garibaldi and the impulsive patriots that Italy would remain orso until Rome and Venice, too, had been joined to the Italian nk, he took a realist's account of things and forces as he found m. Just as to drive upon Rome would precipitate a war with ance, so to descend upon Venetia would certainly cause a war with stria; and for neither of these conflicts was Italy as yet, according Cavour, prepared. He resolved to bide his time, convinced that ner or later incidents would occur which would play into his ntry's hands and enable it to complete the work of unification

so happily begun. It was folly to overlook that for the present the movement of advance was effectively checked.

In view of these elements of the general situation, Cavour resolved to inaugurate a period of rest and domestic consolidation. In consequence of the rapid march of events since 1859 he had upon his hands a kingdom of Sardinia plus a mass of annexations several times its size. In February, 1861, he summoned to Turin, the Sardinian capital, elected representatives from all the recent acquisitions who enthusiastically proclaimed the transformation of the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy. At the same time the Sardinian constitution was made applicable to the new state and Victor Emmanuel took the title king of Italy. It was a proud and uplifting moment in the history of a reborn people. But there was much work ahead; an administration, an army and navy, a modern economic system had to be created, not to mention the necessity of finding a *modus vivendi* with the pope, who, outraged by his spoliation, had excommunicated the king, Cavour, his rebellious subjects — in fact, everybody conspicuously connected with the movement of unification. The important work of domestic regeneration had hardly begun when the great Cavour, worn out by his labors, died (June, 1861), and the cloak of the inspired statesman fell upon the shoulders of well-meaning but humdrum politicians.

Proclamation of the kingdom of Italy

Twice the impatient Garibaldi took the bit between his teeth and charged upon Rome, resolved to repeat his buccaneering exploit of 1860. Both attempts were failures because the government of Victor Emmanuel, true, in spite of temptation, to Cavour's counsels, refused to precipitate a war with France. And exactly as the great leader had prophesied, fortune before long successively produced the two opportunities which enabled Italy to realize her hopes with regard to Venetia and Rome without exposing herself to excessive risks. The first opportunity occurred in 1866. In that year there broke out the long-threatening war in Germany between Austria and Prussia, of which we shall hear in the next chapter. Prussia naturally appealed to Italy for help, and the two powers, upon both of whom Austria rested like an incubus, made an alliance. Austria was obliged to face two enemies at once; and although victorious over Italy, defeating her army at Custozza (June 24th) and her navy at Lissa in the Adriatic (July 20th), was so conclusively crushed by

The Austro-Prussian crisis enables Italy to acquire Venetia

ussia at Sadowa that she had to sign a peace. In the hope of nning French favor, the emperor of Austria had, on receipt of the ws of Sadowa, handed over the Italian objective, Venetia, as a esent to Napoleon III; but the French emperor at the conclusion peace transferred the province to Victor Emmanuel. Venetia s promptly incorporated with Italy, and in November the old ublic of St. Mark gave the king a stirring and patriotic welcome its midst.

The Patrimony of St. Peter (Rome and its immediate environ-nt) now alone remained outside the reconstituted nation. If e question had been submitted to the vote of the Romans whether ey wished to be governed by the pope or by the king, ere can be no doubt for whom they would have declared. t French troops held the city for the pope, and Napo-n made it plain that, much as he had done for Italian ity, his complaisance stopped at the walls of the Eternal y. To snatch Rome from the pope would have pre-itated a French war. The upshot was that the Italian government olved to let time do its work, and when in 1870 a war broke t between France and Prussia, its patience was fully rewarded. liged to mobilize his full strength against the Germans, Napoleon withdrew his garrison from Rome and, shortly after, was rendered olly impotent by his capture at Sedan. There was now no one to der the march upon Rome. In September, 1870, the Italian ny appeared before the gates and forced its way into the city amid plaudits of the citizens. Although Pope Pius IX poured renewed athemas on his despoilers, he was not disturbed in his vast official idence, the Vatican palace, from which he continued to rule the tholic world. While Rome is therefore still the head of Catholic ristianity, it has since 1870 been also the secular capital of the lian state.

The Franco-German War enables Italy to acquire Rome

Rulers of the House of Savoy

(Sardinia-Piedmont; Italy)

rles Albert, 1831–1849
tor Emmanuel II (son of the above; first king of Italy) 1849–1878
mbert I (son of his predecessor), 1878–1900
tor Emmanuel III (son of Humbert I) 1900–

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Although, following the failure of the German revolution of 1848, ussia remained a constitutional state, this success offered only a ght consolation to the dejected liberals in view of the fact that a rk reaction spread its shadows over the country. The ratic king, Frederick William IV, once more openly ex- unded his views of Divine Right, and leaning on the ndowners (*Junker*), the army officers, and the Lutheran clergy duced the action of the Prussian parliament (*Landtag*) to the small- t possible scope. The press was muzzled and political meetings ere forbidden. As, in addition to the loss of credit resulting from is domestic situation, Prussia suffered from having at the dictation Austria (1850) meekly reëntered the Bund, her influence among the eral and unitarian elements of German society temporarily disap- ared. In the year 1858 occurred a change, slight in itself but des- ed to become significant. In that year, owing to the appearance of mptoms of insanity, the reactionary monarch was replaced by his other William, first as regent and, on the demise of the patient in 61, as king.

The reaction in Prussia

The advent of William was hailed as the dawn of a new era and tended by a revival of hope among the liberal elements. Endowed, sharp contrast with his romantic brother, with a matter-of-fact nd and having besides, through long association, a pro- sional interest in the army, the new ruler inaugurated once what seemed to him an urgent military reform. e Prussian army, a creation of the Napoleonic wars, s based on a law of 1814 which prescribed universal litary training in the form of three years' service with the colors d two years in the reserve. At the time this system was adopted me 40,000 recruits reported annually for training and the total nding army was slightly in excess of 120,000 men. Since then the pulation of Prussia had increased by more than fifty per cent; but only 40,000 recruits could be annually accommodated on the basis the existing arrangements, the principle of universal compulsory

King William I and the Army Reform Bill

training had in practice been abandoned. The new sovereign determined to make military training once more general, not only of course because of his devotion to the principle but also because its strict enforcement would provide a larger army and secure for Prussia a greater degree of consideration in the councils of Europe. At the same time he wished to introduce a few minor changes, such as the extension of the service in the reserve from two to four years, which recommended themselves to him on technical military grounds. He had an Army Reform Bill presented to the parliament, which actually voted the recommended changes in a provisional form. Then a hitch occurred. The liberals had acquired a majority in the lower house and, desiring to reduce the military expenditures, demanded certain concessions, above all, the reduction of the service with the colors from three to two years. Angered by this attempt to interfere in the organization of the army, which he looked upon as a government service pertaining to the king alone, William dismissed the lower house only to find that in the new elections the people returned a larger liberal majority than before. The king, who, on the strength of the provisional vote, had already begun the reorganization of the army, persisted in carrying through the work, while his liberal opponents with ever waxing shrillness declaimed against the unconstitutionality of his action. In this way it came about that, beginning with the year 1861, Prussia entered upon a vivacious struggle between executive and legislative, which, while it turned immediately about the Army Reform Bill, involved also the question of the constitution, since the king insisted on giving permanent character to a measure only provisionally authorized by the legislature.

Discouraged but obstinate, King William resolved to make a last attempt to force his measure through the parliament and in October, 1862, appointed Otto von Bismarck as prime minister. Bismarck was a Brandenburg squire (*Junker*) of ancient lineage, who had emerged into public life in 1848 as the fearless defender of the royal prerogative. On the strength of his militant conservatism he was drawn into the diplomatic service and acted successively as the Prussian representative in the Bund at Frankfort, and at the courts of St. Petersburg and Paris. This experience greatly broadened his outlook. Not only did he gain a masterful grasp of the general European situation, but he reached the conclusion that German unity was feasible only under Prussian leadership and that it would not be attainable except through the destruc-

The ministry of Bismarck

on of the Bund and the ejection of Austria from Germany. As an icient army was indispensable to such a program, he was prepared support the king against the lower house with all the fighting zest his command.

As soon as he presented himself with his conservative record and s habitual self-assurance before the parliament a tremendous orm broke loose. But he refused to be deflected from his path and th apparent tranquillity faced even the prospect of a vil war, which seemed not so remote in view of the un- mpromising position of the two opponents. Before that ss was reached, however, a succession of events occurred which ew public attention elsewhither and which enabled Bismarck by series of brilliant successes to effect a triumphant reconciliation of e sovereign with the parliament and the people.

Bismarck's unshaken stand

In the year 1863 took place the long-expected death of Frederick II of Denmark, the last male of his line. By the verdict of the wers known as the Protocol of London (1852) he was succeeded Copenhagen by his relative, Christian IX; but the chies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had never ac- pted the Protocol, immediately proclaimed the Duke of Au- stenburg, who, according to their view, was the rightful heir. At ttom their action was due less to legal than to nationalist considera- ons. They wished, as Germans, to break the ties that bound them Denmark and they counted confidently on the support of German blic opinion. Nor were they mistaken. Even the sluggish Bund s sufficiently stirred to plan an intervention in their behalf, but fore the measure had got well under way, it was rudely pushed de from an unexpected quarter. Convinced that the shadowy nd was unable to meet the crisis but that Prussia could, Bismarck rsuaded Austria to join him in settling the issue in a manner con- mable with the interests and obligations of the two great German tes. Luckily for the Prussian minister, King Christian IX played o his hands. Immediately upon his accession the king had signed ill, incorporating Schleswig, the northernmost of the two duchies, th Denmark. This was a clear breach of the London Protocol, ich recognized Christian as king of Denmark on the strict under- nding that he would respect the historical autonomy of the duchies. ussia and Austria issued an ultimatum to Copenhagen, demanding at the incorporation be withdrawn without delay. When Christian, der pressure from the Danish nationalists, refused to yield, Berlin

The Danish War, 1864

and Vienna declared war, and in January, 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops entered the duchies side by side. In a swift campaign they brought Denmark to her knees. By a peace signed in August Christian IX ceded Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

The question now was how to divide the spoils, and this question Bismarck faced without flinching since he regarded it as the convenient door through which to enter on the larger issue of German unity. Preliminary to an effective reorganization of Germany was, as he saw the situation, the exclusion of Austria; and since he foresaw that Austria would never depart voluntarily, he was prepared to resort to war to drive her out. As King William hesitated to accept Bismarck's uncompromising view, the negotiations between Berlin and Vienna were spun out till the spring of 1866, when the Prussian king at last went over to his minister's opinion. In consequence Bismarck sought contact with that other enemy of Austria, the young kingdom of Italy, and signed an alliance which, in the event of victory, promised Venetia to King Victor Emmanuel. As the rulers of the other German states all feared that a renovated Germany under Prussian guidance would impair their sovereignty, most of them, and more particularly those of the larger states such as Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Saxony, and Hanover, sided with Austria. With these arrangements made, in June, 1866, the two apparently well-matched combatants took the field. While the ostensible issue between them was the division of the Schleswig-Holstein booty, Bismarck had succeeded in making it as clear as day that the real issue was the reorganization of Germany on a different and more solid basis than the Bund.

Bismark prepares for war with Austria

Although a part of the Prussian army had to be detached against the German allies of Austria, the Austrians, too, were hindered from concentration in a single mass by the obligation of sending an army to Venetia to defend that province against the Italians. Weakened only by these subtractions, the Austrians and Prussians, assembled in two great armies, made ready to meet each other in Bohemia. This meeting of the two leading powers, it was evident, would decide the war.

The several theaters of the war

And now it was proved to friend and foe that the reform of the Prussian army was a most timely measure. The Prussians were more quickly mobilized than the Austrians and showed themselves to be much better armed and disciplined. By the admirable arrangements

GROWTH OF PRUSSIA
in the
Nineteenth Century
Prussia, 1807-1813 (Napoleonic Prussia)
Territory recovered in 1815
New Acquisitions in 1815
Acquisitions until 1861
Acquisitions of William I. (1861-1888)
Boundaries of Provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia
Acquisition of German Empire, 1871
0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE OF MILES
NOTE TO THE STUDENT: Prussia, having received at Vienna (1815), half of Saxony, Posen, Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, made new acquisitions in 1866 as follows: Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfurt. By the war with France the new German Empire as a whole acquired Alsace-Lorraine.
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO
12° Longitude East 14° from Greenwich 16°
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN 1866
HANOVER 1866
BRANDENBURG
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
POSEN
SILESIA
RUSSIA
NETHERLANDS
WESTPHALIA
RHINE PROVINCE
HESSE-NASSAU
HESSE-CASSEL
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
BAVARIA
WÜRTTEMBERG
BADEN
ALSACE-LORRAINE 1871
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Berlin
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Cologne
Frankfurt
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
Prague
Vienna
Nuremberg
Würzburg
Strassburg
Metz
Danzig
Königsberg
Stettin
Posen
Cassel
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Kiel
Lübeck
Rostock
Swinemünde
Thorn
Tilsit
Friedland
Eylau
Elbing
Kalisch
Glogau
Liegnitz
Brieg
Reichenbach
Neisse
Jägerndorf
Troppau
Sadowa
Königgrätz
Karlsbad
Ratisbon
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
Carlsruhe
Mannheim
Coblenz
Aix-la-Chapelle
Münster
Osnabrück
Emden
Wilhelmshaven
Cuxhaven
Flensburg
Schleswig
Rendsburg
Altona
Wismar
Kolberg
Rügen
Bornholm
Taurogge
Memel R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Zuyder Zee
North Sea Canal
Kiel Canal
Frisches Haff
Gulf of Danzig
Lake Constance
Basel
Belfort
Mülhausen
Sigmaringen
Hohenzollern
Saarbrücken
Trier
Mainz
Darmstadt
Wetzlar
Nassau
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Cologne
Frankfurt
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
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Weser R.
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Kiel Canal
Frisches Haff
Gulf of Danzig
Lake Constance
Basel
Belfort
Mülhausen
Sigmaringen
Hohenzollern
Saarbrücken
Trier
Mainz
Darmstadt
Wetzlar
Nassau

ne great strategist Moltke, three Prussian columns were made to verge upon the Austrian army, engaged in concentrating near fortress of Königgrätz in Bohemia, and catching the enemy at owa as in a vise, crushed him utterly (July 3d). The had hardly begun when it was over. It was of little con- ience that the Austrians in Italy defeated the Italians Custozza, or that the Prussians completed their triumph by de- ing the minor German forces. Incapable of continuing the ggle, Austria was obliged to open negotiations. A truce in July followed in August, 1866, by the definitive Peace of Prague.

Sadowa (or Königgrätz) July 3, 1866

y the Peace of Prague Austria agreed to cede her rights to Schles- Holstein to Prussia, to accept the dissolution of the Bund, to draw from German affairs, and to leave Prussia free to form a ederation of the states of northern Germany. The South German states (Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse) were accorded the right to form a federation heir own. Although Austria made the further sacri- of Venetia, which was surrendered to Italy, in view of mmensity of her disaster, her territorial losses were not crushing. oon as these arrangements were assured, Bismarck made peace the German allies of Austria. In order to ease the animosities uced by the late conflict he let off the four South German states small indemnities; but certain hostile North German states, Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse-Cassel, which drove a wedge be- n the mass of Prussia around Berlin and her possessions on the ne, he incorporated with the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns. hout any question the war delivered Germany into Prussia's ds; none the less as long as the South German states remained f from reorganized North Germany, the national unity was in- plete. It took another war, the war with France, to fuse North South Germany and crown Bismarck's national policy.

The Peace of Prague and the triumph of Prussia

eanwhile, the Peace of Prague left Bismarck free to establish a h German Confederation. In the stress of civil war, the old d had gone to its reward, with no greater outburst of sorrow than attended, exactly sixty years before, the demise of the Roman Empire. For the first time since the Middle Germany was to have a strong union. The twenty- states which joined it accepted the king of Prussia as executive under the title president, while the legislative power entrusted to a Federal Council or *Bundesrath*, representing the

The North German Confederation

participating governments, and a parliament or *Reichstag*, represen ing the people and elected by universal suffrage. Although the con ponent states preserved a broad measure of autonomy, they lost the leading sovereign rights which were taken over by the new feder institutions, the Bundesrath, the Reichstag, and, above all, the kin of Prussia in his capacity of chief executive. While the constitutio drafted by Bismarck, made in the elected Reichstag a considerab concession to liberal opinion, it was so framed that the king of Pruss and the other sovereigns, represented with him in the Bundesrat retained substantial control of the policy of the new state. The Sout German states, free to form a confederation of their own, failed to d so, and occupied a very unsatisfactory position as wandering come of the German system, until a new crisis drew them into the Nort German Confederation.

This crisis, which constitutes the last step in the unification Germany, was precipitated by the strained relations resulting fro the victory of Prussia between herself and her western neighbo

Napoleon and the Mexican muddle

France. We parted from the Emperor Napoleon on th occasion of his victorious campaign of 1859 in Italy While contributing immensely to the liberation of Italy he had not failed to collect a generous fee for services the form of Nice and Savoy. The Italian campaign marks the la occasion on which his ventures prospered. Owing to his persiste occupation of Rome with French troops for the purpose of protectin the pope, he sacrificed the good-will of the Italian nation, won upo the battlefield, and made himself almost as detested as the Austrian Then in an evil hour he turned his desires upon the New World. the hope of fresh laurels he interfered in the internal affairs of Mexic and beginning with the occupation of Vera Cruz, sent an army again Mexico City and overturned the republic. Thereupon setting up government of his own, he offered the throne to the Archduke Max milian, brother of the emperor of Austria. His candidate landed Mexico in 1864. The American Civil War was just then at its heigh and the United States was too embarrassed to do more than regist a weak protest against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine; bu no sooner had the Civil War been brought to a close than the gover ment at Washington gave Napoleon to understand that he mu withdraw immediately. Napoleon shuffled awhile, but did not ca to face the consequences of a refusal. The French sailed for Europ and Maximilian, deserted by his protector, was captured a

(1867). The victorious Mexicans at once reëstablished their
blic.

he shame of this disgraceful ending was not the only hapless
ure about the Mexican adventure, for, owing to the absence of
best French troops in the New World, Napoleon could not bring
ull influence to bear on the Austro-Prussian crisis of
. Prussia won, established her supremacy in Ger-
y, and in spite of Napoleon's insistence that France
t receive some territorial compensation along its eastern bound-
refused to yield a single foot of land. Napoleon's position was
oundly shaken. The French people were angry with their
reign because he had permitted Prussia enormously to increase
trength without utilizing its embarrassment to realize wholly
part that ancient objective of French policy, the Rhine bound-

French jealousy of Prussia

To appease the opposition the emperor gradually relaxed the
cratic régime in favor of a truly representative system. The new
e of his government is known as the Liberal Empire. But his
mfitures in the foreign field had been too numerous to revive his
larity, and when, in spite of cunning and constant diplomatic
sure, he was unable to wring from Prussia the slightest conces-
in the matter of French annexations, the relations of the two
rnments grew rapidly more and more exacerbated. Inevitably
dangerous frame of mind of the diplomats was reflected in the
ch and German press and public. Under the circumstances
tmosphere of excitement came to prevail which, with the aid
he blundering and scheming of the leading ministers on both
s, caused a relatively unimportant incident to flare up in war.
the year 1868 a revolution had occurred in Spain by which the
rbon sovereign, Queen Isabella, was expelled. Ever since, the
ish revolutionary leaders had been looking about Europe for a
king, and finally offered the crown to Leopold of
enzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the king
russia. The prospect of a Prussian prince upon the
ish throne greatly excited French opinion, and Napoleon
ened to protest. Prince Leopold's wise refusal of the crown
d the crisis; but almost at once the French foreign minister,
headstrong duke of Gramont, revived it by insisting that King
iam should give a promise that he would never permit his relative
new his candidature. On July 13, 1870, at the order of Gramont,
French ambassador, Benedetti, presented himself before King

The Spanish incident

William, while he was taking the waters at Ems, with this futile an provocative demand. The king, scenting an effort to humiliate hin gave an unequivocal refusal and then telegraphed a detailed versio of the incident to Bismarck at Berlin. The minister, convinced tha the refusal by the prince of the Spanish throne was as far as Prussi could in honor go, and prepared and even eager for a war in whic France had manifestly put itself in the wrong, gave to the press fo general publication a concise version of the Ems despatch. Thoug it was not a falsification, as has been often charged, it was a con scious act of provocation intended as a counterblast to Benedetti unjustified demand. The effect in Paris of the Ems message wa electric. Press and public declared that French honor had bee insulted, and the government, carried off its feet, rushed into wa (July 15th).

The advantages in the struggle which now ensued were, from th beginning, with Prussia. The first success was achieved in connectio with the South German states. Napoleon was hoping that the would, out of aversion for Prussia, side with him, bu the far-seeing Bismarck had provided for just such a emergency. Immediately after the war of 1866 he ha signed offensive and defensive treaties with the South Germa states which obliged them to fight shoulder to shoulder with Prussi Even without these alliances, however, the South German gover ments would not have remained neutral, for the people were arouse to explosive enthusiasm and insisted on regarding the cause of Pruss as that of all Germany. From a purely military point of view, to the preliminary honors were all with the German side. The Nort German Confederation and its allies were ready sooner and mustere a larger and better-organized army than Napoleon. In consequenc the famous Moltke, who acted as chief-of-staff of the German force could assume the offensive and carry the war into France.

The advantages are with Prussia

The Germans found the French drawn up in two main bodie one in Alsace under General MacMahon, the other in Lorrain under Emperor Napoleon himself. A simultaneous attack on Augu 6th was crowned with a double victory, obliging Ma Mahon to abandon Alsace and Napoleon to fall back o the great fortress of Metz on the Moselle. The con bined German armies thereupon concentrated their attack on t French forces covering Metz, and by three bloody battles, culm nating in the battle of Gravelotte (August 18th), succeeded in bloc

The early German victories

the French retreat and bottling up the best French army in the
f fortress of the eastern frontier. Just before the situation around
z had become acute, Napoleon made his escape to the army of
Mahon, which he now tried to bring up, as fast as possible, to
relief of Metz. But he was ruinously defeated at Sedan and
ged to surrender with his whole army (September 2d). After a
ing interview with King William the fallen emperor was sent
ermany as a prisoner of war.

hus far the campaign had been managed with extraordinary
and swiftness on the part of General Moltke. The war had
dly lasted a month, and already Napoleon, at the head of one
he French armies, had been captured, while the
nd French army, commanded by Bazaine, was locked
in Metz. Apparently, it remained only to march
n Paris and dictate terms of peace. Accordingly,
erman army of 200,000 men proceeded westward and toward
end of September undertook the investment of the French
tal.

The investments of Metz and Paris

leanwhile important developments had occurred in the capital.
calamity of Sedan had hardly become known when the city of
s rose in indignation against the luckless imperial government.
Empress Eugénie, whom Napoleon had left behind
egent, fled in dismay and, amid scenes of wild dis-
r, France was declared a republic (September 4th).
he same time a number of men, the most prominent of whom
Gambetta, set up, for the purpose of effectively prosecuting the
the Government of the National Defence.

France proclaimed a republic

he siege of Paris marks the last stage of the war. If the Germans
rtained the hope of settling things in a few weeks, they were
tly mistaken. Gambetta, supported by the aroused opinion
he country, made a most active and honorable re-
nce. But his raw levies were no match, in the long
for the disciplined soldiers of the enemy. The sur-
er of Bazaine at Metz, on October 27th, withdrew
the war the last veteran army which France boasted. Un-
ayed the Parisians held out, until, forced by hunger, they at
on January 28, 1871, agreed to capitulate. The war was over.
he preliminary Treaty of Versailles (made definitive at Frankfort
lay, 1871) France had to buy peace from Germany by paying an
mnity of one billion dollars and by ceding Alsace and a part of

Capitulation of Paris followed by peace

Lorraine. In March the Germans began the evacuation of th French territory.

But it was not the old divided fatherland to which the Germa soldiers returned. The great victories won by the united effort of north and south had aroused a boundless enthusiasm. In a

King William becomes German emperor, January 18, 1871

circles the feeling prevailed that the present happy mili tary union must take a constitutional form; and, yieldin to this sentiment, the South German governments signe agreements with Prussia by which they entered the Nort German Confederation. It was further stipulated tha the completed union was to be called the German Empire and that its head, the king of Prussia, should take the titl German emperor. On January 18, 1871, the completion of the edi fice of German unity was proclaimed to the world from the Hall o Mirrors in Louis XIV's sumptuous palace at Versailles. Bismarck the architect of Germany, was raised to the rank of prince and too the post of chancellor, which, by the terms of the constitution, mad him head of the national administration under the emperor.

France, in the weeks following the treaty with Germany, wen through a terrible crisis. The peace had been authorized by a Assembly which, elected by the people and convened at Bordeaux

The Paris Commune

had superseded Gambetta's improvised Government o National Defence. This body gave Thiers, a man o conservative views, the provisional executive authority. Being largel composed of monarchists it aroused suspicion among republican and radicals as to its ultimate intentions. In March, as soon as peac was assured, the Assembly left Bordeaux and moved to Versailles i order to be nearer Paris. Thoroughly persuaded that the next ste would be the establishment of a reactionary régime, the extrem radicals, a mixed group of socialists and anarchists, resolved t block action by rising in revolution. Taking possession of Paris, the set up a government which they called the Commune. Commun in French usage means the town or city considered as a political en tity, and has nothing whatever in common with what in English i designated as communism. The Commune had no program wort mentioning apart from the purpose of setting up radical Paris a a political entity in as complete independence as possible of con servative France represented by the National Assembly and it executive agent, Thiers.

There followed a bitter civil war which lasted two months (March

y, 1871). It took the form of a siege of Paris by the national ernment at Versailles — the second siege sustained by the un- unate city within a year! The issue was decided by the larger es and supplies of the national government, and in Victory of the National Assembly y the insurgents made their last stand in the heart of capital. When resistance became useless, a few despera- s attempted to set fire to Paris and actually succeeded in destroying Tuileries, the City Hall, and a few other historical structures. exasperated victors knew no mercy. Thousands of men con- ed or suspected of connection with the insurrection and repre- ing every shade of radical opinion were shot without trial; usands more were transported to the colonies or condemned to risonment with hard labor. The National Assembly became the hallenged government of all France. How would it order the re of the country? The year that gave to Germany, which for dreds of years had been a political laughing-stock, a strong ernment, brought to France, which for centuries had been the onym of political strength, a troubled and harassed government d with the necessity of reconstructing the country from the dations.

Rulers of Prussia and the German Empire
(House of Hohenzollern)

erick William III, 1797–1840
erick William IV (son of the above), 1840–1861
am I (brother of his predecessor; first German emperor), 1861–1888
erick III (son of William I) 1888
am II (son of Frederick III), 1888–1918

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CHAPTER XXVIII

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE FROM 1815 TO 1914

The Great Britain which was victorious over Napoleon and which
h its three continental allies undertook in 1815 to reshape Europe
s animated by the resentment against the program of the French
volution common to all the victor powers. This
tional state of mind found political expression in the
mination of the Tory party and in its determination
uphold without change the whole body of inherited
titutions. At the core of these institutions was the
rliamentary system which, the product of the seven-
nth century revolution, transferred the political control from the
g to the house of Commons and, more immediately, to the minis-
(cabinet) representing the majority party in the Commons.[1]
ing to its astonishing success since its creation this British govern-
ntal system enjoyed an enormous prestige not only at home but
o among the liberal groups of the continent. And yet it was not
lly liberal or rather it was liberal only in comparison with the
solutism prevailing everywhere else in Europe. Considered in
lf it was a system conferring political rights exclusively on prop-
y owners and, more particularly, on owners of landed property.
nclusive evidence on this head is supplied by the composition of
two houses of parliament. While it goes without saying that the
rds, a house of feudal origin and character, consisted predominantly
great landholders, it is less self-evident but none the less true
t the landed interests dominated also the house of Commons.
The situation in the Commons becomes clear only by an examina-
n of its composition and of the prevailing system of election. There
re three classes of constituencies: the *counties* elected 186 members,
boroughs 467, and the *universities* 5, making a total membership
658. Neglecting the university members because numerically
mportant, we may begin with the county members, taking note

The British parliamentary system reared on a narrow property foundation

[1] See pp. 372–373.

that the county franchise was dependent on agricultural property and fairly uniform throughout the country. It was the boroughs with their 467 members that chiefly invited the criticism of reformers.

The anomalous electoral system

By boroughs should be understood what in America are colloquially called towns and cities. In the English boroughs the franchise had been conceded not to the inhabitants but to privileged bodies within each borough. While the electoral system showed much variation from borough to borough, it none the less holds that the privilege of the franchise was as a rule so narrowly distributed that the borough members were appointed by no more than a handful of electors. Furthermore, as the list of boroughs having the right of representation had been drawn up in the reign of Charles II and had never since been revised, it happened that not a few had by the vicissitudes of history dwindled to petty villages. Of such reduced boroughs the largest neighboring landowner usually acquired control and sent up to Westminster some near relative or dependent responsible to no one but his patron. Such a borough was picturesquely and adequately described as a pocket borough. As many other boroughs, nay, the vast majority, depended on so restricted a franchise that the few voters could either be bought or delicately manipulated by socially eminent lords or economically powerful millionaires, it followed that the taunt was justified which referred to the boroughs as generally "rotten." While pocket and rotten boroughs sufficiently tell the prevailing tale of injustice and corruption, it should be further noted that the south and east of England were favored at the expense of the north and west. This becomes explicable when we recall that the existing system had taken shape in the seventeenth century when the south and east overshadowed the other sections in point both of wealth and population. But since the middle of the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution had produced a startling change. It had brought into existence new towns such as Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield in the coal and iron districts of the English north. Themselves totally unrepresented in parliament, they had to put up with the irrational and offensive circumstance that vanishing and microscopic communities of the south, carried in his pocket by some powerful magnate, enjoyed an honor to which the newer, flourishing centers aspired in vain. In sum, the house of Commons was not representative of the English people. According to an eminent authority 487 members out of a total of 658 were chosen, in one

y or another, by patrons. In their case the election held from
ie to time was a hollow form. Instead of representing the Eng-
i people the house of Commons may be truthfully said to have
resented a small oligarchy of landlords, bankers, and great
rchants.

For the period in which it arose this distracting system was, after
not so very anomalous, for at the end of the seventeenth century
landed aristocracy and the great merchants undoubtedly were
most vital elements of English society. But since
middle of the eighteenth century a change had been
ng on due to the revolution connected with machines
l factories. A new industrial class had come to the
nt which with its wealth and energy was sure to insist
more adequate political representation. It is highly
bable that it would have been heard from before the
tury came to a close, if the French Revolution had not broken
and, by involving Great Britain in war, had not produced the
al war-time tightening of the reins of government. When in 1815
victory fell to Great Britain and its allies, the spirit of reaction,
we are aware, triumphed all along the line. The victory over
poleon, won under Tory guidance, so heightened the prestige of
conservatives that they were able to extol the inherited system
well nigh perfect, to support their spiritual brethren of the con-
ent linked together in the Holy Alliance, and grimly to set their
es against change.

The struggle with revolutionary France strengthens the conservatives

However, a few years of peace sufficed to blow into flame the jus-
ed discontent of the rapidly multiplying middle classes. Most of
m, as men of means, possessed a natural caution and asked for
hing more than for political recognition of their type
property (machines, factories, capital); but some of
ir allies — journalists, pamphleteers, and social stu-
ts, in short, the important group of intellectuals —
nt farther and, taking their cue from the French Revolution, pro-
med such extreme demands as universal suffrage and a secret
ot. These men called themselves *radicals* and aroused such
ce indignation among the governing Tories that their agitation
at last suppressed by special laws (Gag Laws, 1819). None the
they made themselves felt in the general realm of opinion. In
altered circumstances of the country a group within the Tory
y gradually became convinced of the advisability of offering con-

The Tories themselves inaugurate reform

cessions and with the advent to the foreign office of Canning (1822) succeeded in inaugurating a modest era of reform. It was characteristic of the new spirit that Canning definitely dissociated himself from the Holy Alliance by supporting revolution in Portugal and in the Spanish colonies. The domestic program of himself and friends was as much of an innovation as his foreign policy, for it broke, albeit gently and indecisively, with the inherited economic system by simplifying the customs tariff. The duties on many articles of import were reduced, while a few duties were actually abolished. More particularly the duty on corn (grain), instead of being kept at the established prohibitory figure, was sufficiently lowered to permit a limited importation (1823). All this was not free trade, far from it; but it was a breach with the traditional exaggerated system of protection. In final analysis it was a concession to the new manufacturing interests which needed open avenues of trade and the cheaper foreign food.

Before long another concession to liberal opinion was recorded in the cancellation of the disabilities resting on the remnants of the Puritans, designated by the law as Dissenters. Enjoying since 1689 freedom of worship, the Dissenters had gradually by a process of connivance been admitted to public office, although the so-called Test Acts of Charles II's reign formally excluded them. As there was no use in clinging to laws which were no longer effective, the Test Acts were in 1828 abolished, thus making the Dissenters at last full-fledged citizens in the enjoyment of all the civil rights of Anglicans. While the cancellation of these Acts redounded also to the benefit of the Catholics, certain special laws existed which excluded them from both houses of parliament. In 1829 these special laws were abandoned in their turn and therewith a formal end made to the religious intolerance so deeply embedded in the English and Scottish law and conscience.

Full civil rights granted to Dissenters and Catholics, 1828–1829

With the door thus slowly swinging open to reform it was impossible to avoid the reform of that institution, the parliament, against which criticism aimed its sharpest shafts. As the Tories stubbornly resisted the growing agitation, they were, on the strength of a Whig victory at the polls in 1831, replaced by a Whig ministry; and in the following year a bill for parliamentary reform at last passed both houses and received the signature of the king. Far from being a radical measure, it was manifestly a patch-work concession to the

w manufacturing elements. It did, however, destroy the worst uses of the old system by abolishing the pocket and rotten roughs and by creating a more uniform franchise; at the same ne it admitted the new towns of the north to repre- ntation. Its two main provisions were: (1) *A redistri- tion of seats.* Seats to the number of 143 were taken om the minor boroughs and redistributed in such a way to put an end to the most glaring cases of unequal repre- ntation. (2) *A more uniform electoral franchise.* In the counties the anchise was given to all holders of land worth £10 a year; also to all nants-at-will (a peculiar English legal category) of lands worth £50 a ar. In the boroughs all occupants of houses (whether as owners tenants) were given the vote, provided the house was worth £10 a ar. By this reform the total number of voters was almost doubled. hat was more important still the middle classes were on the above sis admitted to full representation and acquired an electoral prepon- rance which by the mere operation of time was bound to become ore and more decisive. It would be an exaggeration to say that the Reform Bill of 1832 the middle classes leaped at a bound into position of control; but it would be an entirely fair description of e situation to declare that from 1832 on the middle classes, repre- nting developing industry, were prepared to wrest the power from e older aristocratic interests founded on land tenure. The next neration witnessed a political and social struggle conducted on ese lines. In preparation for it the Whigs, who had put through e parliamentary reform and looked to middle class support, reor- nized themselves as the Liberal party. Aware that a new time d dawned bringing in its train new problems, the Tories followed e Whig example and presented themselves to the public in the guise the Conservative party. For several generations to come the par- mentary battle was waged between these two heirs of the old Whigs d Tories.

The Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832 and its significance

How in the decades following the reform of parliament the middle sses, acting through the Liberal party, steadily strengthened eir position may be illustrated by several outstanding measures. ne established method of borough government gave the control to close or self-perpetuating corporation made up of privileged local milies — a typical oligarchical system. Hateful to the new men no found themselves excluded from a voice in town affairs, it was olished in 1835 by the Municipal Corporations Act, by virtue of

which the municipal power was vested in a mayor, aldermen, and councillors responsible to the tax-payers, the whole body of whom was admitted to the franchise. By this measure the expanding middle classes took over the administration of the towns. After transferring by various similar acts the influence of the aristocracy in other local matters such as poor relief and highways to elective boards and salaried officials, the middle classes were finally encouraged to attack the Tory landlords in their most powerful stronghold. This was the Corn Laws. Planned to give the monopoly of the home market to the British growers of breadstuffs, the Corn Laws put so high a tariff on foreign grain as effectively to exclude it. The very rapid growth of population incident to the Industrial Revolution produced a crisis. Not only did the price of bread rise to a fantastically high figure, but Great Britain was really no longer able to provide the quantity of wheat necessary for the sustenance of its people. It was this consideration which induced even the Tories to favor in 1823 that mitigation of the system of which mention has been made. But the middle classes, identified with manufacture and trade, gradually became persuaded that what the country needed was not mitigation but abolition. They were won to this view by a vigorous agitation for free trade in corn carried on under the auspices of two great leaders, Richard Cobden and John Bright. Finally, a terrible famine in Ireland in 1845 precipitated action; and under the general impression that what the British islands needed was plentiful and cheap food, the parliament in 1846 repealed the Corn Laws. Since with English manufacturing ascendancy an established fact there was, on the abandonment of agricultural protection, no need of maintaining any kind of tariff at all, the parliament gradually swept away the import duties on hundreds of articles. By 1860 there were only 48 dutiable articles left. Of these tea, wine, and tobacco were the most important and even this list was maintained not with a view to protection but solely for revenue purposes. In the course of a few decades Great Britain had thrown the old mercantilist theories overboard and committed itself to free trade!

The middle classes complete their conquest of society and government

However, the waxing ascendancy of the middle classes soon encountered an obstacle. An inevitable concomitant of middle class prosperity was that the factory workers multiplied with extraordinary rapidity. As the Liberals, identified with the manufacturing interests and dedicated to a *laissez-faire* philosophy, regarded even the most

thless exploitation of the workers with equanimity, it depended on e Conservatives if any official note was to be taken of the sufferings the factory hands. Moreover, as the old ruling order indulged a miliar aristocratic contempt for the newer riches of the dustrial magnates, it was naturally disposed to irritate em by harping on their social iniquities. An early effect this upper-class rivalry was the passage under Tory spices of the law authorizing trade unions (1824–25). When in 1832 the middle classes obtained the parliaentary franchise, they were so fully satisfied with their elevation power that they vigorously opposed every further extension of the ffrage. But the workingmen, egged on by a group of intellectual dicals, thought otherwise. Persuaded that only political representaon would enable them fully to protect their interests, they inaugu-ted the Chartist agitation, so-called from a petition, named the ople's Charter, around which the movement turned. The People's harter contained six demands addressed to parliament, the most portant of which was universal suffrage. The agitation continued tily for a decade (1837–1848), but as the government refused to pay y attention to it and the workingmen were not yet very powerful, ended in failure.

Rise of working class agitation; the Chartist movement

Seeing that their time had not yet come, the workingmen changed eir tactics, and taking advantage of the fact that they were now ganized in unions, for about a generation they conducted a purely onomic struggle, which, chiefly by the weapon of the ike, frequently brought them reduced hours of work d increased wages. Then they returned to the assault the citadel of politics; and not only because they had anwhile become a vast army but also because they had ified their power by means of local and national trade-union fed-tions, their demands could no longer be overlooked. Both Glad-ne, the leader of the Liberal party, and Disraeli, the leader of the nservatives, recognized the necessity of yielding, but could not mediately persuade their followers to take their view. At length 1867 Disraeli carried a new or second Parliamentary Reform Bill. ain it was a moderate, conservative measure built along the lines the earlier Act. It authorized a redistribution of 58 seats in the erests of a more equal representation; but, above all (and here the significance of the reform), it widened the suffrage. In the e of the counties it cut the property qualification in half, while

Disraeli carries the second Parliamentary Reform Bill, 1867

in the boroughs it conceded the vote to all householders, regardless of the worth of the house, as well as to lodgers in tenements whose lodgings were worth £10 a year. As the skilled mechanics could meet this last condition, it followed that the reform of 1867 substantially enfranchised the unionized workers.

Conceding that this was a democratic measure, it was not universal suffrage. In their deliberate manner the British preferred to move slowly and to retain as much of their traditional system as possible.

Gladstone carries the third Parliamentary Reform Act, 1884

By 1884 they were ready for a third Parliamentary Reform Act sponsored by Gladstone and the Liberal party. By this measure, in the effort to remove certain remaining inequalities, there was again a partial redistribution of seats, but the outstanding feature of the bill was the application of the borough franchise to the counties. In consequence the agricultural laborers, provided they were £10 householders or lodgers, were admitted to the vote. It was estimated that after 1885 over 1,800,000 grown men were still excluded from the polls because they could not meet the requirements of the law; but as, for the most part, they were uneducated and unorganized casual laborers, they failed to get a hearing for their case.

Under these circumstances there might have been no further extension of the parliamentary franchise if the women had not, toward the end of the century, begun an agitation for political emancipation. Despite or perhaps because of the extravagant antics of a militant group among them, humorously called suffragettes, successive ministries long refused to make the slightest concession. Then in 1914 the Great War broke out, and in 1918 the government, obliged to recognize the patriotism shown not only by the women of the country but also by the still disfranchised men, brought in and carried what we may call the fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill. Though it lies beyond the scope of this chapter it must be briefly sketched to complete the story of the evolution of the British franchise. Now at last the old patch-work procedure of the older bills was dropped in favor of universal male suffrage; and not content with the enfranchisement of all men over 21 years of age, the parliament partially at least conceded female suffrage by giving the vote to practically all women over 30.

Female suffrage agitation and the Franchise Act of 1918

If its progressive democratization is the conspicuous fact of British political history in the nineteenth century, and if the cause

his transformation may truthfully be discovered in the spread
ew ideas and programs, a still more fundamental search will
ront us with the social-economic changes brought about by the
ustrial Revolution. As this close connection between
al and political movements has been developed else-
re, as it constitutes indeed one of the persistent assumptions
rlying this history, it does not require restatement at this point.
perpetual social-political inter-play may, however, be illuminat-
brought to the reader's mind in connection with the new class
ctory workers, to whom we now desire briefly to direct atten-

Labor agitation

Let us concede that their partial political emancipation in 1867
a significant manifestation of power and that they owed this
nph chiefly to their having taken their destiny into their own
ds by means of their federated trade unions. But long before
had gone thus far on the road of self-help, they had by the
e fact of their presence in the social body drawn attention to
nselves, and by virtue of their depressed status had provoked
allenge of the dominant *laissez-faire* philosophy. The view that
state is a cold, detached observer of the activities of its members
d not be maintained in the presence of the intolerable miseries
l by the employers on the employees. Courageous men obliged
British ruling classes to see the brutal industrial facts, and slowly,
ctantly even, parliament undertook to ease the lot of the workers
protective legislation. In 1833 it passed the first Factory Act.
nore moderate interference with the "freedom of contract"
laimed by the middle classes can hardly be conceived, for the
fixed a maximum working day of 9 hours for children under 13
s and a maximum of 12 hours for young persons from 13 to 18
s. In 1842 followed the Mines Act. It had been preceded by a
lamentary investigation which laid bare to view the almost in-
ible conditions in the mining industry. Under the shock of this
rmation the Mines Act became a law, thenceforth forbidding
rground work for women as well as for boys under 10 years of
Slight restrictions indeed! But they inaugurated a new policy
overnmental watchfulness and were followed by ever new acts
h, after still further reducing hours of labor, provided for heat,
, and fresh air, instituted protective devices against dangerous
inery, and subjected all factories to rigorous inspection. By
this industrial legislation had grown to such proportions that
d to be coördinated by being fused into a single Act; and with

protective measures dropping after 1878 at an even accelerated rat from the legislative mill a new general labor code had to be draw up in 1901.

By the beginning of the twentieth century very few people wer left in England who were prepared to uphold the old unimpaire *laissez-faire* doctine. The right and duty of the state to protect it weakest members, that is, something like a return to th patriarchal views of the Middle Age, had firmly establishe themselves in the conscience of society. And there with the ground had been cleared for that further advanc represented by Insurance Legislation. Originated i Germany by Bismarck under conditions which will be examine in their place, it was taken over by the Liberal party under the leader ship of Lloyd George, and in the period 1906–1911 led to the adop tion of four notable types of insurance for working people. Th afflictions which render the worker's lot particularly cruel are sick ness, accident, invalidism through old age, and unemployment. Th great British Insurance Code attempts to alleviate these four evil by benefits from public funds created in varying ways by contri butions from three sources, the employers, the employed, and th state.

The Insurance Legislation of 1906–1911

Undeniably socialist in character but put through by the Libera party, the British Insurance Code measures the distance travelle by economic opinion since the emergence of *laissez-faire* over hundred years before. But let us not deceive ourselve The Liberal party, the party of the middle classes, ha by the beginning of the twentieth century become th champion of socialist measures for the sole reason tha it wished to keep its labor following from passing out o its camp. Long before 1900 certain radical workingmen had indi cated a desire to abandon the old parties, which, although they ha undoubtedly made concessions to the lower orders, were basically an ineradicably bourgeois, and to form a party pursuing an exclusiv labor program. In the early nineties such a party was actuall launched, but the organized workers in their vast majority fought sh of it as something unfamiliar and perilous. Before another decade th Trade Unions themselves at last reached the conclusion that thei interests would be best promoted by a political party of their own and accordingly, in 1900, their party, called the Labor party, sa the light. Presenting itself to the public with a moderate program

Labor organizes its own political party

as gradually adopted the full socialist demand of collective ership of mines, railroads, and factories. On the whole the or party has since its inception steadily grown in parliamentary esentation, although the ingrained British conservatism, ceable even among workingmen, keeps a considerable proportion heir number loyal to the older parties. In any case since 1900 e have been three, instead of two, predominating parties fighting control in Great Britain. Should the Labor party continue to to its strength, it may happen in the not too distant future that lements opposed to its program of complete socialization will bine, regardless of the old Liberal-Conservative differences. A e party upholding the existing individualist order would then ront a Labor party dedicated to the creation of a collectivist ty.

ne of the gravest issues confronting Great Britain since 1815 been Ireland. All the grievances of Ireland can be summed up single phrase: it was a conquered country. In order to break its tance the conquerors had gradually dispossessed the of their land, had imposed their own Anglican rch upon the island in spite of the fact that the natives staunchly red to Catholicism, had planted Anglo-Scotch colonists in the ince of Ulster, had organized a purely Protestant local adminis- on, and finally, in 1800, had destroyed the last remnant of Irish pendence by merging the Irish parliament with the British par- ent at Westminster. Rarely in history has one people forged terrible chains for another people than the English forged for rish.

The case of Ireland

ot long after 1815 a movement began among the Irish which d at removing some of the disabilities resting upon them. Its r, Daniel O'Connell, directed his efforts against the exceptional in force against Catholics and was largely instru- al in producing the legislation of 1829 which won for atholics throughout the British realm full civil rights. ext agitated for a repeal of the Act of Union (1800) e hope of gaining for Ireland a modest measure of autonomy. government responded by suppressing him and his movement orce. However, the Irish, now thoroughly aroused, continued agitation by means of secret societies which did not scruple to on private warfare against the English landlords by maiming e, burning farms, and even by occasional murders. By the six-

Settlement of the religious and land issues

ties the situation had become so intolerable that Gladstone at th head of a Liberal ministry resolved to ease the situation by removin some of the more conspicuous evils of which the Irish complained In 1869 he passed an act which disestablished the Anglican Churc in Ireland, known to the law as the Irish Church. The tithes whic the Catholic peasants had been obliged to pay to maintain a hostil establishment thus disappeared; and although the Anglican Churc was permitted to retain its buildings and a part of its estates, it wa put henceforward on an equal footing with the Catholic Church This resolute step toward righting Irish wrongs Gladstone immedi ately followed by another. In 1870 he passed the first Land Ac which planned to protect the Irish tenants against the excessiv powers of their landlords. These, as a result of the confiscations o the previous centuries, were not only, generally speaking, Englis gentry but, in addition, absentees who managed their estates throug agents. Owing to the fact that the law had been made by the con querors, the Irish peasants enjoyed no security on their farms an could be evicted from them at the pleasure of the owners. Anothe evil, over-population, made a bad situation worse by inducing th peasants to raise the rent by bidding recklessly against each othe to the delight and advantage of the landlords. However, the terribl famine of 1845 followed by emigration on a large scale to Americ gradually reduced this particular affliction. What the Act of 187 and a second Gladstonian measure of 1881 tried to do was to give th farmers a better tenure; but no sooner had the Irish gained thi point than they made it plain that nothing short of complete repos session of the land would satisfy them. In 1891 the Conservativ ministry of Lord Salisbury, weary of the interminable agitation o the lesser island, resolved to meet the Irish wishes and by means o the Land Purchase Act of that year enabled the peasants to buy thei lands out of a fund put at their disposal by the government. Pros pective purchasers had to agree to reimburse the government b means of small annual interest payments extending over a numbe of decades. The Land Purchase Act of 1891 together with supple mentary legislation of a later date has effectively settled the vexe land question by abolishing the landlords and raising the Irish farme to the level of active and self-respecting peasant-proprietors.

Meanwhile the movement for autonomy or home rule begun b O'Connell had never entirely died out. In the eighties it powe fully revived under the guidance of a clever politician, Parnell, wh

ved to employ his following of approximately 80 Irish members
bstruct the business of the house of Commons until home rule
given a fair hearing. When, as a result of the elections of 1885,
ner Conservatives nor Liberals commanded a majority
out Irish help, the Liberals entered into an agreement
the Irish by virtue of which, in return for Parnell's
ort, Gladstone promised to back the Irish demand. However,
Home Rule Bill was defeated in the Commons by the default
section of the Liberal party (1886). On returning to office
895 Gladstone successfully pushed a second Home Rule Bill
ugh the Commons only to have it defeated in the Lords.
reupon for more than a decade, during which the Conservatives
rned the country, the home rule issue slumbered. Even after
Liberals had again gained power (1906), they failed to take action
ome rule until a decline in the number of their supporters forced
n once more to seek the alliance of the Irish party. As a result
ird Home Rule Bill was introduced into the Commons in 1912
h passed that body and would in 1914 have gone into effect, had
t been suspended by the outbreak of the World War.

The Irish demand home rule

this juncture it becomes necessary to observe that from 1912
he chief objection to Irish autonomy came not from the British
ament but from the Anglo-Scotch colonists settled since the
nteenth century in the province of Ulster. A power-
nd active group of Protestant farmers and indus-
sts centered about the thriving city of Belfast, they
ed to be separated from the mother-country and
ared to resist the application to themselves of home
with force. This uncompromising attitude of the
estant North had the dire effect of bringing the
oncilable elements of the Catholic South to the front. Or-
zed under the Celtic name of *Sinn Fein*, meaning Ourselves
e, they prepared the ground for a complete separation from
t Britain and the establishment of an Irish republic. On
er day, 1916, a small extremist group of Sinn Feiners actually
in rebellion, resolved to take advantage of the embarrassment of
British lion caught in the net of the World War. With a force
edly despatched to the Irish shores the London government
ly and bloodily suppressed the mad attempt. However, if the
masses did not approve the armed rebellion, it soon appeared
they were behind the independence program of Sinn Fein almost

The Act of 1920 creates two states: Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State

to a man. On the termination of the World War the Irish problem therefore presented an entirely new face: the suspended Home Rule Act of 1914 was rejected by the Irish of the North because it conceded too much and by the Irish of the South because it did not concede enough. Not only was it impossible to apply the Act, but passionate unrest, accompanied by wild excesses of arson and murder seized upon the whole country. In an effort to compose the strife the British parliament passed (1920) a new Government of Ireland Act which, frankly acknowledging that Ireland was made up of two peoples, created two states, North and South, each with its own parliament and executive. The Irish North, consisting of six counties of northeastern Ulster, was hardly one-sixth as large as the Irish South but it contained one-third as many people. Against the settlement of 1920, which the North accepted, the South at first raised a wild outcry but, a year later, a group of leading Sinn Feiners signed an agreement with the British government at London which represented a compromise. While the demand for unqualified independence in the form of an Irish republic was surrendered by the Irish negotiators, they were offered and accepted the same measure of self-government as is enjoyed by Canada and the other dominions of Great Britain; furthermore, in order to proclaim its relative sovereignty to the world the southern section was to be known as the Irish Free State. Although a minority of irreconcilable republicans refused to accept this compromise and even went the length of offering armed resistance, the Irish Free State has apparently succeeded in winning the support of the people. Its greatest remaining problem consists in evolving a method of harmonious coöperation with its neighbor state to the north. Only if these two groups and polities succeed in finding common ground can the Irish problem be said to have expelled its last and most deep-seated poison.

Far and away the greatest single interest of British life and politics since 1815 has been the continued marvelous expansion of the British Empire. While the eighteenth century had brought Great Britain a secure ascendancy in Canada and India, it had more than balanced this advantage by the loss of the prosperous colonies which became the United States of America. There followed the long conflict with Napoleon which confirmed the British command of the seas; and from this naval supremacy, taken in connection with the rapid multiplication of British trade under the stimulus of the Industrial Revo-

The marvelous expansion of the British Empire

, sprang a new era of colonial expansion which completely ed the earlier one. Already the Vienna settlement of 1815 had d into Britain's lap a veritable cornucopia of strategic naval ns, such as the islands of Malta, Ceylon, and Heligoland; best , it had yielded the former African colony of the Dutch, the of Good Hope. The following generations witnessed a steady gement of authority proceeding from a dozen separate centers. dia the British direct rule was constantly extended and at the time more and more native states were by diplomacy or war ght under indirect control by acknowledging British suzerainty. anada the vast, half-frozen stretches of the west and north, rsed by a few scattered tribes of Indians, were gradually sub- and endowed with an effective administration. Using the Cape ood Hope as a starting-point, British colonials slowly pushed ward in southern Africa until they were rewarded with the ect of another mighty conquest. Somewhat later, in the es, a footing was won at the other end of Africa, in Egypt. e two positions at the extreme north and south prompted the e to join them together by securing the heart of the continent, quatorial jungle. One of the finest, if not immediately the profitable, acquisitions was the island-continent of Australia. earlier colonial movement had neglected it, largely because of accessibility. With the development of steamships this difficulty argely overcome, and beginning with the generation after 1815, Britain took up with constantly increasing energy the settle- of the vast and sparsely inhabited plains of this remote land. ecapitulate: India, Canada, South Africa, Egypt, Equatorial a, Australia with New Zealand constitute the proud roster of h colonial enterprises developed since 1815. But scores of ered possessions, chiefly islands distributed over the face of all eas, would have to be enumerated if full justice were to be done itain's amazing colonial fabric.

ese almost countless territories assembled under the British n make up the present British Empire. On the eve of the World the Empire embraced nearly a quarter of the land surface of obe and slightly more than a quarter of the world's population. ed primarily by an invincible navy, the immense structure l, and continues to rest, on this instrument of power. How- this primacy of the fleet does not mean that the army has o part in amassing the territories in question. It has played a

distinguished role, especially in Africa and Asia, where numerou if backward, populations resisted British rule until persuaded of i advantages by the argument of the sword. And yet, fully admittir

The Empire created by commerce and sustained by armed force

that armed power was and is a leading factor in the col nial system, we should not fail to see that the main ur behind the expansion movement was undoubtedly con merce. Most appropriately therefore Great Britain symbolized not only as a helmeted goddess with a trider in one hand and a sword in the other but also as John Bull, t shrewd trader, standing on the deck of a ship or sitting on a wha amidst crowded bales and boxes.

Though the London authorities failed to draw an immedia lesson from the revolt of the American colonists, they gradual gave increased consideration to the problems of colonial governme

Colonial government: (1) the self-governing colonies

and in the course of several generations have worked o a system which has aroused a very general admiratio Broadly speaking the colonies fall under two heads: (self-governing colonies; (2) Crown colonies. Self-gover ment was by careful degrees conceded to all those coloni predominantly settled by whites from the homeland as well as fro the other states of Europe. Conspicuous in this group toward t middle of the nineteenth century were Canada, Australia, Ne Zealand, and Cape Colony (South Africa). On the basis of la passed by the British parliament the management of local affairs w increasingly put into provincial hands until in the end the home go ernment retained for itself little beside the control of foreign polic But not only did these colonies become self-governing under a mini try responsible to an elected assembly, but presently contiguous settl ments were given the right to federate. The decisive step in th direction was taken in 1867 by the formation of the Dominion Canada composed of the four originally separate provinces of Quebe Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Later additions brougl the vast areas of the west (British Columbia) and the north (Hudso Bay Territory) into the Canadian union. This agglomeration self-governing units involved the elaboration of a federal Canadia constitution with a federal parliament and ministry. By the end the century Australia had reached the point where it was prepared follow the Canadian example. At that time six separate colonies - New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Queenslan West Australia — were enjoying a prosperous existence to whi

resolved to give a greater security by federating under the name
ne Commonwealth of Australia (1900).

bstacles to federation, difficult to surmount, were encountered
in South Africa. They had their root in history. Cape Colony,
ired in 1815, had been originally settled by Dutch peasant-
ers, familiarly called Boers. As the establishment **The South African Union**
ritish authority was unwelcome to them, considerable
bers sought new homes by trekking northward.
re, in the haunts of savages and wild beasts, they founded the
republics of the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State.
accidental discovery of gold (1884) in the Transvaal disturbed
quiet existence of the simple farmers by drawing a flood of ad-
urous foreigners, chiefly British, into their territory. These
comers, instinctively hostile to the ponderous, patriarchal
ernment of the Boers, desired annexation to Cape Colony and
ted a state of friction which led ultimately to a war. In a fierce
prolonged struggle (1899–1902) the British government cham-
ed the cause of its nationals against the two republics. Although
Boers defended themselves valiantly, they were overwhelmed
he great forces mobilized by their powerful enemy and in the
the two farmer-republics were extinguished. However, in spite
s use of military means, Great Britain soon gave evidence of not
ng lost faith in the self-governing system which it had evolved.
re many years had passed the Transvaal and the Orange Free
e were conceded a measure of home rule, and in 1909 all four
iguous colonies — the Cape, Natal, and the two ex-republics —
fused into a single state called the South African Union. Owing
he fact that a population of about 1,000,000 whites was con-
ted with 6,000,000 native blacks it was considered advisable to
a single strong government rather than a federation of four
states. In this respect therefore the South African Union
rs from Canada and Australia which are genuine federations of
governing units.

turning next to the Crown colonies, we observe that the Crown
cises authority in them through an appointed governor, but
a certain measure of self-government, varying in amount with
instance under examination, is not unusual. The **The Crown colonies**
nguishing feature of the Crown colonies is that they
settled by natives (black, brown, or yellow) who are, judged by
pean standards, of a backward mentality. Exceptions to this

criterion for Crown government are points like Gibraltar and Malta, which, though their population is preponderantly white, are ruled as Crown colonies because of their supreme strategical importance. At the beginning of the twentieth century India and Egypt were far and away the most important possessions of Great Britain with non-European populations. In each a system of control obtains which is technically Crown government but which is individual enough to call for a special word.

The government of Egypt

The government of Egypt presents so many anomalies as to be fairly *sui generis*. When the country of the Nile was occupied in 1882 by force of arms, the government of the local ruler, the khedive, was not disturbed nor the fiction challenged that Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire. However, the government of the khedive was expected exactly to carry out the orders of the British resident at Cairo, whose power rested in last analysis on an occupying British force. In 1914, on Turkey's entering the World War on the side of Germany, Great Britain usurped the place of the Ottoman Empire and without particularly changing its methods of control proclaimed Egypt a protectorate. The long war worked a great change in the mental attitude of the Egyptians. They loyally coöperated with Great Britain while the conflict lasted, but, expecting to be rewarded with an improved status, in 1919 they almost unanimously demanded the recognition of their independent status. In the face of a torrential nationalist sentiment Great Britain offered concessions, and in 1922 went the length of declaring Egypt "an independent, sovereign state" and of conceding to its ruler the title king. However, since London reserved its rights in the Suez Canal zone as well as in the province of the upper Nile, known as the Sudan, and moreover, since the newly fledged Egyptian government insists on disputing these rights, the situation contains dangerously explosive elements. It remains to be seen what the recently conceded independence of Egypt will amount to in the end.

The case of India

What is familiarly known as British India is really a vast tropical and semi-tropical continent, cut off from the rest of Asia by the Himalaya mountains and supporting a mass of 325,000,000 inhabitants. They are of forty or fifty different races, speaking over one hundred distinct tongues, and have as the leading element of union the Hindu religion which boasts about 200,000,000 followers. However, the existence of 70,000,000 vigorous Moham

lans must not be overlooked as an element of religious dif-
ntiation. After the expulsion of the French in the eighteenth
tury the area under British control was steadily enlarged. All
time the political control was shared between the merchants of
East India Company and a board appointed by the govern-
t. There can be no doubt that good work was done and that a
ter measure of security was attained than the distracted realm
known for many a generation. However, there were frequent
s, chiefly on the border toward Afghanistan; and one extremely
gerous revolt occurred which must be recorded because it had
ortant political consequences. In 1857 the native soldiers,
ed Sepoys, mutinied and raised a rebellion which was put down
by the greatest exertions on the part of the home government.
ming the mutiny to the policy of divided control, the parliament
the important step of extinguishing the East India Company
vesting the sovereignty of India solely in the Crown, represented
England by a Secretary of State for India and in India itself by
iceroy with an executive council (1858). Thus ended one of
most famous commercial companies of history. After some
ades of experimentation with the new system the natives were
n an inconsiderable voice in affairs by representation in a legis-
ve council, made up preponderantly of British officials. Although
Indians, like the Egyptians, gave Great Britain loyal support
ing the World War, under the excitement of the struggle they
eloped fond hopes of a self-government which would ultimately
and into complete independence. To placate the popular clamor
British parliament passed (1919) a bill which conceded an in-
ased measure of native participation both in the central and the
vincial administrations. But the extremists, led by a saintly
it, Gandhi by name, have rejected the British concessions, and
a policy of non-coöperation, which strictly eschews violence,
e attempted so to disgust the British with their task as to per-
de them voluntarily to abandon it. No one may say what will
ome of the issue. Undoubtedly the British still maintain an iron
on the peninsula; but encountering passive resistance and
en looks on every hand, they are by no means bedded on roses.
The British Empire is one of the most impressive features of the
ld of today. While its future seems assured, it also raises a
lth of interesting questions. So far as the self-governing, Eng-
-speaking colonies are concerned, their uninterrupted growth in

numbers and power is as certain as anything can be on this uncertain earth of ours. As for the dark-skinned, subject peoples, on the other hand, such as the Indians and Egyptians, their case carries a much larger element of risk. Will they cut the British tie, and having cut it, will they, oriental groups without a commanding national tradition, be able without external help to endow themselves with occidental institutions and an occidental mind? Any answer to this question would be wholly speculative. Again, conceding that the bond between the mother-country and the white dominions is still strong, may it not be slowly transformed into a matter of spirit and good will rather than of law and authority? Certainly the tendency throughout recent decades has been for the dominions to assert an increasing measure of political and moral independence. Nevertheless the threads the spirit spins are powerful, as the vigorous support given the homeland by the dominions during the World War amply demonstrates. Granting that spirit ties are tenuous indeed, it may yet be that they have that about them which makes them stronger and more enduring than ponderous political machinery.

The future of the British Empire

Sovereigns of Great Britain Since the Eighteenth Century

George III, 1760–1820
George IV (son of George III), 1820–1830
William IV (younger brother of George IV), 1830–1837
Victoria (niece of William IV; *m.* Albert of Saxe-Coburg) 1837–1901
Edward VII (son of Victoria and Albert), 1901–1910
George V (son of Edward VII), 1910–

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CHAPTER XXIX

ITALY, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY FROM 1870 TO 1914

ITALY

As we have seen, in the period 1861–1870 the main interest of the new kingdom of Italy turned around the acquisition of Venice and Rome. None the less the problems of internal reconstruction claimed a large measure of attention, and after 1870, with the government triumphantly established in the ancient capital on the Tiber, they pushed more insistently than ever to the front. Owing to the pressure of a strong, unitarian nationalism, the federal idea was rejected by the royal government in favor of a centralized administration on the French pattern. New Italy was cast into a single, solid, and unbroken mold, but this administrative leveling and fusing of the historical provinces of Italy demanded as its corollary a general equalization in the social and economic fields. And this was far from easy because of a profound cleavage between the North and the South of the peninsula which dated back to the Middle Age. During the Renaissance the North had become the leading city area of the world; and although, beginning with the sixteenth century, it had greatly declined in relative importance, it was still a region of urban middle classes sufficiently alert to attempt to appropriate the advantages of the Industrial Revolution. In this effort, inaugurated toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the northern towns met, however, with only partial success owing to the fateful circumstance that Italy had few mineral resources and practically no iron or coal, the familiar bases of every effective industrialization. Italy was obliged to import these articles, thus making them unduly expensive. Fortunately a partial compensation for the country's fuel deficiencies was gradually secured through the development of electricity from the ample streams flowing from the Alps. The Italians refer to the upland snow which feeds these streams as their "white coal," and from its progressive appropriation and transformation into motive power they confidently expect an intensive future industrialization. Up to 1914

The new kingdom of Italy faces the problems of domestic reconstruction

was at best in its early stages and was moreover strictly limited he North.

lthough its industry was advancing, the North continued to de- d for support largely on its agriculture. Its staples have been and are wheat, wine, and olive oil which together provide the diet of average Italian. The division of the land of the thern provinces into small holdings worked by a prious peasantry created what may be described, the whole, as a satisfactory social situation, although absence of modern farming implements and methods ealed a backward economic system. But if the non-industrial, lly agricultural, South was already out of harmony with the th by reason of the absence of a city culture, it was further erentiated from the more advanced section by virtue of its pe- ar agrarian organization. For the southern land was held in at estates by the descendants of the old feudal barons and was ivated by peasants working in great gangs as day-laborers. ey constituted an agricultural proletariat, more wretched even n the urban proletariat produced by the industrialization of the th. There was also a difference in the products of the soil. South, too, grew wheat, olive oil, and wine, but its warm climate bled it to cultivate, besides, such citrous fruits as oranges and ons.

The urban North confronts an agricultural South

hese facts will serve to emphasize that there were really two ies, the one removed from the other by the whole distance which arates the Medieval from the Modern Age. An active urban th leaning on a self-respecting responsible peasantry confronted with a feudal South of great lords resting ppressed laborers and boasting no more than a scatter- of townsmen to leaven the dull agricultural mass. The blem before the government of Victor Emmanuel II therefore grave; and with entire propriety legislation k the form of an effort to raise the backward South newhat nearer the level of the more advanced North. lroads and highways were built, brigandage, one of the rooted s of the South, was suppressed, and the frightful illiteracy rather -heartedly attacked by the opening of occasional public schools. educational situation even in the North was none too good, and, ng to the pressure of other needs, was not systematically taken in d till 1877 when the first step was taken toward making elemen-

Public works, education, and national defense produce heavy taxation and an annual deficit

tary education universal and compulsory. As schools cost money and Italy is poor, the new public school system only slowly spread into the remoter provinces with the result that, though illiteracy has steadily decreased, it still afflicts a considerable proportion of the population, especially in the South. If to the outlay occasioned by these and other productive public enterprises are added the unproductive expenditures incurred in connection with the national army and navy, with which the youthful kingdom, aspiring to play the role of a great power, believed it was unable to dispense, we can understand another phenomenon which presently arose to vex the country. This was the necessity of heavy taxation coupled, in spite of its severity, with the inability of the government to make the budget balance. However, toward the close of the nineteenth century the steadily growing prosperity of the country at last returned sufficient revenue to wipe out the deficit, and Italy entered the twentieth century under happier financial and economic auspices. They ruled undisturbed until the outbreak of the World War.

Emigration

None the less one social-economic evil, emigration, continued to trouble the improved fortunes of the nation. While it was due primarily to the high birth-rate and the accompanying phenomenon of over-population, it flowed in part from the depressing conditions of the South, as is clearly proved by the fact that the emigrants hailed and continue to hail chiefly from that section. Many factors enter into the problem. The introduction of machinery, wherever it takes place, makes it possible to work the fields with fewer hands; the increased competition among laborers lowers wages and swells unemployment; finally, since the close of the nineteenth century American producers have flooded the north-European markets with citrous fruits and cut down the south-Italian exports. That emigration was the only possible escape from this critical situation is proved by the statistics showing that anywhere from a quarter to a half million people, chiefly south-Italians, have since the beginning of the twentieth century left the peninsula every year. They have gone to every country of the world but more particularly to South and North America (the Argentine and the United States). When foreign countries decide for reasons of their own to close the doors to the Italian influx — and signs pointing to a restrictive policy began to multiply long before 1914 — the problem of emigration will enter for Italy upon a new and directly dangerous phase. For with unemployment breeding misery and discontent and with all

nues of escape barred by restrictive legislation the country will exposed to violent internal fermentation.

nother domestic issue, which has so far defied all solutions, is sented by the latent war between the state and the Church. The acy, in its temporal aspect an Italian state, had opposed Italian ication with the result that its outlying territories e seized by force and that in 1870 Rome itself was en and proclaimed the nation's capital. Resolved to y through a transformation in accordance with dern secular demands, the young kingdom closed many monastic blishments and repeatedly confiscated the property of the Church. xchange, it is true, it undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. view of his historic claims the pope could not but meet these sures, one and all, with implacable hostility. Following the cap- of Rome, he appealed to Catholics the world over for help, and rder effectively to dramatize his situation he declared himself a isoner in the Vatican," closely beset by the Italian kingdom as a besieging army. Largely to placate Catholic sentiment with mn assurances of the pope's essential liberty of action, the Italian iament, immediately after the occupation of Rome, adopted 71) the Law of the Papal Guarantees, by which the government lged itself to treat the pope as a sovereign on a par with the king taly, to permit him freely to send and receive ambassadors, and oncede to him all other rights associated with sovereignty. As uarantee of his independent status his two great palaces with their lens, the Vatican and the Lateran, were made extra-territorial, is, the authority of the Italian government was declared not to nd over them. Pius IX promptly refused to recognize this law n fear that his acceptance of it would be construed as a relinquish- t of all his other claims. His successors have without exception en the same stand. Nevertheless the royal government which ed the law considers itself bound by it and hopes with a policy atient waiting to bring the papacy to a more conciliatory frame ind. Many people have professed to see a first evidence of papal ding in the practical abolition under Pius X (1903–1914) of the alled *non expedit.* This was a Bull issued by Pius IX forbidding nful Catholics to vote or hold office under the royal government. vever, even though this prohibition has been withdrawn, it may be that the permission thus accorded to Catholics to accept ic responsibilities was inspired by the papal desire to gain a

Latent war between state and Church

greater influence in domestic politics. Undeniably the state and the Church have since the beginning of the twentieth century come to a somewhat better understanding, but it would be a gross exaggeration to declare that their latent warfare has come to an end.

Democracy, nationalism, and foreign policy

Like all states caught in the currents of modern life Italy has become increasingly democratic. For many years property and educational qualifications limited the vote to the well-to-do, but successive extensions of the suffrage culminated at last in the reform of 1912 which practically established universal manhood suffrage. Italian foreign policy has been inspired by the characteristic modern forces of democracy and nationalism with of course the Industrial Revolution as a contributory factor. Since after 1870 certain small areas of Austria-Hungary, more particularly the Trentino (the area around the city of Trent) and the Adriatic littoral around the city of Triest, although Italian in character, still remained outside the kingdom, they were hotly coveted by nationalist circles. In so far as these same circles exhibited the type of thinking imposed by capitalism and the industrial movement, they looked, rather than to Trent and Triest, to the Mediterranean sea as an appropriate field for Italian expansion. Since a policy directed toward further Austrian acquisitions implied war with Austria and since a Mediterranean advance might precipitate war with France, the government maintained a fluctuating attitude in foreign affairs until brought to a decision by an aggressive act of its Latin neighbor. In 1881 France seized Tunis, which brought her colonial territory close to Sicily. Thereupon Italy, which desired Tunis for itself, showed its resentment by entering into an alliance, celebrated as the Triple Alliance, with Germany and Austria-Hungary (1882). From now on Italy, fortified by the Triple Alliance, was free to proceed more boldly with its Mediterranean plans and embarked on an imperialist policy which did not prove an unbroken record of success. The government gained a foothold in Eritrea on the Red sea, but when it attempted to proceed inland and subjugate the independent state of Abyssinia, it met with a signal defeat (1896). Somewhat sobered, the country refused for a while to sanction further African adventures. Therefore it was not till 1911 that the government considered itself strong enough to appropriate Tripoli, for which it had felt a furtive passion for over two decades. As Tripoli belonged to the Ottoman Empire, a war had to be fought with the Turks (1911–1912) before the Tripolitan fruit could be harvested.

s war, enthusiastically supported by the population, indicated the nationalist and imperialist sentiments were rapidly mounting flood. As the same phenomenon, observable at this time everyre else in Europe, was setting the stage for the World War, y's participation in the struggle, in the hope of sharing in the ls, might be looked on as assured.

FRANCE

t was the National Assembly which, as the ruling power of France, le peace with victorious Germany in 1871 and at the same time down the savage insurrection of the capital, known as the Comne. It next took up the task of giving France a defini- **Why the monarchist Assembly was unable to establish a monarchy** government. Perhaps because the elections to the embly had occurred during the distractions of the , perhaps because the sentiment of the country was yet friendly to republicanism, about 500 out of the deputies elected were monarchists. Nothing therefore would have n easier than to abolish the republic, provisionally proclaimed September 4, 1870, if only the monarchists could have agreed a monarch. But here they encountered a difficulty. A large y of Orleanists desired to restore the grandson of Louis Philip, naller body of legitimists held out for the grandson of Charles X, a handful of deputies were even found audacious enough to mpion the heir of the discredited Napoleon III. Under the circnstances the monarchists so successfully frustrated themselves t their cause was lost. Only once, in 1873, did a ray of hope mine their sky. By an agreement between Orleanists and legitits the count of Chambord, the legitimist chief, was recognized as g on the understanding that he would acknowledge the Orleanist nt of Paris as his successor. So far so good. But when the count Chambord now insisted on the white banner of his Bourbon estors, the whole project collapsed because the Orleanists identi themselves with the revolutionary tricolor on the simple ground t French public opinion would accept no other flag.

Reluctantly therefore the Assembly took up the work of making republic permanent. Thiers, the former Orleanist statesman, o served as the first president, indicated the gradual swing of nion when he said: "The republic divides us least." However, en he came out somewhat too strongly for the republic, the

monarchists revenged themselves by deposing him and electing Marshal MacMahon, a confessed monarchist, in his place (1873). Then by slow stages, yielding less to the behests of affection than of necessity, they passed the Constitutional Laws which established the republic (1873–1875). By these enactments the executive was vested in a president elected for a term of seven years by the two houses of the legislature meeting in common session. The two houses were called the Senate and chamber of Deputies respectively. While the senators were elected by local departmental bodies, the deputies directly represented the nation, which elected them on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. As the ministry must command a majority in the chamber of Deputies, this body has the power to make and unmake governments and must be accepted as the ruling element of the system. Its predominance so strikingly parallels that of the British house of Commons that the government of the French republic may be put in the same category as that of its neighbor across the channel. It may therefore be described as a parliamentary government with a purely decorative president charged, like the British king, with the exercise of merely representative functions.

The constitution of the Third Republic

When on the extinction of the National Assembly (1875) fresh elections were held, the republican parties carried the chamber of Deputies. The proof was thus given that the country was being converted to republican ideas. Of course the monarchists fought hard for their views, but their continued divisions lost them the favor of the voters, and in the elections of 1879 the upper house, too, was carried by their adversaries. Thereupon the monarchist President MacMahon resigned to make way for Grévy, a thorough-going republican. Thus, after a decade of uncertainty, France had become endowed with a constitution, a legislature, and an executive that were all republican. More and more firmly with each succeeding decade the republic became established in the good graces of the body of French citizens with the result that the monarchists gradually dwindled away to a negligible faction.

The nation converted to republicanism

In the light of its history since 1879 the republic may be described as democratic, nationalist, anti-clerical, and bourgeois. That means that the middle classes have consistently enjoyed the favor of the electors and have been able to impose the policies which accorded with their outlook and their interests. Of course they have encountered opposition not only from the monarchists and their close

s, the clericals, but in steadily increasing measure from the kingmen represented by the socialists. They have in consence made occasional concessions both to the Right and to the , more particularly to the Left in the form of that ial Legislation with which every modern country has empted to protect its industrial population against the reme exploitation of the capitalists. Despite such ors to opponents, the history of the Third Republic remains, as ed, the record of a capable, energetic, and successful bourgeoisie. administrative system will bear out the contention. The centralion imposed on France by the first Napoleon and symbolized by prefect who is appointed by and remains responsible to the nal government, so exactly suited the unitarian sympathies of the rgeoisie that no attempt was made to alter it. A slight concession ocal opinion may be seen in the fact that with the prefect, head of department, was associated a general council elected by manhood rage. However, as the central government reserved to itself the t to veto any act of the general council, the omnipotence of the istry was hardly challenged. Among the earliest measures of republic was the complete reorganization of the army, as was only ural after the military chaos precipitated by the German victory. vas natural, too, to imitate the system of the victors by adopting principle of universal, compulsory military service. Enthusiastiy nationalist in accordance with French middle class tradition, republic has, since its establishment, spared no expenditures on er the army or navy and by tireless efforts has attempted to keep m on the same level of efficiency as the forces of the great rival e to the east.

The administrative and military systems

More than by any other group of measures has the internal history the Third Republic been colored by its open anti-clericalism. reason why the Catholic Church drew the fire of the republicans o be found in the circumstance that in the crucial ade of 1870 to 1880 the Church had hotly supported cause of monarchy. No sooner did the republicans e into secure possession of the government than they wed their hand by launching a campaign for a public ool system to be maintained by the state. This was a ct attack on the Church not only because the Church had always sted that the education of the young was its own proper function, also because in so far as there already existed a general primary

Anti-clericalism; the republic takes direction of primary education

school system in France it was under ecclesiastical direction. To be sure, the relatively large number of French illiterates proved that the system was very defective. Although this bad feature justified reform, it is undeniable that the republicans were moved to action chiefly by reason of their anti-monarchical bias. Beginning with 1881 they enacted a number of educational laws which gradually covered the country with public schools, taught by lay teachers and offering instruction free of charge. This state-directed system at once stimulated the Church to unwonted efforts with the result that the ecclesiastical schools, where teaching orders of brothers and sisters dispensed instruction, multiplied with great rapidity. Thus, France, which had always conspicuously lacked primary schools, suddenly had too many, that is, it had two rival systems competing with each other for the favor of the public! Not only did this competition frequently assume an exacerbated form, but the ecclesiastical schools were too often successful owing to the decisive moral influence exercised by the parish clergy over the minds of the peasants. At last the state resolved to end the conflict and set up an educational monopoly by closing the ecclesiastical schools. Instead however of striking a direct and open blow, it passed (1901) the Law of Associations which forbade a member of any unauthorized order (or association) to give instruction in a French school. As the ecclesiastical schools were staffed by orders (both brothers and sisters) which had never received formal authorization from the state, the teachers were automatically eliminated and most of the institutions obliged to close. In this manner the issue was decided in favor of the national system of free, lay schools.

Warming to the combat, the republicans now resolved to attack the Church in its last stronghold, the Concordat of 1801.[1] Not till Church and state had been completely divorced would they rest content, and since the Concordat of Napoleon's time made the two institutions mutually dependent, there was enacted in 1905 the Law of Separation. By its terms the Concordat was abrogated; the state declined to continue to pay the salaries of clergymen; and the seizure of ecclesiastical property in 1789 was rounded off with a new confiscation. However, in order that public worship, with which the law professed not to interfere might not be interrupted, the churches were to be made over to associations of Catholic laymen who assumed responsibility toward

The divorce of Church and state

[1] See p. 446.

state. From this feature it is plain that the execution of the law ended on the willingness of the worshippers to form lay associa-ns. But as such a directive activity on the part of the laity in urch affairs was contrary to canon law, and as, moreover, the pope ched the matter by forbidding laymen to submit and by publicly demning the law *in toto*, a complete deadlock resulted. It seemed re than likely at one time that the police would close the churches that public worship would cease throughout the country. To id this grave offense of Catholic sentiment the parliament wisely e way and passed (1907) a supplementary law permitting, as the on law required, the clergy to take over the churches without the rvention of lay societies. That the last word has been spoken his issue is very unlikely. However, as matters stand since 1905 urch and state in France are separated, the state no longer pays ries to priests, and though public worship continues without in-erence, latent war exists between the ancient partners since the urch nurses a grievance and, speaking through the pope, has nitely refused to recognize the Law of Separation as binding.

The passionate and consistent anti-clericalism of the republican ernment has precipitated a number of crises which have threat-d the very life of the state. The two most famous carry the re-ctive labels of Boulanger and Dreyfus. Boulanger was eneral who took advantage of the monarchical and ical sentiments of the majority of the army officers to anize a violent opposition to the government. Though uming dangerous proportions, at the moment for action gallant general's courage failed him and, instead of organizing expected *coup d'état*, he fled ignominiously to Belgium (1889). harp contrast to Boulanger, Dreyfus was not a conspirator but a im. He was a captain in the army, a republican and a Jew, whom Catholic and monarchical fellow-officers hated so fiercely that e of them went the length of forging documents, on the strength which Dreyfus was degraded and sentenced to a long prison term traitor (1894). As a result of an agitation inaugurated by the elist Zola, he was, after vigorous resistance on the part of the ty army clique, at last fully cleared of the charges against him 06). The interest in both the Boulanger and the Dreyfus case ers in the revelation that the army was honeycombed with narchical and clerical sentiments. None the less the victory in crises fell to the republic, which profited from them to no small

The Boulanger and Dreyfus incidents strengthen the republic

extent since the worst reactionaries were dismissed from the service and special care was taken to train an officer body of sound republican views.

The French colonial empire

A characteristic interest of the dominant French bourgeoisie was to promote material prosperity in every possible way. Attentive to the counsels of bankers and capitalists, the parliament strongly supported public works such as highways, railroads, canals, and harbors, and, above all, threw itself enthusiastically into colonial expansion. Colonialism, it is true, represented no new departure. As early as the eighteenth century France had acquired a trans-oceanic empire, which, however, except for a few insignificant fragments, she had been obliged to surrender to Great Britain. In 1830, under the restored Bourbons, she made a new effort at expansion by directing an expedition against Algeria opposite her own southern shore. The governments of Louis Philip and Napoleon III pursued the work thus begun by fighting and subjugating the native tribes until a considerable area had been brought under French domination. Napoleon III also developed French authority in the Senegal river district of western Africa and in Indo-China in southeastern Asia. Therefore on coming into power the Third Republic found several promising colonial centers already in existence; and, busily and tirelessly extending its claims, it had by 1914 succeeded in assembling an extra-European empire of such vast extent that it was exceeded only by those of Great Britain and Russia. Its chief strength lay in northwestern Africa, almost the whole of which had been brought under French rule; but the Indo-China position was important and the possession of a long chain of islands, in which chain Madagascar, off the coast of southeastern Africa, is the largest link, added greatly to the solidarity and vigor of this empire ruled from Paris. Meanwhile the older colonial urge of the European powers had, under pressure from the Industrial Revolution, assumed the more aggressive form of imperialism. Imperialism, as we shall presently see, came around 1890 to dominate the foreign policy of every European power, producing the fiercest kind of competition among them. By its side and often merging with it the older force of nationalism continued to manifest its strength. Nationalist assertiveness and imperialist expansion together ruled the foreign offices of all the European powers and invariably furnish the explanation of the attractions and repulsions manifested among them during the generation before the outbreak of the World War. In

case of France we find that in the early nineties she reached a ndly hand toward Russia, and concluded a close alliance with empire of the tsar which in the twentieth century was expanded, he addition of Great Britain, into the famous Triple entente. therewith we have broached international relations, the system- treatment of which is reserved to a special chapter.

GERMANY

he German Empire, forged in the fire of three wars fought be- en 1864 and 1871, rested on the constitution of 1867 together n the modifications adopted on the occasion of the incorporation he Empire of the four South German states (1871).

The German constitution a compromise between absolutism and liberalism

constitution, which, like the Empire, was the work Bismarck, aimed at combining three factors: (1) the ndancy of Prussia, (2) the self-government of the nty-five component states, and (3) the national soli- ty of the German people. This last feature was to ecured by means of a lower house (*Reichstag*) elected universal manhood suffrage. While something like alance was obtained among the three above-mentioned historical ncies, it is undoubtedly true that Bismarck reserved the decisive tical role in the new state to Prussia and its king, raised in respect he new federal structure, to the dignity of German Emperor *utscher Kaiser*). These circumstances make it difficult to classify new government. While it was constitutional, it was not parli- ntary, at least not in the British or French sense since the ministry not responsible to the legislature. Because the emperor ap- ted the chancellor and the other ministers and because they office at his pleasure, he resembled an autocrat; but then, the other hand, his autocracy was seriously impaired by the umstance that taxes could not be voted nor laws passed without consent of the Reichstag. It is approximately correct to think he German system as a compromise between absolutism and ralism. That liberalism, dissatisfied with its half-triumph, did at once proceed to sweep the remnants of absolutism off the rds as it did everywhere else in western Europe was probably due he immense prestige won by the Prussian monarchy through its ization of the middle class dream of German unity.

The outstanding event in the history of the new Empire between

1871 and 1914 was its rapid and thorough-going industrialization. This meant an accelerated advance in the power and numbers of the middle classes. If the government had openly and systematically antagonized them, they would in all likelihood, in spite of their gratitude to Bismarck for his achievement of unity, have begun an agitation aiming at his overthrow and the revision of the constitution in their interest. But the chancellor more than met them half-way, as a review of Reichstag activity amply shows. Act after act was passed to the end of endowing the Empire with a body of efficient national legislation; and although these measures redounded to the advantage of the whole population, they were preëminently bourgeois in the sense that they constituted the very substance of the middle class program. A national coinage system was adopted (its unit the *mark*), a national bank (the *Reichsbank*), and a national (metric) system of weights and measures. The Prussian army organization with its feature of compulsory military service was extended to the South German states. One of the most sweeping reforms consisted in remodelling the whole edifice of justice. Not only were the courts endowed with a simplified and uniform procedure but special commissions were appointed to prepare new codes both of criminal and civil law which were debated and in due time passed by the Reichstag.

Unitarian legislation

A noisy quarrel with the Catholic Church belonging to the seventies, also had, in large part at least, a bourgeois origin. To be sure, Bismarck made the quarrel his own on the ground that the Catholic Church enjoyed too great an authority in Prussia and the other German states. Laws were passed (1872–1875) which aimed to bring the clergy more completely under state domination; but the clergy, enthusiastically supported by the Catholic laity, resisted so successfully that Bismarck was obliged to acknowledge himself beaten in this conflict usually referred to as the *Kulturkampf*. The obnoxious anti-Catholic legislation was gradually withdrawn, and after a decade the only advantage which remained to the state was obligatory civil marriage and the confirmation of the state's control of education. As for the Church it came out of the struggle with the heightened prestige resulting from the successful defense of its claims; and of this strengthened position the most striking evidence was the Center party formed among the Catholic voters for the support of their beloved mother, the Church.

The *Kulturkampf*

rom all that has been said it must be clear that the massive figure ne Iron Chancellor completely overshadowed every phase of Ger- political life and that nothing happened in the whole vast field nout his consent. During the seventies he coöperated n the party of the National Liberals, in whom middle s policy found its chief expression. But just before close of the decade he adopted two policies which a section of the National Liberals would accept. first was an expression of his conversion from free trade to pro- ion; the second signalized his alarm over the spread of social- . It characterizes his contempt of established parliamentary cedure that he did not seek a preliminary understanding with his ral supporters about his new plans but shaped them in the light of personal view of the situation. Then he announced his program challenged the National Liberals to rebel against him if they ed. As a group among them actually did dare, the party was split wo. None the less by combinations with other parties (the Con- vatives, the Catholic Center, or both) Bismarck carried not only rotective tariff (1879) but also a series of measures dealing with alism which are important enough to deserve a more detailed cription.

Bismarck breaks with the National Liberal party

While the Industrial Revolution had strengthened the middle ses, it had of course enormously swelled the numbers of wage- ners, who, yielding more and more to a very clever agitation con- ted by Marx and his followers, were drawn into the ial-democratic party, organized for the conquest of tical power. As soon as this party with its subversive s succeeded in getting a solid block of representatives elected to Reichstag, Bismarck took alarm and resolved to make an effort urn the workingmen away from the Marxist camp. On the one d, he had the Reichstag pass an anti-socialist law which tried drastic punishments to suppress all socialist agitation whether newspapers, books, or public meetings; and, on the other, he mpioned an elaborate labor code in protection of the workers as a proof to them that they were not handed over for exploita- to the capitalists but that they were cherished and befriended a patriarchal state. The anti-socialist law may be said to have n a complete failure in so far as the suppression of the movement concerned. The government itself came to see the futility of ting socialism with force, and in 1890, immediately on Bismarck's

Bismarck's Social Legislation

retirement from office, dropped the measure. The chancellor's ameliorative labor code is in another class. While a part of it dealt with the labor of women and children and provided more humane conditions in the factories, that is, followed a line already taken by the older industrial countries, another part, far more original, in fact representing one of the most important contributions ever made to Social Legislation, took up the issue of workingmen's insurance. Three types of insurance were inaugurated: (1) insurance against accident; (2) insurance against sickness; (3) insurance against invalidism and old age. As the workingmen were required to make contributory payments to the funds established in connection with types two and three, they were permitted to share the control of these funds with the employers. The responsibilities of management coupled with the coöperation imposed on employers and employees exercised a beneficent influence on the whole economic situation. In fact, according to almost universal opinion, the Bismarckian Insurance Legislation did much toward developing in Germany one of the most efficient bodies of workingmen to be found in the world. But though they gladly profited from the insurance enactments, which, carried in the period 1883–1889, constitute a genuine step toward socialism, they did not show the least inclination to give up their antagonism to the bourgeois state or to abandon the Social-democratic party.

In 1888 William I, the first ruler of reunited Germany, died at the advanced age of ninety-one years. As his son, Frederick III, who was already dwelling in the shadow of death at the time of his accession, reigned only three months, the scepter passed to Frederick's oldest son, William. William II (1888–1918) was an alert, ambitious, and autocratically-minded sovereign, who soon showed his restiveness under the tutelage of Bismarck and in 1890 dismissed him from office. By successively appointing more subservient and less authoritative men to the chancellorship, he reduced the importance of his ministers and became in his own person the director of German policy. His plan in essence was to promote material prosperity in every possible way by giving support to industry, commerce, and agriculture alike. This was far from easy since an antagonism often appears among these rival economic interests; but that Germany under William II advanced materially at an extraordinarily rapid rate can not be challenged in view of the great expansion registered in such matters as

William II, promoter of material prosperity

merchant marine, the value of agricultural products, and foreign de. A detailed analysis of the foreign trade would furnish inter- ng evidence of the amazing multiplication of machine-made ds. As a single statistical item illustrating German domestic wth we may note that the population increased between 1870 and 4 from forty-one millions to close to seventy millions.

Translated into political terms, William II's economic program ified that he was resolved to lean upon the Conservatives, repre- ting the Prussian landlords and the German farmers generally, on the various groups of Liberals identified with the dle classes. By serving the interests of these groups gained their attachment and loyalty and was enabled push his imperialist schemes which centered on the ntenance of a large and effective army and navy. ile the army had by William's time become an estab- ed feature of Prusso-German tradition, the navy was an innova- , largely due to the emperor's personal initiative. Not without culty he managed to persuade his followers in the Reichstag mbark on a naval program which in the course of the first decade he twentieth century gave Germany the greatest fleet in Europe r Great Britain. Although its growing navy increased the ap- ent power of Germany, we should not fail to observe that it really kened the German position since, by arousing the hostility of at Britain, it pushed that country into the ranks of William's mies. Of this more will be said in the chapter dealing with general opean relations. In this purely domestic review it will suffice point out the connection between William's naval policy and the tical and social support on which he relied to carry it through. caressing as he did the possessing classes, he offended the work- men organized in the Social-democratic party. Hence it was give- -take between them with the immediate advantage resting with emperor, who from his loftier platform hurled the thunders of his th at their heads. However, after 1890, with the expiration of anti-socialist law, it must be conceded he did nothing directly bstruct their propagandist activity. By making it clear that the sm between himself and the socialists was unbridgeable, he entered a silent struggle with them in which he had the satisfaction of ntaining his ascendancy by reason of upper and middle class sup- . None the less the Social-democratic party continued steadily ominously to grow. In the general elections of 1912 it came

The imperialist policy of William II in open conflict with socialism

dangerously near to polling as many votes as Conservatives and Liberals combined and returned a membership which made it the largest single party in the Reichstag. This separation of Germany into a monarchical and a republican faction was probably inevitable, but that William hastened it by his provocative attitude is incontrovertible.

Colonial and imperial policy

A country which, like Germany after 1871, was politically powerful and economically dominated by the Industrial Revolution, was bound to embark on the colonial movement. The cautious Bismarck at first discouraged the merchants who looked beyond the seas for territory, but when, in the eighties, he saw an opportunity to go ahead without encountering too much opposition from the older countries already in the field, he assumed for Germany the protection of certain areas in Africa. The policy thus inaugurated William II, throwing Bismarck's caution to the winds, continued with enthusiasm until in 1914, at the end of a quarter of a century, his country had amassed a considerable colonial empire. To be sure, owing to Germany's late appearance on the scene, her extra-European possessions could not compare either in extent or value with those of such older powers as Great Britain, France, and Russia, but they were formidable enough to make her a factor in the colonial race. The bulk of them lay in Africa (Togo, Kamerun, German Southwest Africa, German East Africa) but her Pacific territories, consisting chiefly of scattered island groups, like the Marshall Islands and the Carolines, and her flourishing colony at Kiao-chau in the Chinese province of Shan-tung were important additional positions. In any case, taken in connection with her powerful army and navy and her expanding commerce and industry, her colonies sufficed to push Germany into the imperialist game. Although we shall study German imperialism in connection with all the other imperialisms at a later time, it may be pointed out here that it did not dominate German foreign policy till the reign of William II. Under Bismarck, whose nature was rooted in the realities immediately surrounding him, foreign policy was determined almost exclusively by the hereditary enmity with France. That the restless and ambitious William II persuaded himself to disregard the enmity of France and, pursuing imperialist designs, plunged into world politics, represents the turn which became decisive for the German destiny. By aligning Russia and Great Britain with France William provoked a combination which drew an iron ring around his country.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Between 1859 and 1866 the Austrian Empire suffered a series of eats which drove it out of Italy and Germany and obliged it to ct a complete reorganization. Although the emperor, Francis eph I (1848–1916), became persuaded that the tradi- **Austria becomes (1867) the dual empire of Austria-Hungary**
al absolutism would have to be given up, the ques- as to what was to replace it proved exceedingly cult. There were those among his advisers who be- ed that the unity of the Empire should be maintained ll costs by the creation of a central parliament at Vienna, while ers favored a decentralized and federal system which would ak up Austria into its component provinces and nationalities. the end neither of these proposals, neither centralization nor eralism, triumphed but a third program championed by the Hun- ans. It is known as the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 and is racterized as the dual system, since it divided the Hapsburg itories into two sections, Austria and Hungary. Under this ar- gement Hungary embraced the eastern territories, that is, Hun- y proper and her historical dependencies, Croatia, Slavonia, and nsylvania, while Austria included the western and northern vinces, seventeen in number. Each half of the monarchy was have its own separate constitution, parliament, and administra- n. As the executive, called emperor in Austria and king in Hun- y, was the same person, he would constitute the chief bond ween the two sections. However, in order to assure harmonious nsels in diplomacy and war and leave to the united monarchy status of a great power, certain additional interests like foreign irs, army, and navy were recognized to be common to both areas. se common interests were presided over by common, that is, tro-Hungarian ministers responsible to two *delegations* of sixty nbers each from the parliaments of Vienna and Budapest, the pective capitals of Austria and Hungary.

t thus appears that the combined state, no longer called Austria Austria-Hungary, was based on a bargain between the two ngest national groups, the Germans and Magyars (Hungarians). ther, it is true, could claim a majority of the population in its ticular section, but each, by judiciously limiting the franchise, ht aspire to maintain control in its half of the monarchy. urally the less favored groups, chiefly Slavs, protested against

this system. However, since it conceded them representation, though not in proportion to their numbers, they ended by accepting it and sending representatives to the parliaments at Vienna and Budapest charged with replacing as soon as possible the dual with a loose, federal system more calculated to give each racial group the direction of its interests. In each parliament therefore, from the start, the nationality question was constantly to the fore, the Germans and Magyars trying by means of a restricted suffrage to maintain their ascendancy, while the opposition, consisting of Rumanians, Italians, and, above all, of the numerous groups of Slavs, such as the Czechs, Poles, and Ruthenians in the north and the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the south, tried, in order to get the full advantage of their numbers, to achieve universal suffrage and with this lever to put an end to the German and Hungarian ascendancy.[1] That the Austro-Hungarian monarchy assumed on the basis of the Compromise of 1867 a form so complicated as to make classification impossible and even description difficult has generally been recognized. However, the main point is as clear as day: the dual system represented an attempt to set up a constitutional government in which all the nationalities of the polyglot Hapsburg realm were to be conceded fundamental rights, but in which, chiefly by means of suffrage limitations, an ascendancy was to be secured in Austria to the Germans, in Hungary to the Magyars. The wild struggle among the Hapsburg nationalities, inaugurated in 1848, continued therefore without abatement after the Compromise of 1867. However, as it was conducted not with shot and shell but with harmless, though explosive words fired in the parliaments of Vienna and Budapest, the hope of an ultimate accommodation was never quite abandoned. Let us now follow first the history of Austria and Hungary considered as separate entities, the second, the history of Austria-Hungary, under which title the Hapsburg monarchy continued to do business as a great power.

The dual system based on the ascendancy of the Germans in Austria and of the Hungarians in Hungary

The Austrian parliament composed of two houses showed a laudable energy in modernizing the state. Complete religious toleration was decreed; public schools were founded with compulsory attend-

[1] In 1910 Austria-Hungary had 51,300,000 inhabitants, distributed as follows among the leading nationalities; 12,000,000 Germans, 10,000,000 Magyars, 8,500,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 5,000,000 Poles, 5,000,000 Serbs and Croats, 4,000,000 Ruthenians, 3,200,000 Rumanians, 1,200,000 Slovenes, 750,000 Italians.

THE NATIONALITIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO,

e; the judicial system was reformed and to a certain extent popu-
zed by the introduction of trial by jury; and the army was
ovated by the adoption of the Prussian system of universal com-
sory service. The citizens, encouraged by these evi-
ces of new life, developed an unexpected initiative
l undertook to appropriate the advantages of the
lustrial Revolution. The coal and iron resources,
efly of Bohemia and Moravia, served as the basis of
evelopment which gradually carried Austria into the
ks of the industrial states. Wealth grew rapidly, cities expanded,
rkingmen tried to combat low wages and evil living conditions by
ans of strikes and unions, in short, renovated Austria in the last
ades of the nineteenth century followed in the footsteps of Great
tain, France, and Germany.

Modernization of Austria under the constitutional system

The Industrial Revolution was championed, in Austria as every-
ere, by the middle classes and the Austrian middle classes were,
erally speaking, German. But what the Germans gained in wealth
l consideration as the leaders of business, the Slavs
ned in numbers by supplying the factory workers.
e Industrial Revolution therefore intensified the
ionalist conflict, for the workers demanded the vote and
ry democratic advance proved to be a threat directed
inst German ascendancy. However, so decisive was
economic expansion that there was no resisting the
nocratic movement. By successive stages the vote
s extended to additional groups until in 1907 a law was adopted
ablishing universal manhood suffrage. Already a generation
ore 1907 the Germans had lost control of parliament, which with
many parties along national lines exhibited a picture in miniature
the ethnical situation in the state. After 1907 the national rival-
s flared up more heatedly than ever, tremendously complicated
times by the newer class rivalries connected with the problems
capital and labor. Numerous were the observers who declared
t the Austrian state structure would not be able to stand the
ain much longer; but the contentious groups, perhaps because
y were dependent on one another economically, perhaps because
y felt a common loyalty to their aged ruler, Francis Joseph,
ays drew back from the final, irrevocable step. Besides, the Poles,
echs, Slovenes, and other Slav peoples enjoyed the not incon-
erable satisfaction that the existing system permitted them

Political and nationalist democratization of Austria and decline of German ascendancy

steadily to increase their rights in the schools, the courts, and the administration at the expense of the Germans. By 1914 there was as good as nothing left of the former political ascendancy of the Germans, though their social and economic predominance, unaffected by their political decline, enabled them to exercise a broad general influence which was the real cement holding the tottering structure of the state together. Austria's history between 1867 and 1914 proved that it is only with the greatest difficulty that a state composed of many diverse nationalities, each of which occupies a distinct area, will be able to resist the dissolving tendencies of the modern nationalist propaganda.

The maintenance of Magyar ascendancy in Hungary

The internal history of Hungary after 1867 differs most conspicuously from that of Austria in that the Magyars successfully maintained their ascendancy in politics, justice, education, and administration. There were several reasons for this. First, the Magyars formed a solid central block surrounded by a rim of Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rumanians, and Serbo-Croats, incapable of uniting because they spoke different languages and were not in physical touch with one another. Second, the Magyars were traditionally a ruling group which owned the land, while the Slavs and Rumanians were, at least in overwhelming measure, backward and unorganized peasants. Third, the Industrial Revolution, which regularly carried in its wake a strengthened bourgeoisie and an aggressive proletariat, hardly penetrated Hungary. For all these reasons Hungary remained predominantly an agricultural state, essentially feudal and Magyar in spirit and organization. However, its wealth rapidly increased since the soil was extraordinarily fertile and the landlords, commanding capital and amenable to modern, scientific methods, doubled and trebled the value of the crops. Conscious of their power and resolved to maintain it at all costs, the Magyars had set up a franchise capable of such unscrupulous manipulation that the non-Magyar groups remained almost unrepresented in the parliament at Budapest. Of course they found leaders who agitated in their behalf, demanding if not universal manhood suffrage, at least a more equitable voting system. But as political democratization would unerringly have ended Magyar domination, the reform was violently resisted by the ruling group. When the World War broke out the actual political situation was still essentially what it had been since 1867. There was, however, this difference: the struggle for democracy and national rights had

ome so embittered that it did not seem credible that an unbend- Magyar ascendancy could be maintained very much longer
A state like Austria-Hungary made up of many rival and conten- us nationalities could not possibly play as decisive a role in Europe the nationally compact powers all around it. Above all, as it ked the impulse communicated by their homogeneous ionalism to Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, could not venture upon an active, imperialist policy, t could venture on it only with certain paralyzing reser- ions. For this reason the foreign policy of the dual narchy, after the elimination of its influence from Italy and rmany, seems relatively tame and unenterprising. Southeastern rope became almost exclusively its field of interest, and here it sued as its main purpose the rather negative policy of hindering ssia from gaining such an influence over the small Balkan national- s and the infirm Ottoman Empire as to expose the monarchy to ack on its Danubian front and to block its economic access to the ar East *via* the Ægean sea. In consequence of this fear of Russia emperor-king became greatly agitated when, in 1877, Tsar xander II began a new war against the sultan which threatened bring the whole Balkan peninsula under Muscovite domination. Great Britain was equally alarmed by the prospect, Russia was ed to submit the Ottoman question to the powers at the Congress Berlin. By the verdict of the assembled statesmen Austria-Hun- y was entrusted with the administration of the two Ottoman vinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878). From this moment rivalry with Russia became the foremost, nay, almost the ex- sive consideration of the Viennese foreign office. It led in the owing year (1879) to a close alliance with Germany, which in 1882 enlarged by the admission of Italy into the Triple alliance. As this will be treated elsewhere, it will suffice if in this review, con- ned entirely with domestic developments, we take note that the mate fate of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a whole hinged the occupation of Bosnia, the rivalry with Russia, and the Triple ance.

The interest of Austria-Hungary directed to the Balkan peninsula

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CHAPTER XXX

THE LESSER STATES OF EUROPE

The lesser states of Europe boast the same civilization as the ater states and their history in the nineteenth century has been ped by the same general movements. That means that they have though in varying measure, been affected by the at-

The lesser states repeat with variations the experience of the great powers

ipt to break away from the many bondages and re- ctions imposed by the Middle Age; that they have opted the results of science and have felt the breath of Industrial Revolution; that they have experienced growth of power of the middle classes; and that they e been swept by the political agitation connected with stitutionalism, democracy, and socialism. Our brief iew can do no more than indicate the effect on the lesser states the above general agencies in the period 1815–1914 and to note ain resulting variations due to the operation of special local con- ons.

SPAIN

Having already dealt with the Spain of the Restoration Period, have learned that the Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII, tried n the help of the Church and the nobility to reëstablish the abso- régime and that he met with opposition on the part

The struggle between absolutism and liberalism

certain liberal elements which had come into existence ing the struggle with Napoleon. Obliged (1820) to cede a constitution, he was with the aid of the Holy ance enabled to overthrow his opponents and reassert power (1823). Perhaps the worst consequence for Spain of his ompromising attitude was the estrangement of the South Ameri- colonies and their successful assertion of their independence. Plainly the question which emerged in Ferdinand's day was ether Spain would hold fast to its eighteenth century organization whether it would succeed in accommodating itself to the newer nands of constitutional government. But this question, political nature, had social and economic implications, and the victory of

the constitutionalists would depend on the quiet but effective transformation of Spain by education, science, and industrialism. Now it is a fact that this transformation was not carried through or rather that it made headway at so snail-like a pace that many decades passed before liberalism acquired sufficient momentum to push absolutism off the boards. The situation was further complicated by a disputed succession. When the narrow-minded and bigoted Ferdinand VII died in 1833, he left the crown to his infant daughter Isabella, thereby setting aside his brother Carlos, who considered himself to be the lawful heir. Civil war followed between Carlists and Christinists, so-called from the regent mother, Christina; and when this had been decided in favor of the latter, the victors fell out among themselves. The fact that Isabella became of age and reigned in her own name effected no improvement: the dreary civil struggle dragged on and on, without rhyme or reason. Liberal promises were made and broken, constitutions were published and annulled on no higher ground than a fancied momentary advantage. At length the long-suffering public lost patience with the dishonest game and Queen Isabella was obliged to flee abroad before a general rising (1868).

The struggle continues indefinitely because of the lack of middle class strength

A period of agitated experimentation followed. In reality the power passed into the hands of successive dictators. During the ascendancy of Generals Serrano and Prim the crown was offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, thereby producing the famous Spanish incident which precipitated the Franco-German war of 1870. On Leopold's refusal, an Italian prince, Amadeo of Savoy was chosen king and actually reigned two years before he gave up in disgust. Thereupon a republic was staged which cut so ludicrous a figure that the country at length declared itself ready and eager to return to the Bourbons in the person of the banished Isabella's youthful son. In 1875 he mounted the throne under the title Alfonso XII and ruled for ten years on the basis of a constitution which, at least so far as appearances went, established parliamentary government. On Alfonso's death in 1885 the power passed into the hands of Queen Maria Christina acting in behalf of her son, Alfonso XIII, who did not reach the legal governing age till 1902 when he assumed the reins in person.

Establishment (1875–1876) of constitutional monarchy under Alfonso XII

Before the end of the nineteenth century therefore constitutional-

m had definitely displaced absolutism. But the intimate changes
n Spanish society and in the Spanish mind had not been such as
o give the constitutional system its necessary underpinning. Spain
emained obdurately outside the strong currents of modern life. Although the Inquisition had finally disappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Catholic clergy continued to dominate thought and education; the bourgeoisie, owing to the backwardness of commerce and the absence of industry remained weak; and the masses, sunk in superstition and prone to indolence and beggary, failed utterly to impress themselves upon the situation. To the province of Catalonia with its busy capital, Barcelona, is true, this description does not apply. The Catalans of the ast coast had never been more than superficially assimilated to he Spaniards and a vigorous section among them had never eased to ask for the home rule which they had enjoyed up to he time of Philip II. By the development of commerce and industry and the introduction of modern scientific and educational ethods they tried to bring themselves into line with the rest of urope and chafed impatiently under the backward government at Iadrid. Catalonia is undoubtedly a modern anomaly in Spain; but erhaps because it is a small area, it did not succeed in the period nder review in wresting autonomy from the central government.

Spain outside the main currents of modern thought and life

he heart of the Spanish phenomenon is mental immobility. Is it ue to the unbroken rule of the Catholic Church? Or to the geoaphical isolation caused by the barrier of the Pyrenees? Or to the xtreme poverty of a large part of the Spanish soil? Or to fundaental racial traits by reason of which the Spaniards are less nterprising and energetic than their European neighbors? A tisfactory analysis of the Spanish situation would have to reckon ith all these factors.

A decadent country in the midst of an expanding age was not kely to be able to maintain its colonies. We have already observed ow the lusty South and Central American dependencies cast off the panish yoke in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Cuba and the Philippines represented about all that was left of what had been once the greatest colonial empire in the world. Here, too, incurable mismanagement created chronic discontent and in the second half of the nineteenth century led to serious risings against Spanish corruption. It took

Decadent Spain loses its colonial empire

the mother-country ten years to suppress the Cuban rebellion c 1868. In 1894 Cuba rose again, and when a large Spanish army ha almost reduced the island to a desert, the United States interfered provoking the Spanish-American war of 1898. The quick and de cisive triumph of the powerful young republic obliged Spain to su for peace, by the terms of which Cuba was declared independen and Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands were ceded to the victors All that remained to Spain after 1898 were the Canary Islands, th Rio de Oro region of West Africa, and a few isolated points like Ceut on the Moroccan coast. When in 1904 Great Britain and Franc reached their famous Mediterranean agreement, which, among othe matters, assigned the bulk of Morocco to France, Spain was placate with the promise of its eventual succession to the Moroccan are opposite its own shores. On the seizure of Morocco by France i 1911, Spain presented its promissory note and duly received a ample coastal segment. Mountainous, difficult of access, and withou roads, it is inhabited by hardy, spirited tribes who, animated by th Moslem faith, are not minded to put up with Spanish rule. Whethe Spain can bring them under subjection and maintain a modest im perialism among the vigorous grasping imperialisms of its neighbor remains to be seen.

PORTUGAL

The history of Portugal in the nineteenth century runs a cours strikingly parallel to that of Spain. There is the same struggl between absolutism and constitutionalism, the same weakness o liberalism owing to the failure of the country to effect thorough-going social-economic transformation, and whe constitutional government is at last victorious, there i the same absence of that fresh national vigor which othe happier countries drew from the well-spring of modern thought an enterprise.

Parallel movement of Portugal and Spain

We are aware that when Napoleon seized Portugal in 1807, Kin John VI and the royal family sought refuge in the great Portugues dependency of Brazil, where they chose to remain even after Napo leon's rule had been overthrown. Great Britain, which had bee drawn to Portugal by its struggle with Napoleon, continued its con trol after 1815 until the rising of 1820 brought the Liberals int power, who championed a constitutional régime. In order to sav his throne John VI, on the urgent invitation of his subjects, returne

his native land, and with an intelligence and adaptability unusual a legitimate sovereign, agreed to accept a limitation of his absolun. However, as soon as the Brazilians discovered that John had ndoned them, they became disgruntled in their turn, lared themselves independent of the mother-country, l offered the throne to John's son, Pedro (1822). On n's demise in 1826, Pedro succeeded to Portugal, but the Brazilians would have none of him on these ns, he was obliged to resign the Portuguese crown in favor of his nt daughter, Maria. In this peaceful way Brazil and Portugal e separated never to be joined again.

The peaceful separation of Portugal and Brazil

lthough King John agreed to be a constitutional sovereign and youthful successor, Maria, did the same, powerful reactionary ments within the country resisted this development and plunged country into domestic disturbances similar to those ch troubled neighboring Spain. Gradually, however, situation consolidated, and under the reign of Maria's s and successors (Pedro V, 1853–1861; Luiz I, 1861–9) the country seemed to have settled down to an erly evolution in a constitutional sense. The quiet turned out to deceptive. Under Carlos I (1889–1908) administrative corrup, financial crises, and electoral frauds promoted by the party lers in their private interest gained the upper hand and involved country in renewed tumult. In 1908 King Carlos paid the cruel e of failure by meeting death at an assassin's hand. His youthful inexperienced son, Manoel II, succeeded to a quaking throne two years later was driven into exile by a republican rising. e 1910 Portugal has enjoyed the doubtful blessing of a republic, btful because the people have experienced no essential change eart or mind and are as little ready to turn the republic into an ve, going concern as they were the constitutional monarchy. The uption of officials and the brazen manipulation of elections con- e exactly as before. Only one difference deserves to be noted. ublican Portugal, perhaps in imitation of republican France, has pted a severely anti-clerical policy. In 1911 the religious orders e expelled and a law passed separating Church and state. To st this movement the strong conservative elements are ready to ar, even to the length of revolution. The republic may live, but y years must pass before it can become secure, honest, and effi- t.

The constitutional monarchy followed by a republic, 1910

Perhaps Portuguese patriots take comfort in the thought that t real and greater Portugal is their former colony of Brazil. Becon an independent empire in 1822, it has steadily grown in wealth a

The independence of Brazil and the decline of Portuguese colonial power

power, gradually working back into its immense tropic hinterland. Emperor Pedro I was followed by his so Pedro II, a prince with a modern mind who, when discovered after a beneficent reign of over four decad that his subjects preferred a republic, resigned without struggle. Since 1890 Brazil has been a prosperous feder republic. Portugal's other colonies, however, have r mained under its ægis. In area they are not inconsiderable, cor prising as they do the extensive African territories of Angola a Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa). Being undeveloped, th are rather a liability to the treasury than an asset, and may, especial if they should suddenly disclose any promising economic resource be taken over, doubtless on moral grounds, by some strong pow like Great Britain. Her near-by island possessions, the Azores a Madeira, are Portugal's surest as they were her earliest acquisitior Populated with Portuguese, they are not governed as colonies b directly incorporated with the home country.

SWITZERLAND

On dealing with the Swiss Confederation in the Period of t Reformation, we noted that it had grown steadily from small b ginnings until it occupied an acknowledged position in the syste

Stagnation in the post-Reformation Period

of European states. In the Peace of Westphalia (164 its independence of the Holy Roman Empire was ma an article of international law. In spite of these promisi beginnings the seventeenth and eighteenth century repr sent a period of stagnation through a convergence of extraordina difficulties, which may be briefly enumerated. (1) The Confeder tion was a loose union purely for defense among thirteen soverei cantons. (2) There existed a wide diversity of governing princip among the cantons; while some maintained a very democratic syste the majority were ruled by narrow oligarchies. (3) There we regions classified some as allied, others as subjected districts; neither case did they enjoy equality with the thirteen constitue cantons. (4) The fierce religious animosities carried into Switze land by the Reformation continued to smolder in spite of the sett

ent of Kappel (1531). In the period after 1648 the Confederation l into a complete state of coma and such feeble public life as there as unfolded itself within the limits of each canton.

When the storms of the French Revolution broke, this whole tiquated system went down in ruin. The French did not scruple interfere in Switzerland and first, the Directory and later, Napleon imposed a more compact organization on the untry which lasted till the Corsican's downfall. Swept, ving to resentment against French tyranny, by an unasoning reactionary sentiment, the Swiss returned 1815 to the loose union of prerevolutionary days, ile the old oligarchies once more successfully established eir cantonal power. The allied and subjected lands, however, ich during the French disturbances had won their independence, re happily left in possession of their new-won rights. Thus it was a oup not of thirteen but of twenty-two free cantons which remped the old constitution. The Congress of Vienna presented e renovated Confederation with a guarantee of perpetual neutrality, which it was fortunately freed from the necessity of entering the rilous game of European politics.

Destruction (1798) and reconstitution (1815) of the loose federal system

A few years of reaction sufficed for the revolutionary sentiments revive and produce a general ferment. The oligarchical canal governments were attacked by opposition parties representg popular rights. At the same time the liberals proeded to assault the impotent federal government by manding a more centralized system. Shortly after e July Revolution of 1830 the oligarchies, as though nned by the new spirit which was abroad, began to e way with such surprising swiftness that before long the canal governments had been generally democratized. Aware that e turn of the feeble federal constitution had now come, the seven tholic cantons formed a league of resistance against the innovators led the *Sonderbund*. As this was tantamount to secession, the ier cantons declared war and in a brief campaign won the victory 47). They crowned it by drawing up (1848) a new constitution, ich established an effective union imbued with democratic princis and which with slight changes is still in operation.

The victory of democracy and union (1848)

By the constitution of 1848 the supremacy of the federal over the tonal powers was raised beyond a doubt, but the cantons were deprived of their local rights. In its dovetailing of federal and

state powers Switzerland offers a strong resemblance to the politic system of the United States. The national legislative power is veste in a *Federal Assembly* of two houses: the *Council of States*, much lik the United States Senate, consists of two delegates fro each canton, while the *National Council*, comparab to the House of Representatives, is elected by th people on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. The nation executive is not a single person, but a committee of seven, calle the *Federal Council* and elected by the Federal Assembly. Althoug one of the seven presides under the title of *President of the Counc* his authority is hardly greater than that of his other six colleague

The constitution of 1848

Since the fundamental reforms effected between 1830 and 184 the Swiss have not ceased to bring the democracy to which the are dedicated to an ever fuller expression. In some of the small agricultural cantons there had survived from past ag a kind of enlarged town meeting, called *Landesgemeind* which despatched its business directly by electing magi trates and voting laws. This system appealed also to the larg cantons, even though geographical necessity obliged them to legi late indirectly through elected representatives. The result of muc reflection along democratic lines was the adoption of the *referendu* and *initiative*, first for cantonal legislation and later, for feder legislation as well, to the end of making the laws as far as possib the direct expression of the will of the body of the citizens. By th referendum laws passed by the legislature, whether cantonal federal, are submitted for a final verdict to the vote of the peopl by the initiative the right is conceded to a certain number of citizer to suggest a measure which, if the people favor it in a special ele tion, must be converted into law by the legislators. It is probable tha democracy has been more broadly applied and has achieved a mo complete success in Switzerland than in any other country of th world.

The triumph of democracy

Switzerland presents an anomaly in a nationalist age, since, a though composed of three nationalities, it is not threatened wit disruption. If to the German, French, and Italian groups we ad the small body in the valleys of the Grisons who spea a dialect derived from Latin called Romansch, we ma even speak of four Swiss nationalities. That about 7 per cent. of the population speak German, 21 per cen French, and 6 per cent. Italian brings out the fact that the Confe

Switzerland a state of four nationalities

ation, which began among German peasants and townsmen, is ll preponderantly German. If the language groups do not quarrel, is because German, French, and Italian enjoy equal recognition as icial languages and further, because each group, treating the others th respect, refrains from attempting to gain an unfair advantage at eir expense.

The great political advance of Switzerland in the nineteenth ntury was prompted by the remarkable expansion of the economic d mental life of the whole Swiss community. The country has ared as fully as its numbers and resources permitted in e newest phase of western civilization. Its educational stem from the obligatory public school at the bottom the professional institutions at the top enjoys a merited nown. Illiteracy has practically ceased to exist. A ople so alert and disciplined was sure to draw every possible ad- ntage from the Industrial Revolution. There has therefore been steady and notable increase of manufacturing in the towns. At e same time there has been an impressive advance in the dairy dustry which represents the original occupation of the upland lleys. A Swiss specialty, the tourist industry, deserves mention ce it rests upon the scenic beauties of the Alps and bears witness an intelligence which neglects no opportunity to draw an honor- le return from the resources of the country.

Switzerland in the mid-current of modern civilization

BELGIUM

Not born till the Revolution of 1830, Belgium is one of the youngest tes of Europe. When the great powers found themselves unable undo the Belgian revolt, they made the best they could of a bad siness and not only accepted Belgian independence t tried, as in the case of Switzerland, to protect the w state against attack by guaranteeing its neutrality. The con- tution adopted in 1831 by the liberated Belgian people is still in e. It established a hereditary monarchy together with a bi-cameral rliament, of which the upper house was chosen by rather involved thods, while the lower house was elected directly by the eligible ters. Owing to a relatively high property qualification the eligible ters were for many decades limited to a small body of citizens. opold, a German prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg, was elected g and proved an exceptionally intelligent sovereign (1831-1865).

The Belgian constitution

He was succeeded by his son, Leopold II (1865-1909), equally intelli gent but shrewd and grasping. Leopold's successor was his nephew Albert I (1909–).

On attaining independence Belgium embarked on a career whic has brought it amazing prosperity. The country has taken full ad vantage of its fortunate geographical situation on the North sea an

Intense economic activity

has tied up the great port, Antwerp, with its populous hin terland by one of the most elaborate net-works of canal and railways in the world. It has made its rich coal-bed the basis of an industrial development which enables the countr to compete with such great manufacturing nations as Great Britai and Germany. And it has witnessed, on the part of its numerou small landholders, the application of scientific methods to agriculture whereby the wealth and comfort of the country people have bee greatly increased. By 1910 little Belgium had reached a populatio of 7,400,000 and was the most densely settled area of Europe

The limited suffrage put the development of Belgium after 183 in the hands of the middle classes who divided their favor betwee a Catholic and a Liberal party. Having identical economic interests

Catholic control; the suffrage and education issues

Liberals and Catholics differed chiefly as to the control o education. At one time the Liberals were sufficientl strong to eliminate clerical influence from the publi schools; but in 1884 the Catholics gained the election and continued in power uninterruptedly to the end o the period under consideration (1914). Of course they restored re ligious instruction in the public school; but, what is more surprising yielding to popular clamor, they cancelled the property qualificatio and established manhood suffrage (1893). However, they showe a lingering distrust of the common people by conceding one or tw additional votes to citizens of wealth or education (plural voting) In 1899 a much discussed political device, proportional representa tion, was adopted in order to permit minorities to be heard i parliament. Though the Liberals had meanwhile almost completel disappeared, their place as an opposition party was taken by th Socialists, who made a point of defending the interests of the grow ing body of workingmen. In conformity with the views of thei brethren throughout Europe, the Socialists have persistently attacke both plural voting and the clerical control of the schools. Whil they constitute a threat for the Catholic majority, they have no yet replaced it.

Belgium has an incipient nationality issue due to the fact that in country which is about equally divided between French-speaking alloons and a Flemish-speaking Teutonic people (Flemings), e French language enjoys an ascendancy, though by means a monopoly, in the administration and in the hools. A policy of concessions to the Flemings has been augurated which it may be hoped will preserve the domestic peace. 1908 Belgium made a daring plunge into colonialism by taking er the huge African territory of the Congo after it had been devel-ed by the personal enterprise of King Leopold II. It was in 1885 at Leopold obtained from a colonial conference held by the powers Berlin recognition of himself as the sovereign in his own name of e Congo Free State. Devoting himself to its development like y other money-making capitalist, he soon succeeded in drawing uly princely revenues from its vast resources of ivory and rubber. hen it was discovered that the abnormal profits were ground out the black natives by a cruel system of forced labor, a cry of in-gnation was raised throughout Europe which obliged Leopold to troduce reforms and, finally, to transfer the colony to the Belgian ate. With colonialism added to the other issues agitating the lgian people it is plain that they feel the full breath of modern life.

The nationality issue; colonialism

HOLLAND

The kingdom of the Netherlands, established in 1815 by the ongress of Vienna, was dismembered in 1830 by the revolt of its lgian provinces. Reduced to the area of the former Dutch Re-blic, it has continued to operate under the official me adopted in 1815, but is in English-speaking coun-es generally referred to as Holland. The powers at enna recognized William I of the historic house of Orange-Nassau king of the Netherlands. A conservative typical of his age, he anted a constitution which left the power substantially in his n hands. Not even the Belgian disaster broke his stubborn, tocratic will, and it was not till the reign of his son, William II 840-1849), that a new and more popular fundamental law was opted. Doubtless the general ferment of 1848 was the moving use of the royal liberality. By the constitution of that revolution-y year the power of the king was held in check by a parliament two houses. The upper house was composed of members elected

The constitution of 1848

by the legislatures of the eleven provinces composing the kingdom while the lower house was chosen directly by the voters, a limited body determined on the basis of property. By conceding important rights of self-government to the eleven constituent provinces, the Dutch system took on a balanced federal character like that of Switzerland and the United States. The narrow suffrage invited attack on the part of the Liberals, but such is the conservatism of Dutch society that, in spite of two extensions of the body of the voters (in 1887 and 1896), manhood suffrage has not been realized as in the surrounding countries. William II was succeeded in 1849 by William III, on whose demise in 1890, his daughter Wilhelmina mounted the throne. A strictly constitutional sovereign, she enjoys to the full the traditional devotion of her countrymen to the Orange family.

The inhabitants of the kingdom are a homogenous group of Germanic origin speaking the Dutch language. Perhaps the domestic question which has agitated them more than any other is the place of religion in the educational system. Their Calvinistic faith has been such a factor in their history that large numbers of conservative Protestants feel an aversion for an education divorced from religious instruction. In this they are of one mind with the Catholics who constitute a not unimportant minority. However in Holland as elsewhere, a Liberal party advocates strictly secular schools and in this position the Liberals are supported by a party of more recent origin, the Socialists. The solution of the educational problem arrived at among these rival groups was in the nature of a compromise. A public school system without religious instruction was created, at the side of which operate the private school systems of the Calvinists and Catholics, enjoying alike since 1889 the support of monies from the public purse. Attendance at either a public or a private school has been made compulsory.

Education and religion

The economic development of Holland has steadily continued along the lines determined by its glorious past. It was the full utilization by the people of its sea-board position that won for the country its seventeenth century eminence. The startling decline since that epoch has, after all, been relative rather than absolute, for, considering its small size and its population of about 6,000,000, Holland still maintains a very notable position in commerce and agriculture. Among its rich lowland meadows a dairy industry had developed

The economic situation: agriculture, commerce, colonies

hich matches that of the Swiss upland, while a commerce, con-ntrated in the two sea-ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, throws bridge from Holland to every country of the world. The still nsiderable remnant of Holland's colonial empire contributes in small degree to the nation's prosperity. The Dutch possessions nsist of Guiana (South America) and Java, Sumatra, Borneo, d other East Indian islands which supply the European market ith spices, coffee, sugar, and other tropical and semi-tropical prod-ts. The commerce of the East Indies amounted in 1913 to about half billion dollars. Owing to the absence of mineral resources olland did not turn to manufacturing like its neighbor Belgium. hat, in the light of all the facts, the country has made the best pos-ble use of its natural advantages admits of no dispute.

Like Belgium, Holland occupies a dangerous position between rance and Germany and directly opposite the English shore. vitzerland and Belgium, in spite of the neutrality guaranteed them by the powers, have not failed to provide for eir defense by the creation of considerable armies. vidently they nurse a conviction that their independence sts in the last resort not on international promises but their own prowess. We need therefore feel no surprise at the kingdom of the Netherlands, which enjoys no milar international guarantee, has been at particular pains to ovide against attack. Beginning with 1898 the militia was re-ganized with a provision for compulsory personal service. This form has enabled the Dutch to mobilize at need a large and ser-ceable force.

The dangerous position of the Dutch in the midst of three great powers

As the grand-duchy of Luxemburg, wedged between France, elgium, and Germany, was in 1815 attached as a personal posses-on to William I, king of the Netherlands, a word concerning it may inserted at this point. Although William ruled in uxemburg as grand-duke, the territory was for geo-aphic and military reasons incorporated in the German und. When the Bund disappeared as a result of the Austro-Prussian ar of 1866, Luxemburg, left high and dry, was coveted by Napoleon I and might have been surrendered to him for a consideration by then sovereign, King William III, if Prussia had not interfered. adjust the uncertainties which enveloped the status of the grand-chy, a conference of the powers, held (1867) in London, confirmed illiam as grand-duke, and renewing the declaration of the little

The grand-duchy of Luxemburg

territory's independence, put it under the collective guarantee of the powers. On William III's death in 1890 he was succeeded in Holland by his daughter Wilhelmina but in Luxemburg by his nearest male relative, Adolphus of Nassau. Since then Adolphus and his descendants after him have ruled this Lilliputian state as constitutional princes.

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

The three Scandinavian states, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, have, in spite of their being inhabited by three peoples speaking three different languages, so much in common that it is proper to group them together. Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians represent branches of the same North-Germanic stock; they adhere alike to the Lutheran faith; they live by agriculture, commerce, and fishing, rather than by manufactures; they are intellectually alert and have provided themselves with advanced educational systems; and they have passed in recent years through a similar social and political evolution. They are not a numerous people, the population of Denmark being in 1910 about 2,775,000, that of Sweden 5,500,000, and that of Norway 2,400,000, but by their sturdiness and enterprise they have won an honorable position in the modern movement of civilization.

Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians three branches of a common tree

(*a*) DENMARK

To punish the king of Denmark for clinging to Napoleon, the victor powers transferred (1814) his dependency, Norway, to Sweden. In 1864 he lost Schleswig and Holstein, which two years later were incorporated in Prussia. By these reductions of the kingdom to a compact Danish group the ground was cleared for an accelerated domestic development. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the Danish political situation was marked by stagnation and the king's absolutism was hardly challenged. But the revolutionary fervor which seized on Europe in 1848 weakened the royal position. Frederick VII issued a constitution (1849), which, revised in 1866, is still in force. Christian IX, who ruled from 1863 to 1906, tried to oppose the democratic trend and, against the wishes of the lower house, insisted on carrying through a policy of military preparedness. He appointed ministers at his pleasure, and when he could not get a majority for his budgets

Peasant prosperity and democratization

acted them by royal decree. It was a serious situation, luckily lved without war by the irresistible advance of the small Danish rmers, who constitute the bulk of the nation. Steadily improving eir condition by intensive dairy-farming coupled with an amazingly fective chain of coöperative societies, they gradually came to ominate so completely both the economic and political situations at the king in 1901 wisely ended the domestic conflict by installing cabinet representing the majority party in the lower house. Since is popular victory the democratization has proceeded apace. It as championed by the Liberals and latterly even more ardently a growing group of Socialists. Under Frederick VIII (1906–1912) d Christian X (1912–) the army was put on a strictly militia sis, while sweeping electoral reforms reduced the age limit of elec- rs from 30 to 25 years and granted the suffrage to women. In con- rmity with the politico-social outlook of a prosperous community socialized farmers, Denmark has shown so little taste for colonial- n that, instead of reaching out for new colonies, it has disposed of ost of those that it had. In 1903 Iceland was granted a measure of me rule which was subsequently expanded to independence; and 1917 the three Danish West Indian islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, d St. John were sold to the United States. True, Denmark still vns Greenland but its possession does not arouse any rosy dreams of lonial grandeur.

(*b*) SWEDEN

That Sweden had in the seventeenth century been a great power as in more ways than one subtly affected Swedish history down to ir own time. It was the Russia of Peter the Great that had dragged veden from its eminence and absorbed most of the Swe- sh conquests along the east shore of the Baltic. A ntury later, in 1809, Tsar Alexander I crowned the work Peter by capturing Finland from his Scandinavian ighbor. It was at this juncture that Sweden sought to rengthen its hand against Russia by electing one of Napoleon's arshals, Bernadotte, heir to its last and childless sovereign of the asa line, Charles XIII. Once in Sweden Bernadotte, instead of aying Napoleon's game, joined the allies and was rewarded for his lp by the cession of Norway. Up to this time (1814) Norway had longed to Denmark. Outraged by this treatment of them as a ere diplomatic pawn, the Norwegians rose in arms and forced

Loss of Finland (1809) and acquisition of Norway (1814)

Sweden to recognize their independence under their own separate constitution. Then they elected the king of Sweden as their own king, thus establishing the familiar form of connection between two separate states known as a personal union. In addition to the monarch the two kingdoms had no institution in common other than the diplomatic service. Even this restricted association led to friction which culminated in 1905 in a complete rupture. We shall treat of it in the following section.

In 1818 Marshal Bernadotte became king under the title Charles XIV and reigned till 1844. He and his descendants have identified themselves so thoroughly with Swedish interests that, though of French origin, the family could not be more popular if it were a native house. Sweden, in distinction from democratic Norway and Denmark, was in the days of Bernadotte an aristocratic society of great landholders set above a dependent peasantry. This upper order nursed dreams of Swedish greatness, favored military preparedness to resist further Russian encroachments, and set its face against the liberal movement. It was of one mind with Charles XIV in standing by the old system of government inherited from feudal times. However, the modern movement gradually strengthened the middle classes, and in 1866 under their influence the ancient diet was replaced by a modern parliament of two chambers. A fairly high property qualification restricted the body of electors and proved the conservative character of the reform. Not till 1909 were constitutional amendments carried celebrating the full triumph of democracy by the establishment of universal manhood suffrage. This political transformation must, as usual, be interpreted in the light of the contemporary social-economic movement. The Swedish natural resources, chiefly of iron and water-power, have served since 1850 as the basis of an industrial movement which has strengthened both the middle classes and the proletariat. While the land-holding aristocracy is still powerful, it can no longer stand up against a union of the newer orders represented in politics by the Liberal and Socialist parties. Many signs indicate that in the future the struggle for control will be between these two latter groups as the really decisive factors in present-day Sweden. Conservatism, resting on the power of great landlords, is apparently a lost cause.

Political and economic transformation

(c) NORWAY

We have seen that it was due solely to the firm resolution shown
Norway in 1814–1815 that the country gained its independence
der its own constitution and was joined to Sweden in a purely
rsonal union. Even this loose association proved irk-
me for a number of reasons. Norway is a coast and **The union with Sweden and its dissolution**
ountain land of small farmers, fishermen, sailors, mer-
ants, and pastors, as democratic a society as can be
und anywhere in Europe. Even the constitution of
14, constructed in a period of general reaction, was for its time an
usually democratic document since it vested supreme authority
a parliament (*Storthing*) and gave the vote to all tax-payers. Now
e energy of the Norwegians was in the nineteenth century poured
iefly into commerce. They developed the carrying trade to such a
gree that by 1900 their merchant marine had reached a tonnage
hich ranked it above the merchant marines of even the great powers
th the exception of Great Britain and Germany. That signified
increase of national self-esteem which made the domination of
veden in the consular service, the business of which it is to look after
ipping, decidedly irritating. The people raised a clamor for the
orwegian flag on Norwegian ships as well as for Norwegian consuls,
d when the king, who was Oscar II, refused to yield, the Storthing
last dissolved the union (1905). The crisis ended by Oscar wisely
cepting the situation. Norway, free of the last Swedish bonds,
ereupon elected to its throne a Danish prince who took the title
aakon VII (1905–).

A society which, like that of Norway, was founded on the vigorous
f-respect of farmers and sailors, was sure to prove friendly to the
mocratic doctrines current in our age. From 1870 on they would
ve been incorporated in the Norwegian political sys- **Democratization**
n in short order, had not the conservative-minded
edish king imposed a halt. Only slowly was his resistance over-
me. In 1884 he was obliged to accept the parliamentary system,
at is, he declared himself ready to concede the ministerial posts
representatives of the majority party in the Storthing. In 1898
e limited franchise was replaced by universal manhood suffrage.
ith the Swedish brakes removed (1905) the democratic chariot
oved forward with accelerated pace. In 1907 women received
e vote, first with certain limitations, finally (1913) on the same

broad basis as men. Norway claims the honor of being the first sovereign state of Europe to permit women not only to vote in national elections but also to sit in parliament.

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CHAPTER XXXI

RUSSIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

From the very beginning of this book interest has been focussed
western civilization and the position has been taken that it origi-
ted within the area of the medieval Latin Church. In the period
the Renaissance its slowly accumulated energy burst
rough these narrow geographic bounds, crossed the seas,
d sought to bring America and Asia within the field
its activity. Though it gained at first no more than a
othold on these continents, it has ever since been en-
ged in the attempt to bring them thoroughly and
tirely under its influence. In the vast eastern plain of Europe
entical with Russia the expanding civilization of the west cele-
ated toward the end of the seventeenth century a victory of a
mewhat different kind. Under Tsar Peter the Great it encountered
at sincerest form of flattery, imitation; and although Peter was
magician and could not in a twinkle make over his people's
ttled Slav mind, he could perform a number of more superficial
racles such as the reorganization of the Russian army and ad-
nistration after a western, more specifically, a German pattern.
e effect was to give the vast Russian mass a slow but irresistible
omentum, by virtue of which it soon pushed the weakening might of
veden from the Baltic and, in the days after Peter, overran Poland
d crowded the once irresistible Ottoman Empire from the northern
ore of the Black sea.

Russia takes over the superficial features of western civilization

When with exceptional frankness the Tsarina Catherine II indi-
ted that the goal of Russian political endeavor would for her and her
scendants be Constantinople and the straits, it became clear that
e Ottoman Empire was doomed unless it found means of bringing
e Russian offensive to a halt. Now the only effective way of
ing that would have been for the Ottoman Empire to follow the
ssian example and to carry through a reform of the army and
ministration, in other words, to adopt a frank policy of westerni-

zation. But that was, at least without several generations of preparatory labors, wholly out of the question. The Turks, who had built up the Ottoman Empire and on whom it continued to rest, were entirely too hostile to Europe to befriend themselves easily with either its attitudes or institutions. That they were Mongoloid Asiatics was perhaps in itself enough to dig a hopeless chasm between themselves and their Caucasian neighbors to the west; but as they were besides of the Moslem faith, they stubbornly locked and double-locked their minds against influences emanating from the hated Christians. In the days of their glory and as late as Solyman the Magnificent (d. 1566) the Turks had maintained a governing system which was in many respects superior to anything in contemporary Europe; but since the seventeenth century this system had fallen into open and undisguised decay. The army, the once famous Janissaries, had become a wretched, undisciplined militia; the administration maintained by the provincial governors or pashas had degenerated into a sink of corruption; and the once war-like sultans had been replaced by feeble voluptuaries content to pass their lives in the enervating atmosphere of the imperial harem.

Reasons why the Ottoman Empire was unresponsive to western civilization

But if the Turks, though threatened with destruction, sealed their ears to the siren voices of the west, such was not the case with the Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula who had been brought under Ottoman subjection in the fifteenth century. Before the end of the eighteenth century the Greeks and Serbs began to exhibit signs of restlessness giving evidence that they were stirred with a new hope. At the same time intellectual leaders appeared among them, who, having traveled in the west, preached the necessity of spreading the knowledge of western ways by those characteristic instrumentalities, the school and the printing press. The effect was seen in the revolt (1804) of the Serbs of the Belgrad area which by 1817 had led to the enforced grant on the part of the sultan of a not inconsiderable autonomy. When in 1821 the Greeks were in their turn encouraged to rise, they gained, as we have seen, not only autonomy but independence. In this way a notable breach was made in the Ottoman house by action from within. And what Serbs and Greeks had wrung from a decrepit master, could not Rumanians, Bulgars, and Albanians gain also? Sooner or later the nationalist awakening, based on a new self-reliance as well as on the

The revival of the conquered Christian nationalities of the Balkan peninsula

rption of the western outlook and methods, would reach all the an groups, and the feeble sultan, the Sick Man of Europe as he coming to be called, would be confronted with the more or less dinated rebellion of his Christian subjects.

dvancing Russia, decadent Turkey, and the awakening Christian nalities are three leading factors in the general nineteenth cen- situation of the Ottoman Empire; but there is a fourth. If end of the Mohammedan state was at hand, it was likely that the other European powers would leave field to Russia as sole eventual heir. We are aware Austria from the time of Prince Eugene had taken en interest in the Balkan peninsula; and the Medi- nean powers, France and Great Britain, did not fail to see the ntages beckoning in the Ottoman coastal areas. When some- past the middle of the nineteenth century Italy and Germany ged into the light of day, they too turned a fascinated attention he opportunities presented by the Near East. In this manner decay of the Ottoman Empire became a general European con- and the play of the imperialist appetites and enmities of the powers must at all times be reckoned with as one of the directive s in the movement of events.

The imperialist hunger of the great powers

the initial Christian revolt, the revolt of the Serbs in 1804, had ne whole presented itself to view as a local, an Ottoman occur-, that had not been the case with the Greek revolt of 1821. Its significance lay in the fact that it produced an vention of the powers and was followed by a war een the sultan and the tsar. Concluded by the e of Adrianople (1829), this conflict greatly strength- the position of the Muscovite by conceding to him amounted substantially to a protectorate over the ipality of Serbia and the two principalities of Moldavia and achia, the nucleus of modern Rumania. By an irresistible, nt procedure Russia was pushing into the Balkan peninsula. at this promising juncture fate itself seemed to play into the ian hands. The sultan's most powerful provincial agent was emet Ali, pasha of Egypt. We have encountered him in the k war, wherein he took a part which might have proved decisive, not the powers interfered and wrecked his fleet at Navarino. emet's distinction was that he had provided himself with an and a navy on the European model. He was in consequence

The sultan disastrously defeated on two occasions by the pasha of Egypt

more powerful than his over-lord, the sultan, and when he demand a reward for his sacrifices to the common cause in the form of southe Syria, he could enforce his request with threats. From this situati there developed in 1831 a war between master and man, in which t pasha was successful, in fact so extraordinarily successful th Mehemet's army, commanded by his son Ibrahim, might have tak Constantinople itself if Tsar Nicholas had not interposed his ve (1833). In consequence of a protection asked for and received t sultan, Mahmud by name, was reduced to the status of a Russi ward and burned with thoughts of vengeance on his disobedie vassal of Egypt. In 1839 he renewed the war with Mehemet only be again disastrously defeated. As in the very midst of the confli Mahmud died, leaving the scepter to a youthful son, a gener disintegration seized upon the Ottoman Empire which seemed prognosticate its end.

If Tsar Nicholas could by his sole action in 1839 have "saved the Ottoman Empire a second time, he would beyond a doubt ha completed its reduction to a Russian province. But this time t other powers were on the alert and insisted on also havi a hand in "saving" the Moslem state. The result w that, though only after a terrible crisis in which t specter of a general war loomed over Europe, the powe together undertook to regulate the affairs of the Ne East. After a severe chastisement at the hands of Eur pean forces Mehemet was swept back into Egypt, whi he received as his hereditary possession, though subject to the sult as suzerain. So much but not a jot or tittle more would the powe concede to the pasha in return for his two victories over his maste This done, Mahmud's young son was enthroned on the Bosporu The new ruler owed his existence and security to all the powers, n to Russia alone — that is the point to be noted. The tsar had act with the other powers and in apparent agreement with them h restored the Ottoman Empire. And yet at bottom he saw t Ottoman problem in a radically different light from them. For it clear as day that the Muscovite ruler interpreted the informal Eur pean protectorate as a preliminary step to a partition, while t other powers, and particularly Great Britain, because a partiti would inevitably carry Russia to the key-position of Constantinop opposed a partition and were resolved to use the protectorate to t end of "reforming" the Ottoman Empire in order that it mig become strong enough to resist all further Russian encroachme

Europe assumes an informal protectorate over the Ottoman Empire (1839)

ıch are the elements that account for the Russo-British antago-
ı which ruled the Near East for the rest of the century. Great
ain was set on the policy of reform and because of its friendly
rest in the government completely gained the ear
ıe sultan and of a small enlightened group of Ottoman
ials. In fairness it must be admitted that some
ıges were effected, largely due to British pressure.
ady Sultan Mahmud had in 1826 got rid of the
hless and ever mutinous Janissaries. On the founda-
s laid by him there was now built up a new Ottoman army
pped, disciplined, and organized in the manner of Europe. Un-
ably this reformed army became the most important single
or in the prolongation of the life of the state. There was also
sitant reshaping of the administration in the spirit of centralized
rol. On the other hand, as the terrible corruption persisted and
n the main, the Turks fiercely opposed the spread of European
s, the old evils proved ineradicable. The signs of discontent
iplied, if anything, and repeated risings furnished Tsar Nicholas
all the ammunition he needed to sustain his favorite thesis that
oman reform was a delusion and that the only logical course for
powers was to arrange for an early amicable division of the sul-
s lands. Aware that, to carry this policy, he would have to gain
consent, first of all, of Great Britain, the tsar repeatedly ap-
ched the British cabinet with partition projects which London
ly rejected. The upshot was that, disappointed and enraged,
esolved to proceed alone. In 1853 his ambassador at Constanti-
e was ordered to present an ultimatum which called for the
gnition of himself as the protector of all Greek Christians on
oman soil and which by implication signified the substitution of
ıssian for the general European control of Turkey.

was this ultimatum which led to the Crimean War (1854–1856)
h we have already treated.[1] As Russia was defeated, the
ors, Great Britain and France, in dictating the Peace of Paris,
ived the great Slav power of all the special advan-
s within the Ottoman Empire accumulated by pre-
s wars and reduced it, in respect of that feeble state,
ı exact level with all the other European states. Fur-
more, in order to give the sultan the greatest possible
rity against a renewed future aggression, the two western powers

Great Britain backs and Russia opposes Ottoman reform

The Crimean War and Peace of Paris (1856)

[1] See p. 546.

went the length of forbidding Russia to maintain a navy on the Blac sea. Finally, the informal general protectorate maintained since 183 at Constantinople was abolished and the Ottoman Empire welcome as a sovereign state into the comity of European nations.

Carefully examined the Treaty of Paris represented an attempt t secure the perpetuation of the Ottoman state by diplomatic device That it failed goes without saying. What was the use of statin that all was well in the sultan's realm when it was as plai as a pike-staff that decay persisted and that it was ev denced by the constant risings of oppressed populations Presently one or the other power or several in comb nation interfered at some exposed point to put out a conflagratio and restore tranquillity. They thus violated the sovereignty whic they themselves had so sonorously proclaimed and indirectly en dorsed the position of Russia that the Ottoman weakness was i remediable. Furthermore, Russia rapidly recovered from th Crimean disaster and evolved plans for undoing its effects. Th war of 1870 between France and Germany was a golden opportunity As soon as Europe was fully absorbed with that struggle, the tsa struck from his limbs the chief shackle imposed by the Treaty o Paris by issuing a declaration to the effect that he would no longe hold himself bound by the Black sea clause. To mark the complet resumption of his independence in the Black sea waters he undertoo the construction of a navy and of a naval base. Fifteen years afte the capture of Sebastopol Russia rebuilt that ruined port, thereb symbolically resuming the interrupted march on Constantinople.

Folly and failure of the Treaty of Paris

The self-assertion which lay in this nullification of solemn treat obligations was no isolated act of Russian policy. The Crimean de feat had convinced certain elements of the Russian people that some thing was wrong with their state and that the time ha come for a thorough reconstruction. It was now a hun dred and fifty years since Peter the Great had initiate among his resisting and unwilling subjects a revolution from abov Among its by-products, hardly foreseen by the enterprising tsa had been the creation of a small but active Russian middle clas which together with the more mobile elements of the land-holdin nobility gradually formed an enlightened upper crust friendly to th program of reform and to western ideas in general. On the heel the defeat of Russia in the Crimean war these people energetical came forward, declaring by book, pamphlet, and newspaper that th

Alexander II takes up reform

ır had struck to resume and intensify the eighteenth century re-
n movement. They insisted that the oppressed and submerged
ssian people had at last made its appearance on the scene of history
in no uncertain terms prophesied a revolution from below if the
k of Europeanization was not carried forward to a new stage.
e young tsar, Alexander II (1855–1881), a humane and sensitive
n, proved to be agreeably responsive to the pressure put upon
ı. Partly because the old institutions were manifestly antiquated,
tly in order to conciliate hostile criticism, he inaugurated an im-
tant era of reform.

Three measures indicate that Alexander was willing to go far to
dge the wide gap between his country and western Europe. He
roduced a new legal and judicial system inspired by western
dels; he endowed the constituent provinces of the
ssian state with self-governing assemblies called *zems-*
; and he emancipated the serfs. This last measure
ried Alexander's reputation around the world because it elevated
legal and moral status of millions of peasants, who in the primi-
e, agricultural society constituting Russia made up the bulk of
population. Beginning with edicts liberating the peasant-serfs
the vast imperial estates, he ended with the decree of 1861 sweep-
ly applicable to the whole Russian territory. At the same time
attempt was made to convert the liberated agriculturists into
sant-proprietors. In return for a compensation paid out of state
ds each landlord agreed to surrender a part of his property, which,
gned to his former subjects, was distributed among the house-
ds constituting a village group. As on this basis of apportion-
nt the individual peasant-farm was so small as barely to suffice
subsistence, certain evils put in their appearance which rapidly
umed extraordinary proportions. For one thing there were pres-
ly far more peasants than the existing peasant land would
port, and for another the surplus peasants constituted an im-
erished agricultural proletariat animated by an unquenchable
d-hunger. While some elements of this body were, it is true,
dually diverted toward the vast, unoccupied tracts of Siberia,
ers remained behind with rage and misery in their hearts and
h a growing tendency to look for relief from their cramped
ditions to the large and comfortable estates of the nobility.
cidedly emancipation, however laudable it may have been in
ing the peasants to a human status, was far from solving all
ir economic problems.

The emancipation of the serfs

Successfully launched on a policy of reform, Alexander was, be
fore the first decade of his reign had passed, seized with doubts an
fears that brought him to a halt. Perhaps the decisive factor in hi
change of front was the Polish revolution. In 1863 th
Poles rose against him as they had risen thirty year
before against his father, and although his armies quickl
stamped out the rebellious embers, he became convinced he had him
self nursed the serpent, revolution, by his support of modernizin
measures. When, therefore, liberal sentiment raised its voice in be
half of an extension of the zemstvo idea to the whole realm in th
form of a general Russian parliament, he abruptly broke with hi
former allies and, falling under the sway of reaction, enacted ever
conceivable measure conducive to the suppression of free opinion
The culminating act was the reintroduction of Nicholas I's infamou
secret police system, known in the annals of Russian martyrdom a
the Third Section.

Alexander II reverts to reaction

With this dramatic change war was declared between Alexande
and the Europeanizing intelligentsia which, like all thwarted groups
soon gave evidence of turning more and more to radical solutions
While some liberals took up a sardonic and disillusione
rationalism, akin to eighteenth century enlightenment an
called nihilism, others amused themselves with socialis
and anarchist views, and still others, filled with a fanati
need for action, formed societies of terrorists pledged to the idea o
wringing concessions from the government by deeds of violence
They murdered unpopular officials and in effect levied private wa
upon the tsar. Of course the threatened government met the attac
by doubling its repression and, seizing its victims by the thousands
sent them marching in endless chain-gangs into the ice-bound wil
dernesses of Siberia. In March, 1881, Alexander II himself fell
victim to the ferocious struggle. A bomb thrown by a terrorist as
sassin ended his life.

The terrorists assassinate the tsar

Before Alexander perished he had been enabled to strike anothe
and measurably successful blow against the old enemy of Russia
the sultan. It was in 1875 that the Balkan question once agai
became pressing by the fresh rebellion of a subject people
The Christian Serbs of Herzegovina and Bosnia ros
against their Ottoman masters, and by gaining the sup
port of the two small Serb states of Serbia and Monte
negro created a situation which alarmed and agitated all Europe

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878

hen the sultan was on the point of getting the better of his adver-ies, the powers interfered to protect them against excessive punish-ent, but unable to persuade the Moslems to see reason, abandoned e field to the Russians, who, wanting nothing better than a chance attack their ancient foe, issued a declaration of war (April, 1877). uring through the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which ce the Peace of Paris had been organized on a self-governing basis der the name of Rumania, they quickly drove the Ottoman forces fore them toward the passes of the Balkan mountains. If it had t been for Osman Pasha, the war would have been for the Turks e story of a swift, ignominious collapse. Osman alone saved the nor of the Turkish army, for, gathering such forces as he could his hands on, he threw himself into the fortress of Plevna and ere held the whole Russian army at bay for many months. How-er, when, in December, Plevna yielded, owing to starvation, and sur-ndered, the Russians encountered no further obstacle and poured an irresistible stream across the Balkans into the Thracian plain. January they camped on the shores of the sea of Marmora in ew of the minarets of Constantinople. Reduced to utter helpless-ss, Sultan Abdul Hamid II was obliged humbly to sue for peace. At this turn an enormous excitement seized upon the chancelleries Europe, more particularly of Austria and Great Britain. They w Russia in complete possession of its prey and in order to bring me to the tsar that they did not intend to let him devour by himself in total oblivion of his neighbors, they made ntic gestures, Austria by mobilizing an army on the manian border, Great Britain by despatching a fleet to e Dardanelles. It was a critical situation that became sitively explosive when Russia in a treaty negotiated at San Ste-no (a suburb of Constantinople) at last revealed the terms she was lling to concede to her beaten foe. The main feature of the treaty s the reduction of Turkey-in-Europe to such small dimensions at its Balkan role might be looked on as a closed book. Except this Turkish remnant around Constantinople and except for the eady liberated states of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, e Balkan area was to be constituted as Bulgaria. This Big Bul-ria, manifestly under Russian tutelage, was the ominous novelty the San Stefano pact; and as it seemed to Austria and Great itain to secure to Russia the control of the peninsula, they protested morously against it. Insisting that the Treaty of San Stefano

Russian ascendancy secured by the Peace of San Stefano

must be submitted for revision to a congress of the powers, they would undoubtedly have gone the length of war, had not Russia given way. That the tsar yielded caused him and his people deep chagrin but was due to the fact that he was without a single friend in Europe on whom he could positively count for help.

In June, 1878, there took place the Congress of Berlin, which under the presidency of Prince Bismarck revised the Treaty of San Stefano according to the wishes of Austria and Great Britain. To be sure, Russia was not deprived of all the fruits of victory. She received southern Bessarabia from Rumania, which carried her boundary to the mouth of the Danube. For this loss Rumania, her ally in the late war, was compensated by the Dobrudja taken from Bulgaria. Furthermore, the tsar was permitted to strengthen his position at the other end of the Black sea, in the Caucasus, by the acquisition of a part of the Armenian borderland. However, even for these relatively scanty territorial rewards Austria and Great Britain insisted on a full equivalent for themselves. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serb lands where the conflagration had started, were entrusted to Austria "to occupy and administer," while Great Britain secured the island of Cyprus on much the same terms. However, the outstanding measure of the Treaty of Berlin was that the tsar was obliged to forego his strangle hold on the Balkan peninsula secured by his plan of a Big Bulgaria. At the bidding of the Congress of Berlin Big Bulgaria was broken into three sections. Between the Danube and the Balkan mountains a self-governing *principality of Bulgaria* was set up with no obligation to the sultan save the payment of an annual tribute; south of the Balkans a province, to be called *Eastern Rumelia*, was conceded civil autonomy on the understanding that it was to be occupied by Turkish military forces; and finally, the important province of *Macedonia*, commanding the Vardar valley, was handed back to the sultan in order to enable him to continue to play an effective Balkan role. Though more hesitantly than at Paris twenty-two years before, the congress tried to blow the breath of life into the moribund Ottoman state.

The Treaty of Berlin, 1878

None the less it should not be overlooked that the Treaty of Berlin represents a signal advance in statesmanship over the Paris arrangements in that for the first time the powers outlined a constructive plan for the Balkan peninsula. The Christian states, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, which had, largely by their own heroic

fforts, broken the Ottoman yoke in the course of the recent decades, vere, albeit grudgingly, given increases of territory and acknowldged to be henceforth free and independent. In the case of the iny mountain eyrie of Montenegro this international guarantee of liberty was hardly necessary, for the brave mountaineers had as early as the eighteenth century renounced every vestige of dependence on the sultan. As Greece, hailed as an independent kingdom since its war of liberation, also received a better boundary by the addition of the province of Thessaly, the congress proved that it was attempting to dispense its favors among the small Christian states with an even hand. If to these acts we add the creation of the Bulgarian principality, by virtue of which another awakened people, the Bulgars, were set upon the path of freedom, we are justified in saying that although the congress resuscitated the Ottoman Empire, it at the same time envisaged a not too distant future in which the Balkan peninsula would be taken over wholly by the liberated Balkan peoples. And that was not only for the immediate beneficiaries but also for the great European states a far happier prospect than the thought which had hitherto been the nightmare of all the foreign offices, to wit, that the Balkan peninsula was destined to fall like a ripe apple into the lap of Russia.

The independent Balkan states

In the period following the Congress of Berlin the young Balkan states justified the confidence placed in them. The princes of Rumania and Serbia took the title king in celebration of their full sovereign status; and both these countries and the kingdom of Greece as well took up with eagerness the work of spreading through their backward communities the science and education of the west as well as the railroads, banks, and industries which were the basis of the modern economic system. However, the most notable progress after 1878 was perhaps made by the Bulgars, who as the last people to rouse themselves from slumber had also the greatest distance to travel. The official status of their principality as defined at Berlin was still far from satisfactory. An assembly, elected to nominate a ruler, called to office Alexander of Battenberg, a nephew of Tsar Alexander II. But Russia, which had liberated Bulgaria, could not divest itself of the idea of control and kept the young prince in strict leading-strings. When Tsar Alexander III (1881–1894) succeeded his father, the situation became worse, for the new tsar was a gloomy despot who expected the Bulgars to show their eternal gratitude to him by obedience to his every wish. As a result

The progress of Bulgaria

the Bulgars swiftly developed a strong resentment against the tsar and resolved to take affairs entirely into their own hands. In 1885 their government entered into a conspiracy with the political leaders of Eastern Rumelia, on the strength of which Eastern Rumelia was incorporated with the principality. As from the nationalist viewpoint Eastern Rumelia was Bulgar territory, the ultimate union of the two sections of one whole was inevitable; but since it was contrary to the Treaty of Berlin it caused an immense disturbance of opinion throughout Europe. The grieved tsar promptly withdrew from his too independent ward such favor as he had still been inclined to dispense, while neighboring Serbia in a burst of jealousy even went the length of declaring war on its young sister-state. This Serb attack Bulgaria victoriously repulsed and a peace was quickly patched up through Austrian intervention (1885). An ominous novelty, however, had made its appearance in the Balkan world. The youthful Christian organisms, having got rid of their Moslem master, were making ready in their vigorous self-confidence to dispute the remaining Balkan ground with one another. In this connection let us observe that the most considerable province still in possession of the sultan was Macedonia. Inhabited by representatives of all the Balkan nationalities, really the only extensive no-man's land of the peninsula, it might well lure the ambition of every eager neighbor government. If the time came, as it surely would, for Macedonia to be wrested from the sultan's weakened grip, would not a tremendous storm be loosed among the lusty Christian states all alike eager for the booty?

Russia turns to the Far East

Russia's disappointment over recalcitrant Bulgaria coming as a climax to her disappointment over the Treaty of Berlin provoked her government to adopt an extreme measure. It instigated or at least participated in a conspiracy to get rid of Alexander of Battenberg, who had made himself offensive because he had sided with the Bulgar people against his Muscovite relative and benefactor. Alexander was dethroned by a *coup d'état;* and although he might have had himself reinstated by his grateful subjects, he chose exile in the hope of thereby placating the tsar. However, as the incensed Bulgar parliament refused to accept the Russian candidate and offered the vacant throne (1887) to the candidate of the extreme nationalists, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, the situation was from the Russian angle not in the least improved. Deeply angered, Alexander III turned his back, as it were, on Europe and

onted toward Asia. His son and successor, Nicholas II (1894–1917), llowed the same course and therewith plunged Russia into a strange nd startling adventure.

Of course Asia represented no new interest for Russia since the enetration of the vast stretches of Siberia had begun as long ago as a entury before the accession of Peter the Great. The movement had one on steadily ever since. Owing to the extremely sparse opulation, it had not encountered many obstacles; but lso, on account of the failure to pursue a policy of system- tic colonization, it had not been particularly profitable. Not till the second half of the nineteenth century did the extraordi- ary agricultural and mineral possibilities of the immense north-Asi- tic plains begin to dawn upon the governing circles at St. Petersburg. By that time the Russian claims extended clear across Siberia to the ea of Okhotsk on the Pacific ocean. With the improved prospects n this area it became desirable to extend control southward to warmer vaters, but the execution of this purpose necessarily meant a clash vith the empire of China. However, as this great state had centuries go turned away from war to dedicate itself exclusively to the pur- uits of peace, it was not found difficult to wrest from it first, the Amur district (1858), and two years later, seven hundred miles of oast fronting the sea of Japan. At the southernmost end of this oastal stretch the triumphant Russians founded a new commercial apital, Vladivostok (1860). As at the same time military expedi- ions had begun to push south from Siberia into central Asia and as, uring the reigns of the second and third Alexander, they had gradu- lly established Russian ascendancy throughout Turkestan, the Asiatic expansion of Russia must be admitted to have prospered xtraordinarily in the age of these two tsars.

Russia extends her Asiatic empire

Now with Russia balked in Europe by the failure of her Bulgarian lans, the Asiatic movement gained in the last decade of the nine- eenth century a new interest and momentum which naturally took he form of a southward expansion in search of warmer vaters. For Russia, greatest of land empires, fronted verywhere on seas frozen during many months of each ear — a situation involving a heavy handicap which the owerful government was firmly resolved no longer to ear. The exception to the rule of frozen water-front was the Black ea. But though the Black sea was happily immune against ice, its ree use was interdicted to Russia by the Ottoman control of the

Russia seeks an outlet south of Vladivostok

straits. Even the newly acquired Vladivostok had proved a disappointment since the severe winter season regularly suspended shipping. In 1891 the Russian government began the construction of the great trans-Siberian railway, the eastern terminal of which would of necessity be at Vladivostok. But could not a more suitable terminal be found farther to the south on water open all the year? St. Petersburg had only begun to revolve this question when the Far East was shaken by a war between Japan and China.

Rise of Japan and its defeat of China (1895) and of Russia (1904–1905)

In sharp distinction from China the empire of Japan had, ever since, under American pressure (1854), its gates swung wide to world trade, embarked on a policy of systematic Europeanization. We need not rehearse the stages of this process since this book has dealt with them again and again. The amazing feature about the Japanese transformation was its rapidity and apparent thoroughness. By 1890 a climax had been reached by the introduction of a parliament which exercised the usual legislative functions under the hereditary ruler, the mikado. What chiefly prompted the Japanese to break so resolutely with their past was the clear-headed perception that unless they equipped themselves with the institutions and mental outlook of Europe they would inevitably be subjugated by the occident. Being a cramped island-people, they interested themselves, as soon as they had reformed their government, in the Asiatic mainland as a possible area of expansion, and more particularly in near-by Korea. Over this important peninsula they began in 1894 a war with China which they easily won because the larger empire, clinging tenaciously to its past, had hitherto refused to make the least gesture toward the assimilation of western efficiency. In the peace (1895) dictated by Japan, this enterprising state acquired not only a veiled hold on Korea but also the direct possession of Port Arthur, a sort of potential Gibraltar of northern China. Immediately Russia was up in arms, for Port Arthur was the very point she had secretly fixed on as the terminal of her trans-Siberian railroad and as the Pacific base for her fleet. Persuading France and Germany to join her, she not only obliged Japan to relinquish Port Arthur but a few years later (1898) persuaded China to lease Port Arthur to herself. As at the same time, in connection with her extensive railway plans, she wrung from the Pekin government the military occupation of Manchuria, she now commanded a power in the Far East which was like a sword thrust at the very life of Japan. Sharp notes were

xchanged and high feeling was engendered on both sides till the inevi-
able happened. In February, 1904, the desperate Japanese threw
hemselves on Russia and in the ensuing war beat her repeatedly on
and and water. In August, 1905, with President Roosevelt acting
s mediator, a peace was signed at Portsmouth (New Hampshire)
y the terms of which Russia retired from Manchuria and transferred
er lease of Port Arthur to Japan. As a result of the war Russia still
emained a great Pacific and Asiatic power, but Japan had success-
ully protected its interests and made good its claim to be treated as
n equal not only by Russia but by every other European state.

Worse for Tsar Nicholas II than his defeat at the hands of Japan
vas the domestic agitation launched against the government on
ccount of its manifest mismanagement of the war. Since the ter-
orist activity which we have related and which culminated
n the murder of Tsar Alexander II the internal situation
f Russia had experienced a notable change. Beginning
vith Alexander III and continuing under Nicholas II
he government had made a sustained effort to introduce the Indus-
rial Revolution in order to bring the backward country somewhat
earer the western level in the matter of military efficiency and
eneral economic productivity. Western capital was invited into
Russia on favorable terms, vast railway constructions were carried
ut under governmental direction, and factories sprang up like
nushrooms in such great centers as St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev,
nd Odessa. True, the transforming impulse came chiefly from above
vhile the money was supplied from abroad; none the less the usual
ocial and economic changes did not fail to put in an appearance.
By 1900 Russia had acquired a strengthened middle class of bankers,
usiness men, and engineers and a wholly novel group of factory
vorkers. Furthermore, as might have been expected, the middle
lass aligned itself politically with western liberalism, while the
vorkers, influenced by an effective propaganda, passed in a body into
he socialist camp. In the face of this situation a desire for a modi-
ication of the traditional absolutism made itself felt which was much
nore effective in producing results than the system of sporadic mur-
er practiced by the terrorists. In fact for the first time in Russian
istory the conditions had been created for a successful revolution of
he people; and no sooner was the government engrossed by the war
vith Japan than it showed its face. To be sure the terrorists, whom
he government police hunted like wild game but could not suppress,

The Russian Revolution, 1904–1905

redoubled their activity and destroyed many a promiment official with pistol-shot or bomb, but in the main it was the new phenomenon of an organized pressure from liberals and socialists which brought the tsar to terms. When his first vague promises only increased the agitation, Nicholas II at last in October, 1905, took a decisive step. He issued a manifesto in which he guaranteed to his subjects the western liberties of conscience, speech, and association and at the same time called a *duma* into being, that is, a Russian parliament.

To this striking defeat of absolutism another factor contributed which must not be overlooked. The immense area of the Russian Empire covering eastern Europe and northern Asia was settled not by one but by some scores of peoples who had all been brought under the Russian scepter by military might. The Russians were indeed the central nucleus of the state, but along the western border, in the Caucasus mountains, and thoughout Siberia other groups, great and small and representing every conceivable divergence of blood, speech, and customs, made their home, accommodating themselves as best they could to the fact of Russian domination. Closely scrutinized, Russia was not a consolidated national state but an agglomeration of discordant nationalities like Austria-Hungary. Along the western border alone there were more than half a dozen distinct peoples: Finns in Finland, Esths, Letts, and Germans in the Baltic provinces, and farther south, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians (Little Russians). In the nineteenth century these had all been sorely afflicted with the so-called "Russification" policy of the tsarist government. This was a systematic attempt to deprive them of their language, religion, and whatever other inheritance they cherished with a view to transforming them into obedient Orthodox Russians. As a result they nursed a deep though secret grudge against their master, and when the revolution of 1904–1905 broke out they joined the movement of revolt as far as they dared. Especially the Finns and Poles, among whom the memories of independence were a burning fire, exhibited ominous signs of unrest. These stirrings all along the border made a deep impression on the frightened government and undoubtedly constituted a considerable factor in the swift surrender signified by the October manifesto.

The Russian Empire a state of many nationalities

Great rejoicings were released among the victors by what looked to them like the fall of Russian absolutism. But the bonfires were premature. The first duma met in 1906 and, elected on a broad

ffrage, was animated by the desire to complete the revolution. eanwhile, as usual, the forces of reaction had set in. Nicholas II s able to rally the strong conservative forces about him consisting officers, officials, landowners, and peasants, and in the urse of the next few years he successfully broke the wer of his adversaries. But though he disciplined e duma and reduced its authority, he did not abolish it. a solely consultative body under an autocratic tsar it cut after 07 rather a sorry figure; but undeniably its mere existence, apart om proving that the revolution had not been wholly in vain, not reasonably inspired hope that it might yet serve as the nucleus of gradual constitutional development.

Failure of the revolution, 1906–1907

The swift revival of the Russian autocracy enabled it to continue nost without interruption its expansionist policy; and, checked in e Far East, it now turned restlessly once more toward the Otto- an Empire. We shall trace in the following chapter how s shift of attention provided the opportunity for spin- ng the thread of the combination of powers known as the iple entente. Both for the members of this group and those of the rival organization, the Triple alliance, the Ottoman npire now became even more than before a center of passionate in- rest. The main reason was that never for a moment after the re- wed lease of life conceded by the Congress of Berlin had the decay this rotten edifice been brought to a halt. There had been a steady ccession of risings and massacres — in Crete, in Macedonia, in menia — and the only cure conceivable to the reactionary sultan, bdul Hamid II, had been bloody repression coupled with the main- nance of his unimpaired autocratic régime. But even this corrupt adel of oriental immobility had at last been invaded by the fore- nners of European civilization. Under their influence a Turkish elligentsia, known familiarly as Young Turks, came into existence, o, in spite of Abdul Hamid's persecution, succeeded in spreading eir doctrines far and wide, especially among the officers of the army. ddenly in July, 1908, the world was surprised to hear that so irre- sible a revolution had broken out in Constantinople that the sultan d yielded to it without demur. A parliament and constitution the western pattern were the result and the Ottoman Empire med not only to have surrendered its traditions in order to trod e paths of Europe, but also to have brought to a conclusion the cient disorders in its house! Of course these turned out before long

The Turkish revolution, 1908

to be exaggerated expectations. Neither Turkey nor any other state can pass over night from one world of thought and experience into another. However, it remained a fact that the Turks had indicated their desire to be assimilated in outlook and organization to their Christian neighbors, and as a mile-stone in the triumphant progress of occidental civilization the Ottoman revolution was and will always remain a notable event.

The Tsars of Russia
(House of Romanov)

Alexander I (son of Paul I), 1801–1825
Nicholas I (brother of Alexander I), 1825–1855
Alexander II (son of Nicholas I), 1855–1881
Alexander III (son of Alexander II), 1881–1894
Nicholas II (son of Alexander III), 1894–1917

The Ottoman Sultans
(House of Osman)

Mahmud II, 1808–1839
Abdul Medjid I, 1839–1861
Abdul Aziz I, 1861–1876
Murad V, 1876
Abdul Hamid II, 1876–1909
Mohammed V, 1909–1918
Mohammed VI, 1918–1923

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE NATIONALIST-IMPERIALIST PHASE OF FOREIGN POLICY (1871–1914) AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR

Much space has been given in this book to foreign policy, the instruments of which are diplomacy and war. The justification for this procedure is that the relation of states to one another inevitably falls under the observation of every historian regardless of his definition of history. It may well be that the various categories of domestic happenings elicit a greater interest, but so long as states behave toward one another as free and independent organisms responsible to no one under God, they call for the closest scrutiny. And therewith we have touched on the most outstanding circumstance to keep in mind about the European states in the centuries covered by this history. Each is a struggling organism concerned with development, that is, it desires like everything that lives and grows to add to its strength and become as powerful as possible. However, as the lesser states, such as Switzerland and Denmark, are surrounded and held in check by larger ones, the principle in its pure and unadulterated form applies only to the group of states called the great powers. Of each one of them it may be said that the only restraint upon its ambition is the ambition of the others together with the circumstance that they have all developed a civilization based on productive labor and therefore inherently opposed to war as a destructive force. None the less war is still the last resort, the *ultima ratio* of the great powers since they have always acted on the principle that there is no limit to their jealously asserted sovereignty.

The great states engaged in a struggle for power

This being true, the form of government of a given state has general opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, very little bearing on its foreign policy. Undoubtedly many people incline to think of the absolute monarchy as prone to war largely because it is absolute; but an oligarchy or a republic may just as readily appeal to arms because, so far as foreign affairs are concerned, it is no less absolute than the monarchy, unlimited in all respects. European experience shows that monarchies, oligarchies, and republics alike have looked upon

Foreign policy independent of the form of government

emselves as free to pursue what they regard as their selfish interest bject only to the necessities of the situation. It is for this reason at if a state, giving up monarchy, radically reshapes its adminis- ative, economic, or any other domestic inheritance, it rarely if ever anges its foreign policy. The case of France will serve as illustra- on. Between 1789 and 1914 France changed its government at ast eight times, often as the result of what looked like a cataclysmic orm, but its foreign policy in that long period continued without sential deviation to follow the path marked out by Richelieu and uis XIV.

But if the central principle governing the action of every great wer in the foreign field has steadily remained the same throughout e Modern Age, its application has varied in response to the chang- g European situation and, above all, to the new and lendid opportunities connected with the radiation of cidental influence over the whole earth. Though the d of every foreign office has always been power, when is history opened power was contentedly sought within e narrow bounds of Europe itself. Then came the colonial move- ent with which certain favored trans-oceanic areas fell within the sion of the competitive states. As a result the seventeenth and ghteenth centuries rang with colonial wars. In the nineteenth ntury attention was for a time diverted from the colonial issues the unification movement in Italy and Germany. This was based the sentiment of nationalism which, gaining ground also in multi- tional states like Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman mpire threatened to disrupt them and effect their reorganization a strictly nationalist basis. Inevitably this critical movement thin Europe drew the attention of the various foreign offices; t it did not interfere with their taking also all the other continents o consideration as soon as the new means of communication ilitated intercourse and the system of machine production in- ased beyond all expectation the prospect of profits to be derived m distant markets. It is possible therefore to speak of four or, re conveniently because of the contemporaneousness of the last o developments, of three phases of European foreign policy. uring the first phase Europe, and more particularly western Europe, nstituted the very limited field of vision of the rival statesmen; ring the second phase the field of vision included together with e whole of Europe the new colonial areas in India and the Amer-

The three phases of European foreign policy

icas; and during the third phase not only Europe, agitated by the new force of nationalism, but also the whole earth with all its lands and seas fell within the scrutiny of the fiercely contentious foreign offices. This third phase extending from approximately 1871 to 1914 may be called the nationalist-imperialist phase and will be treated in this chapter.

Of the two main ingredients of foreign policy in the last and contemporary period, nationalism has been repeatedly dealt with. It manifested itself as the firm determination of those national groups which through some accident of history had been broken into fragments or had been brought into subjection to some powerful neighbor to regain their unity and independence. But though after the achievement of Italian and German unity the chief field for nationalism was eastern and southeastern Europe, we should not fail to note that by a kind of mental sympathy it also reached such countries as France and England which had no immediate need for it since they had been unified many centuries before. Under these circumstances nationalism became a universal energy, and like a wine too freely quaffed mounted to the heads of all the European peoples. In every one of them may be encountered the phenomenon of the super-patriot. Joining with others of his kind, he constituted a band, small perhaps but noisy, which caused extraordinary mischief by exciting the corresponding bands of super-patriots in all the neighboring countries and thereby creating a very dangerous condition of general nervous tension.

The nationalist factor in foreign policy

Here lay a peril for the peace of Europe which was indefinitely multiplied by the second element of foreign policy, imperialism. This was, closely considered, nothing else than the colonialism of the eighteenth century revived and intensified by the Industrial Revolution. Let us by rapid tabulation visualize the more important elements of the situation. The new means of communication — railroads, steamboats, telegraph — destroyed distances and brought all countries to the door of Europe. This is basic to the movement. Equally important is the enormously increased machine production for which Europe required non-European consumers. But the non-Europeans could pay for goods delivered to them only with native raw products such as wheat, fruits, minerals, rubber, etc. As inventions multiplied and articles serving our human convenience were put forth which surpassed

The imperialist factor in foreign policy

ven the dreams of visionaries it was disclosed that there was no ountry or climate which did not desire these comforts and devices nd which did not possess something of its own capable of being xchanged therefor. For all these reasons a dense net of traffic was rown around the earth from pole to pole. And as each national roup of traders wished to be as secure as possible in a newly opened egion, it persuaded the home government to step in and, raising ne country's flag, to effect a political annexation. In this way a erce and lawless scramble was inaugurated among the European owers for all those backward areas which had not been included the colonial struggle of the eighteenth century. The movement ay be compared to the famous gold-rush to California or the londike. At any rate in the course of a little more than a generation llowing the Franco-German War of 1870 much of Asia, most of frica, and all of the Pacific archipelago had been appropriated by ne jealous rivals. By the beginning of the twentieth century the ackward areas which might be conceived as still available for izure were reduced to Morocco at the northwestern corner of Africa, hina and Persia in Asia, and the Ottoman Empire straddling Europe nd Asia at the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles.

In measure as the prospective booty narrowed, the competition r it inevitably became more intense. Louder and louder rose the amors of greedy traders and capitalists which the heated super-atriots did not fail to reënforce with their own peculiarly lucous cries. The great powers of Europe were six in umber and they were all committed to the game. The ree older and more successful states, Great Britain, rance, and Russia, wished to round off the empires ready amassed, while the more recent arrivals, Italy nd Germany, were spurred to increased energy in order to make o for lost time. Even manifestly declining Austria-Hungary was ot willing to forego its stake in the near-by Ottoman Empire. As e years rolled by it became quite clear that a peaceful partition the prizes still subject to appropriation would prove very difficult. nly the most moderate and skillful diplomacy on the part of all e European capitals could possibly succeed in avoiding a catas-ophe. The following account of diplomatic relations after 1871 nfolds the breathless tale of how the foreign offices succeeded for a hile but failed in the long run to control the nationalist and im-rialist forces astir in the world and steered their countries into the structive maelstrom of 1914.

The six powers prepare to appropriate the remaining backward areas

The Franco-German war of 1870-1871 created a new situation in Europe. The signal victory won by united Germany made the new empire the leading continental power and caused the other governments to look forward with interest and anxiety to the policy which it would adopt. Bismarck, who, as the architect of German unity, enjoyed such authority that he exercised undisputed sway over German foreign affairs, was not long in disclosing his hand. In order that his country might consolidate the result of the three successful wars of 1864, 1866, and 1871, it needed, in his view, above all things a long peace. Since the only probable immediate disturber of the peace was France, which, as a defeated power wounded in its deepest feelings by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, was patently animated with the hope of revenge, Bismarck applied all his skill to bring about the diplomatic isolation of his western neighbor. His thought was that France would prove dangerous only in case she succeeded in attaching to herself an ally.

Germany dominates the diplomatic situation after 1871

Since Great Britain was in the early seventies prompted to keep aloof from continental affairs, the main factors in Bismarck's calculation were Russia and Austria-Hungary. Italy, as not immediately bordering on Germany, could be dismissed from the reckoning. Only in case France won the close friendship of either Russia or Austria-Hungary would she care to risk a war with her Rhenish neighbor. With these circumstances in mind Bismarck set to work to attach both Russia and Austria-Hungary to Germany and succeeded so well that in 1872 the rulers of the three empires entered into an alliance with one another.

Bismarck creates the league of the Three Emperors

However, an agreement yoking together Austria and Russia was a precarious affair and almost certain to go by the boards the moment the Turkish question was mooted between them. Both had for generations entertained with regard to the Ottoman Empire ambitious and conflicting projects which, though often adjourned because of the pressure of other interests, had an uncomfortable habit of making a periodical reappearance. A grave crisis in Ottoman affairs in 1875 immediately aligned Russia and Austria-Hungary on opposite sides; and when, in 1877, Russia went to war with the Ottoman Empire the Hapsburg government looked on with disapproval, promptly converted to alarm, on Russia's winning

Shipwreck of the league of the Three Emperors over the Ottoman question

brilliant victory and imposing on the sultan the peace of San efano. Since Great Britain took the Russian successes even more heart than Austria, the two aggrieved governments by acting to-ther were able to force the Tsar to a revision of his San Stefano eaty at a congress held at Berlin (1878). Russia, getting less than e considered her just due, was outraged, blamed her mid-European ends for her discomfiture, and grumblingly withdrew from further öperation with them. The Bismarckian league of the Three Em-rors was at an end.

Since the bitter competition over the Ottoman Empire produced a ear case of domestic incompatibility between Austria and Russia, smarck was obliged to be content with the association of either one the other of his eastern neighbors and chose the Danu- an monarchy. In the year 1879 he took the momentous ep of concluding a defensive alliance with that state. wo years later occurred an incident destined to bring important accession to the Austro-German partnership: rance and Italy engaged in a diplomatic clash over the Mediterranean. rance, already in possession of Algeria, desired to extend her African ntrol and in 1881 seized Tunis, nominally an Ottoman province, ough really an independent state. Having herself cast a covetous e on Tunis, Italy resented the action of France but without ail. Here was European imperialism in action with a typical seizure a backward area by one power followed by the jealous protest of other. The anti-French indignation of Italy mounted to such a int that the Italian government applied to Bismarck for admission the German alliance with Austria, thus converting it (1882) into a iple alliance.

Creation of the Triple alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy

The Triple alliance of the three central European powers, though owedly defensive in character, directed an unmistakable edge ainst Russia and France and operated to draw these two unattached ates together. Radically dissimilar in political organi- tion, the absolute monarchy of the tsar and the demo- atic French republic hesitated a long time before joining nds and fortunes. Finally, in 1890, driven by diplomatic cessity and disregarding every consideration but that safety, they effected a preliminary arrangement which in the lowing year (1891) ripened into a formal alliance. Thus before e close of the century Europe fell into the two opposed camps of the iple and Dual alliances, which maintained a delicate and perilous

Creation of the Dual alliance of France and Russia

balance of power with Great Britain swinging between them in the role of a wandering comet attached to neither system.

The British governments of the time, Conservative and Liberal alike, held the view that the two alliances dividing Europe had crystallized over purely continental matters which interested Great Britain remotely if at all, since she was a colonial power almost exclusively pursuing objects lying beyond the confines of Europe. In consequence Great Britain maintained what was proudly proclaimed as "a splendid isolation." However, granting that the two alliances were immediately concerned with near-by matters, the five member powers involved had alike embarked on an imperialist policy and any given power, whenever it launched a forward movement in Africa or Asia, very naturally turned for support to its allies, since it was sure to meet with naught but ill-will and resistance from its rivals. Thus imperceptibly the two systems extended their influence so as to take in the whole world; and presently Great Britain found that her isolation was injurious, perhaps even dangerous, and that, in order to get backing for her particular projects, she would be doing well to join hands with either the Triple or the Dual alliance. After flirting for a while with the Triple alliance, with the coming of the twentieth century she veered about and definitely threw in her lot with France and Russia. This momentous step was chiefly due to the grave alarm excited in Great Britain by the economic development and naval policy of Germany.[1]

Great Britain resolves to join the Dual alliance

We have noted the remarkable industrial and commercial development of Germany following her unification. True, it was no isolated movement, since the economic expansion was general, a world phenomenon, but the German development proceeded apparently at a more rapid pace than that of its neighbors, and in any case visibly provided Germany, a hitherto divided and backward nation, with a very capable industrial organization, a vast merchant fleet, and commercial relations extending over all the earth. Though continuing, from an economic viewpoint, to remain inferior to Great Britain, she was undoubtedly pressing more and more closely on British heels. Moreover, following the common trend, she

Industrialized Germany becomes colonial and imperialist

[1] It may be noted that the earliest step of Great Britain signifying an abandonment of her "splendid isolation" was taken in 1902 by means of an alliance with Japan covering Asiatic interests.

lopted in the eighties a colonial policy, acquiring territory chiefly Africa. As we have seen, colonialism, starting as an economic terprise, usually develops into imperialism, concerned with terri- ry and power, and in the nineties German policy became definitely perialist.

The important change in foreign policy occurred simultaneously ith a change of rulers; it may even be said to have been at least rtly occasioned by that change. In 1888 a new sovereign, William , came to the throne, shortly after his accession dis- issed Bismarck from office (1890), and then with master- l self-sufficiency undertook to be his own chancellor d foreign minister. What Bismarck had cautiously frained from doing, that is, from identifying himself ith an out-and-out imperialist course looking to territory beyond urope, the ambitious William II took upon himself, and as the ost appropriate step toward the realization of his hopes, planned e construction of a navy. Hitherto Germany had had no navy orth mentioning and the innovation was an open announcement at she was about to make a bid for sea-power.

Imperialism championed by the new sovereign, William II

Sea-power was sought and in varying degree possessed by every perialist power of Europe but it was undoubtedly the special eapon of England. In fact, the British empire rested on the ntrol of the seas, and the very first German navy bill thorizing expenditure on a large scale (1898) caused a ock which made itself felt from John o' Groats to and's End. When the first bill was followed by others ll further increasing construction, Great Britain un- sitatingly took up the challenge, strengthened her navy enormous appropriations, and successfully maintained an easy eponderance over Germany. She had for generations held to the -called two-power standard, which meant that the British navy as always to be a match for any two possible rivals combined, and armed by the action of the power across the North sea, she at- ched herself to the program of the two-power standard more dently than ever. Nor was that all. As already said, early in e twentieth century, Great Britain made up her mind to give up e friendly neutrality which she had maintained for a decade tween the two groups of powers and to throw her influence o the scales on the side of the Dual alliance and against rmany.

The issue of sea-power ranges Great Britain against Germany

Though the story of Anglo-German rivalry is complicated with innumerable details which have no place here, it turns substantially, as indicated, around the question of German imperialism. Tactlessly pushed by Emperor William II in and out of season and given in English eyes a formidable character by the feature of a powerful navy, German imperialism moved the British government to turn its face to France and Russia and as a measure preliminary to a better understanding with them, to attempt an accommodation of all outstanding differences. It must be remembered that the French and Russian imperialisms had been the most successful imperialisms in Europe after that of Great Britain, and that all through the nineteenth century the friction among these three rivals had, as a result of the relentless pursuit of their respective interests, been constant. The Crimean War of 1854, to mention but a single instance, was a combination of France and Great Britain formed to hinder Russia from bringing the decaying Ottoman Empire completely under its control. Since then the diplomatic clashes among the three imperialist leaders had been frequent, but as between France and Russia they had been brought to an effective end by the alliance of 1891. If Great Britain desired to get support against Germany from these two ancient rivals of hers, it was plain that she would have to give their ambitions larger play, and, fully aware of this condition of success, she opened negotiations first with France and then with Russia.

Great Britain draws near to France and Russia

In 1904 Great Britain and France came to an agreement by virtue of which France, in return for conceding Egypt to Great Britain, was given a free hand in Morocco. Of course the treaty did not use this crude language because certain decencies had to be observed, owing to the circumstance that Egypt belonged technically to the Ottoman Empire and that Morocco was an independent state under its own Mohammedan ruler. In fact Morocco was, as already noted, one of the few independent states still left in the world among those classifiable as "backward." The treaty established what became known as the Franco-British entente, a word signifying a diplomatic understanding of a less formal character than an uncompromising alliance. Three years later, in 1907, Great Britain composed her leading difference with Russia by a treaty touching Persia. By its terms Russia and Great Britain assumed control respectively of

Creation of the Triple entente. Agreement over Egypt, Morocco, and Persia

orthern and southern Persia while the shah, hitherto an independent overeign, was left in doubtful possession of the reduced middle ction of his ancient kingdom. By these arrangements Great ritain, France, and Russia began an intimacy famous under the ame of the Triple entente. Beginning with 1907, the alignment of e six great powers of Europe took the form of Triple entente ersus Triple alliance with each group inclined to seize upon every cident that arose as an occasion for the display of temper and the sertion of prestige.

From the moment Great Britain joined with France and Russia, erman imperialism labored under a heavy disadvantage. Closely xamined, each and every imperialism, directed in accordance with e actual situation in the world to the control and seizure primarily African and Asiatic territory, depended on a-power, and with Great Britain flanked by France and ussia blocking the sea paths, German imperialism was reatened with paralysis. At this turn of affairs the German govern-ent was not slow to show its chagrin. It complained in acrimonious rms about being hampered and hemmed in by a policy of encircle-ent and did its best to hinder the Triple entente from disposing of gypt, Morocco, and Persia without giving Germany a voice in the atter or paying it off with some sort of compensation. Over Mo-cco more particularly which, in spite of deceitful declarations to the ntrary, was secretly assigned to France (and Spain), Germany pro-oked a crisis which repeatedly (1905, 1911) threatened war; but nce the Triple entente maintained an unshaken front Germany d resentfully to give way. By 1911 France had effected posses-on of the larger part of Morocco, not however without having rown Germany as a sop a relatively worthless piece of central rican jungle.

The check-mating of German imperialism

Her conspicuous failure to participate adequately in the appropria-on of Persia and Morocco made Germany cling all the more reso-tely to the imperialist policy she had developed with regard to the e territory which was accessible to her by the land-route, at is, the Ottoman Empire. Here her great military wer might make itself felt without the overwhelming val power of the Triple entente being able to thunder veto. With the new century and in exact measure as r other prospects, lying farther afield than the Ottoman Empire, gan to grow dim, Germany concentrated her expansion policy more d more narrowly on the Near East.

Germany's attention concentrates on the Ottoman Empire

We have already seen that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Ottoman Empire, as a decaying power, had excited the territorial greed of the European states. At first its most immediate neighbors, Austria and Russia, obtained a rather exclusive advantage from the decline of the Ottoman might; but in the nineteenth century Great Britain and France advanced claims in their turn which in the course of time netted France the provinces of Algeria and Tunis and Great Britain the fertile land of Egypt. When France, under the circumstances just recounted, acquired Morocco, the action, though not directed against the Ottoman Empire, since Morocco was an independent state, at least proved the energy of the French imperialist appetite. After this consummation the worthless desert of Tripoli lying between Egypt and Tunis stood out as the last stretch of north African shoreland outside of European control and as the last remnant of Turkey-in-Africa. Unwilling to see it gobbled up by Great Britain or France, as it was likely to be, Italy in 1911 suddenly seized and annexed it with no better excuse than Italy's civilizing "mission." Like every other European power, Italy was quick to discover a "mission" when it came to appropriating a backward area.

Ottoman decay and European covetousness

Meanwhile Turkey-in-Europe gave evidence of passing as certainly out of the sultan's hands as his African provinces. Austria and Russia, which in the eighteenth century had frequently fattened at Ottoman expense, would in the nineteenth century have continued the pleasant game, if it had not been for the revival of the sultan's subject nationalities, the Greeks, the Serbs, the Bulgars, and the Rumanians. We have traced the moving tale of how they rose, smote their tyrant-master, and after many tribulations won their independence. Before the end of the nineteenth century the respective states formed by the Greeks, Rumanians, Serbs, and Bulgars presented the picture of hopeful, if somewhat backward, commonwealths of an essentially west-European type.

The rise of the Balkan states

Though in the light of these developments the Balkan situation was in slow process of clarification along nationalist lines, two particularly serious problems remained which the European powers at the Congress of Berlin (1878), instead of solving, on account of their incurable jealousies succeeded in involving in but worse confusion. One of these problems bears the name of Bosnia; the other

AFRICA
in
1914
0 200 400 600 1000
SCALE OF MILES
British
French
Spanish
German
Italian
Portuguese
Turkish
Congo State
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
20° West from 10° Greenwich 0°
10° Longitude 20° East from 30° Greenwich 40°
50°
EUROPE
RUSSIA
ASIA
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Danube R.
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Algiers
Tunis
Fez
MOROCCO
ALGERIA 1830-32
TUNIS 1881
Tripoli
MADEIRA IS. (Portugal)
CANARY IS. (Sp.)
Morocco
BARCA
TRIPOLI
FEZZAN
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez Canal
Libyan Desert
EGYPT 1881
Assuan
1899
RED SEA
Mekka
SPANISH TER.
SAHARA
FRENCH TERRITORY
Cape Verde
Dakar
SENEGAL 1857-1880
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
1880
1882
Niger
Khartum
KORDOFAN
1883-85-1898
Asmara
ERITREA 1890
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Fashoda
Bahr el Ghazal
Bahr el Abiad
Blue Nile
Gulf of Aden
FRENCH SOMALILAND 1884
BRITISH SOMALILAND 1884
Addis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND 1889
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
1884
1843
Monrovia
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Togo
Dahomey
Lagos
1884
1861
Bight of Benin
CAMEROON
Bight of Biafra
Bluegerville
Akkra
Lome
Porto Novo
Duala
FERNANDO PO (Span.)
ST. THOMAS I. (Port.)
1885
1884
1890
UGANDA
1890
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Victoria Nyanza 1886
EQUATOR
Libreville 1895
Francheville
FRENCH CONGO 1884
CONGO STATE (Belgian) 1885
Kassai R.
Congo R.
Gulf of Guinea
Formosa Bay
Mombasa
Zanzibar 1890
Dar-es-Salem
GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1885
Tanganyika L.
PORT.
Boma
ASCENSION I. (British)
St. Paul de Loanda
(ANGOLA) PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA 1484
Nyassa L.
1890
Zambesi R.
Mozambique
1891
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA 1500
Salisbury
1885
Buluwayo
Tannanarivo
MADAGASCAR 1896
ST. HELENA (British)
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
Windhoek
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria 1900
Johannesburg
Lourenco Marquez
NATAL 1856
Kimberley
ORANGE RIVER 1900
Pietermaritzburg
Orange R.
Bloemfontein
CAPE COLONY 1806
Cape Town
Cape Elizabeth

at of Macedonia. Bosnia together with the small province of erzegovina, though inhabited by South Slavs (Serbs and Croats), as given to Austria, not in sovereignty, it is true, but for an definite occupation capable of being converted, sooner later, by the legerdemain, which was included in the pertory of every European foreign office, into unqualified vereignty. At the same time Macedonia, the great cen- al region of the Balkan peninsula where all its many races meet and ingle, was given back to the sultan. For the moment the two ill- nsidered actions, involving a flagrant disregard of the principle of tionality, provoked but little protest. In the long run, however, ey were sure to cause difficulty: Bosnia, as between Austria and rbia, which latter would lay claim to Bosnia on the ground of its ing a land of Serbs; and Macedonia, as between the Ottoman Em- re and the various Christian states of the peninsula, which would stirred to liberate Macedonia from Turkish misrule and divide it nong themselves.

The problems of Bosnia and Macedonia

Around the year 1900 the uninterrupted decay of the Ottoman npire more than ever impressed observers with the conviction that last days were at hand. And just as Great Britain, France, and aly either had already taken or were about to take action possess themselves of the north coast of Africa, so ustria-Hungary and Russia among the great powers, and reece, Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria among the small, re on the alert to make, each for itself, the best possible rgain touching European Turkey in the event of the pected Ottoman demise. While the small powers directed their ze at Macedonia and the contiguous territory of Thrace, Austria unted confidently on converting her provisional hold on Bosnia o permanent sovereignty and Russia turned a glazed and hyp- tized eye on Constantinople and the adjoining straits. Ever since e days of the famous Catherine II Constantinople had been the eam of the tsars and each successor of Catherine affirmed his belief at when the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at last occurred the ssian imperial standard would be planted on the Constantino- itan minarets.

The great and the small powers stake out Turkish claims

Into this welter of projects excited by Ottoman decay, all of them, course, in fluid state because of the uncertainties of the situation, rmany now plunged with a project of her own. Since every e was making sure of some part of the sultan's lands when the

day of division came, Germany undertook to stake out a claim in Asia Minor, which she looked upon as reasonably accessible to a land-power like herself. Asia Minor, almost incredibly backward because of Turk neglect and ignorance, had very luring potentialities from a colonial viewpoint. By means of concessions from the Turkish government German capitalists, following the usual course, built up, beginning with the nineties, special economic interests in the decayed peninsula. Among other matters they constructed a railroad which, penetrating into the interior of Asia Minor, joined it up with Constantinople; and, finally, they acquired the famous charter permitting the extension of the existing railway system through and beyond Asia Minor to the city of Bagdad on the Tigris (1899–1903). Only then did the German projects become fully manifest. If they worked out German interests would presently exercise control over the transportation system and therewith over the resources of Asia Minor and would, without more ado, walk into complete possession when the sultan's knell was at last sounded.

The German stake: Asia Minor and the Bagdad railway

The prospect produced a tremendous commotion in the camp of the Triple entente, particularly at London and Petrograd. As London saw the situation Germany, once at Bagdad, would only have to run her railway line to the Persian Gulf to possess at some future date a land-route from central Europe to the orient considerably shorter than the water-route via the Suez Canal controlled by Great Britain. In the eyes of Petrograd, on the other hand, the evil of a trunk line under German management lay rather in its giving Germany control of the Turk capital, thereby proving absolutely fatal to the ancient hopes entertained by Russia touching Constantinople and the straits. Protests, claims and counter-claims filled the columns of the press and echoed through the halls of the European parliaments. Though the rival European imperialisms were clashing at many points, they met at Constantinople, in connection with the Bagdad railway project, with greater vehemence than anywhere else, because the Bagdad project, if realized, would extend German power in a manner disconcerting to every member of the entente.

Growing concentration of imperialist rivalries at Constantinople

In spite of the diplomatic defeats administered to Germany by the entente in connection with Morocco and Persia, the German government persisted in the Bagdad scheme, making steady headway with the construction of the line in the years following 1903.

hile the entente was resolute that the invaluable railway must not monopolized by Germany, it could for the moment apply no connient lever to the situation, especially as the sultan attached himlf so closely to Germany that substantially he presented mself to view as Germany's ally. Then a faint possility, hardly considered at first, dawned in Serbia. hrough this little state ran the railroad which linked erlin and Vienna with Constantinople and of which the ojected Bagdad line was in effect nothing more than the Asiatic tension. Midway on the stretch between Vienna and the Golden orn lay Belgrad, the capital of Serbia, and, what is more, the natural oor into the Balkan house from central Europe. A hostile Belgrad ight conceivably become an insuperable obstacle to the southeastard advance of Germany and her ally, Austria-Hungary. Now erbia, as we have seen, had been made bitterly hostile to the apsburg monarchy because the Emperor Francis Joseph had occued Bosnia, to which Serbia on nationalist grounds laid claim. erbia, therefore, exercised a potential check on the Austro-German ans of eastern penetration and, properly encouraged by Russia id the other members of the entente, might prove a considerable uisance. Under these circumstances little Serbia was lifted to an cidental and dizzy eminence, becoming a leading center of uropean intrigue where Triple alliance and Triple entente fought a tter diplomatic battle over the absorbing issue of Balkan cendancy.

German plans supported by Turkey but threatened by Serbia

Suddenly, in 1908, came a crisis which brought war knocking at e door of Europe. In order to put an end to all further debate as her relations to Bosnia, Austria, in October of that year, issued proclamation converting her occupation of Bosnia, nceded at the Congress of Berlin, into formal sovergnty. Serbia, backed by the entente, violently prosted against this high-handed assumption of new rights, and on ermany's supporting Austria the strain became terrible. War hung a thread and was only averted by the entente's gradually withawing its support from Serbia. The last entente power to yield as Russia, which finally in March, 1909, notified the Serb govnment not to expect any help in an eventual war with the Danuan monarchy. Serbia, isolated, was obliged to promise Austria to scontinue her nationalist agitation directed at Bosnia and other rb areas under the Hapsburg crown. In this manner the first

The Austro-Serb crisis of 1908

Austro-Serb crisis, properly a general Balkan crisis involving all the varied Near East interests of the two rival European leagues, came to an end — a very provisional end — with a victory of the Triple alliance.

And now crisis followed on the heel of crisis in that simmering witch's kettle of the Balkans. Space forbids us do do more than to recall the Young Turk revolution (1908), which in 1909 led to the deposition of the red-handed Abdul Hamid II. Of deep interest, too, is the Albanian rising (1910), which proclaimed the awakening of the last of the submerged Balkan nationalities. Aiming to concentrate on the absolutely indispensable events, we shall follow the issue precipitated by the cruel situation of Macedonia until the Austro-Serb crisis of 1908, supposedly settled, rose like Banquo's ghost from the grave and this time applied the torch to Europe and to the world.

Steady succession of Balkan crises

The misery which with the coming of the new century overtook the Turkish province of Macedonia beggars description. Its many racial groups, Bulgars, Greeks, Serbs, and Albanians, moved by the spirit of militant nationalism, engaged in bloody internecine war, which the Ottoman overlords, owing to their habitual inefficiency, were unable to suppress. Little wonder that the small Balkan states bordering on Macedonia at last resolved, in their own interest, to bring the Macedonian chaos to an end. Forming an alliance, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, impatient of further delay and alarmed lest Macedonia fall not to them but to the newly awakened Albanians, in October, 1912, declared war on the sultan. Taken by surprise and completely defeated on every front, the Turks were in May, 1913, obliged to sue for peace. The jubilant victors demanded the cession not only of the disputed Macedonia but also of the province of Thrace to within a few miles of Constantinople. Except for the capital and the all-important area of the straits, Turkey-in-Europe had come to an end.

The Balkan war of 1912

It might have been better for all concerned if the allied success had not been so great, for over the extensive Turkish spoils the intoxicated victors promptly came to blows. In the summer of 1913 a second Balkan war was fought in which Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro were pitted against their late ally, Bulgaria; and though powerful enough by themselves to finish the enemy, they were directly helped by Rumania and even received aid of an indirect nature from their recent enemy,

The second Balkan war of 1913

rkey. Of course Bulgaria was swiftly overwhelmed, and when in gust, 1913, peace was signed at Bucharest and the Ottoman booty tributed, the victors took what they pleased, leaving Bulgaria npletely out of the reckoning. More particularly Macedonia, ially indeed a mixed area but preponderantly Bulgarian, was rtitioned between Serbia and Greece. Closely examined, the two lkan wars may be considered to have contributed to an improved lkan order in so far as they had effected the elimination of the hammedan Turk from the lands in which he was essentially an en and which for generations he had exploited and misgoverned; unfortunately they left also a heritage of hate among the Chris- n powers because the victors, like victors from the dawn of time, ld not refrain in their hour of triumph from punishing the van- shed in such a manner as to leave a gnawing resentment in his l.

t was the curse of the Balkan situation that though disturbance owed disturbance nothing was ever settled. The Serb crisis of 8, for instance — was it possible to speak of its settlement so g as the Serb nationalist aspirations turned longingly ward the neighboring province of Bosnia, and Belgrad, capital, continued a focus of international intrigue? Austria and little Serbia continued to exchange bitter ks and words which gained, if anything, an added lignancy from Serbia's triumph in the Balkan wars of 1912 and 3. Having in rapid succession defeated the Turks and the Bul- ians and having successfully doubled their territory, the Serbs re disinclined to hold to their promise of 1909 concerning nation- t agitation in Hapsburg lands. Secret agents, subventioned by b societies, traveled through Bosnia and southern Hungary preach- hatred of the imperial house. It was only too probable that the ulting tension would, sooner or later, lead to an act of violence. befell on June 28, 1914, an ever memorable date, for on that June a number of Bosnian youths murdered the heir to the Austrian one, the archduke Francis Ferdinand, together with his wife, as y were driving through the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of snia. Here was the Serb crisis back again and alarmed Europe, ecting the worst, straightway went taut with anxiety.

The renewed Austro-Serb crisis of 1914

This time Austria resolved on nothing less than the complete niliation of Serbia. On July 23, 1914, the Viennese government sented a peremptory ultimatum at Belgrad intended to crush

The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia followed by war

Serb nationalist agitation once and for all. On Serbia's refusing to meet each and every Austrian demand without reservation or discussion, Austria, on July 25, broke off diplomatic relations with Serbia and three days later declared war on its little neighbor.

The Austrian program being to punish Serbia for a nationalist policy which made relations of good neighborhood impossible, it behooved the Austrian government to attempt to make this policy acceptable to the world and particularly to the members of the Triple entente, which had constituted themselves as Serbia's official protectors. To promote this purpose Austria, though only after an unfortunate delay which added to the suspicions poisoning the situation, issued a promise to the effect that no territorial acquisitions from Serbia were contemplated. But Russia, which, as the leading Slav power, felt closest to Serbia and which moreover was not minded to surrender its prestige in the Balkans, refused to be placated by the Austrian territorial assurance. Russia took the position that she could not possibly remain indifferent in a war between Austria and Serbia, and as early as July 25 ordered a partial mobilization of her troops. With that bold act the Serb crisis entered upon a new phase, raising the question of a war among the powers. And immediately the interest shifted from Vienna and Belgrad to the other European chancelleries and particularly to Berlin and Petrograd.

Russia resolves to protect Serbia and partially mobilizes

Throughout the crisis precipitated by the murder of the archduke Germany gave her ally's policy a full and unwavering support because she argued that unless the Serb nationalist agitation was suppressed, Austria, her best support in Europe, would be presently undermined and fall to pieces. She therefore took upon herself the task of trying to persuade Russia to concede to Austria the satisfaction of a punitive expedition into Serbia in exchange for the Austrian pledge not to annex Serbian territory. Russia, alarmed about Serbia and her own probable loss of influence in the Balkans, refused to entertain the idea and, as already said, on July 25, took the decisive step of effecting a partial mobilization of her forces. From that moment Germany turned her attention to the new phenomenon. She notified Russia that if the mobilization continued, Austria, which had thus far mobilized only on the Serbian border, would have to arm to meet the Russian movement,

The question of general mobilization raised between Germany and Russia

d, further, that if the Russian mobilization became general, ex-
ıding to the German border, Germany in her turn would have to
ue a mobilization order, making war inevitable.

In this connection it should be remembered that under the pre-
iling European system of universal military service a general
bilization empties the fields and workshops, converts millions of
n in the twinkling of an eye into soldiers, and sets the
ole social and economic framework of a nation throb-
g with war. All men in authority in Europe knew
t a general mobilization was the certain signal for war
d indeed the Franco-Russian military convention of
92 expressly endorsed this view. The significance of
Russian action can not therefore be overlooked, for,
regarding the German warnings and counting on the
tain support of France and the probable support of Great Britain,
tsar resolutely continued a progressive mobilization. It cul-
nated in the early evening hours of July 30 in the fateful general
er calling every eligible Russian to arms throughout the length
d the breadth of the empire. On this action being reported at
rlin, the German Government despatched an ultimatum to Petro-
d setting Russia a time limit of twelve hours to withdraw her
asure. When Russia ignored the request, the German emperor,
the late afternoon of August 1, ordered general mobilization in
turn and at the same time declared war on Russia.

The Russian mobilization of July 30 followed by the German declaration of war of August 1

It is thus clear that the European war began over the clashing
stro-German and Russian imperialist designs in the Near East
d particularly over the Austro-German resolve to remove the
nace of little Serbia from the path of their imperialist
vance. But war once begun, it was sure, owing to the
aty obligations as well as to the interests of the various
vers, to rapidly extend its circle. On France, for in-
nce, the effect of the Russian-German breach was
tantaneous, for France was obliged by the terms of her
ance with Russia to respond to the Russian mobiliza-
n by ordering her own. The automatic response of France was
clearly understood by the German government that, after granting
nce a brief delay to avow her intentions, it declared war also
inst its western neighbor. The case of Great Britain was not
te so simple. Toward Russia the British government had only
ormal obligations, while, though the cabinet in power had bound

While France enters the war automatically Great Britain hesitates

itself in a very specific way toward France, it had kept the agreement secret and was nervously uncertain whether the parliament and public would permit it to live up to its self-assumed obligation.

From this embarrassing situation, which, to the grave alarm of Russia and France, kept Great Britain hanging fire, the British cabinet was extricated by an ill-considered and indefensible act of Germany, the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. In her desire to get at France without delay Germany, on August 2, requested at Brussels an unmolested passage for her army through Belgium; and when the demand was indignantly rejected, Germany, on August 4, committed an unprovoked act of war against Belgium by sending troops across the border. As soon as the violation of Belgian neutrality became known across the channel, it released a storm of furious resentment both as an act of lawless arrogance and as a direct attack on British security. In consequence the ministry, only privately pledged to come to the aid of France, was enabled to merge the French and Belgian issues before the parliament and public and amidst the passionate acclaim of the whole island to declare war on Germany (August 5).

The German breach of Belgian neutrality followed by the declaration of war of Great Britain

The feverish attention of the world now swung to Italy. As a member of the Triple alliance she was expected in some quarters to throw in her lot with Germany and Austria; but after brief consideration she declared that inasmuch as Austria had begun an offensive war against Serbia, the Italian government, only defensively bound to its allies, recognized no obligation of coming to their support. For the present Italy adopted a waiting attitude.[1] Not so Japan. The empire of the mikado had ever since 1902 been bound by treaty to coöperate with Great Britain in the Pacific ocean. It was therefore under no obligation to join in the European struggle. However, the opportunity afforded by the embarrassment of Germany to eject that power from the Shantung peninsula in China proved irresistible, and on August 17 the mikado served an ultimatum on the German emperor followed shortly after by a declaration of war.

While Italy proclaims her neutrality, Japan declares war on Germany

Thus the Balkan issue, with which the war began, was found to be so intimately tied up with a dozen other nationalist-imperialist issues

[1] In 1902, in return for the promise of Tripoli, Italy gave assurances to France not to engage in war against her. Italy thus became an insecure member of the Triple alliance. "Henceforth Italy had one foot in either camp." (Gooch)

nd the competing powers, sharply ranged in two groups, were found be so deeply pledged to one another that the Serb-Austrian disrbance, affecting a comparatively small area in central Europe, ecame in the course of a few days a conflagration which read until the whole of Europe, the dependent colonial reas of Africa and Asia, and all the highways of the sea ere lighted with the fierce glare of war. Germany nd Austria faced Russia, France, Great Britain, and apan (not to mention Serbia and Belgium), while Italy, eutral for the moment, anxiously tried to make up her mind which ay to jump. Never since the dawn of history had the world cked with such an earthquake. The human rancors, piled ountain-high by the too ardent pursuit ever since the Industrial evolution of wealth, colonies, and power, suddenly leaping to ame enveloped the globe with a ring of fire and raised the question hether the appalling spectacle unfolded before the eyes of men was ot the end of civilization itself and the twilight of all the ancient ods.

Every imperialist issue thrown into the crucible of the World War

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE WAR AND THE PEACE (1914–1919)

t is hardly necessary to say that it will be impossible in a book of s scope to do more than call attention to a few leading facts and ects of the World War. Important matters of great and legitimate ıcern will have to be resolutely excluded from considera- **Limited purpose of this chapter** n. There will be no description either of the instru- nts which have revolutionized warfare on land and ter, such as the giant gun, the scouting and bombing airplane, the nch-bomb, the tank, poison gas, and the submarine, or of the ered tactics and strategy imposed upon generals and admirals by new tools of destruction. Attention will not be directed to the standing personalities of the various nations, the conspicuous and t-shifting leaders in the field and council-chamber, nor to the ted domestic politics of each warring state, including such matters its pro- and anti-war groups, the search for revenue to meet the tly increased expenses, and the measures of economic reorganiza- n for war production on a titanic scale. Our concern will be solely set down a few salient features of the prolonged fighting, notably h as profoundly influenced the issue, and to define and interpret peace which the victors dictated to the defeated central powers. When Germany broke the neutrality of Belgium, in spite not only the certainty of adding Great Britain to her enemies but also of opprobrium which she knew beforehand would be visited upon for her act, she disclosed the extreme importance she **The purpose of Germany in striking at France through Belgium** ached to the swift defeat of France. France once dis- ed of, Germany would turn upon Russia, which coun- , owing to its unwieldy bulk, the German general staff posed would get ready slowly and not prove imme- tely threatening. There followed the rapid march of August, 1914, ough Belgium and northern France. It was bravely resisted by small Belgian army and the forts along the Meuse, aided by the glish and French troops hurrying up to stem the tide, but, con-

ducted with superior numbers and equipment, it broke for a while through every obstacle. Not till the Germans were almost within sight of Paris, their military objective, were they stopped by a direct frontal attack combined with a flanking movement which threatened to envelop their right wing. The battle, lasting several days (September 5–10), is famous as the battle of the Marne. The Germans, beaten, had to retreat to the Aisne, where they entrenched. Having failed to reach Paris, they had failed to eliminate France from the situation. Therefore they had lost the campaign, and though by way of compensation they succeeded in occupying and holding almost the whole of Belgium and certain very valuable coal- and iron-producing regions of northern and eastern France, they would thenceforth be in serious danger the moment their enemies became strong enough to attack in their turn.

This theoretic peril of the Germans, due to their distance from their base and to the long line of communications which they were obliged to maintain, was in practice greatly reduced for them by their resort to trench warfare, the so-called war of positions. Adopted by one side, it had perforce to be adopted also by the other. Both sides dug themselves in, forming an immense zigzagging battle-line stretching for six hundred miles all the way from the sea at Nieuport (Belgium) to the Alps on the German-Swiss border. During the next few years first one side and then another undertook an offensive with the purpose of breaking through, and though some of these attacks were conducted on a vast scale, as, for instance, when in the spring of 1916 the Germans tried to break through at Verdun or when in the summer of the same year the British and French conducted the campaign of the Somme, the battle-front, generally speaking, remained unchanged until March, 1918. For almost four years the situation on the western and decisive front was deadlocked.

The deadlock on the western front

Exactly as the German supreme command had miscalculated the Franco-British resistance in the west with the result that its attack was stopped at the Marne, so it indulged in a wrong assumption as to the mobilization of Russia. The rush toward France was, as we have seen, predicated on the slow advance of the Russian army. The Russian army, however, conducted its mobilization not only rapidly but with enormous effectives and undertook, while the German army was sweeping on to Paris, to drive across the plains of the Vistula and

The Russian invasion of Germany and Austria

ıe Oder to Vienna and Berlin. The German forces were driven from ıost of East Prussia and the Austrians from eastern Galicia before German counter-attack at Tannenberg (August 26–September 1) ırned the Russian advance into East Prussia to a disastrous rout. indenburg, the German commander, followed up his victory by ossing the Russian boundary and invading Poland and Lithuania. The Austrians, however, in their sector had no such success as ıe Germans and continued to give way until the Russians threatened ıe forts of Cracow and extended an indirect menace to Vienna self. Thus matters stood during the winter till May, 1915, when the Austro-Germans combined in a vast offensive which pushed back the Russians at every point and ended in their complete defeat. Not only did the central powers ow drive far into Russia but they succeeded in so severely crippling ıe Russian equipment by the destruction and capture of material ıat the great Slav empire began to show signs of approaching exaustion. True, it manifested fine daring by engaging, in the summer 1916, in a partially successful offensive against Austria conducted y General Brusiloff, but thereafter the army showed little fight, ırtly through discouragement and partly because of the civil reak-up behind the battle-line which is the usual accompaniment defeat.

The Russian defeats

The war had in the first instance led to a great outburst of patriotm and unified Russia as it unified, through the same patriotic ntiment, every other fighting country. But the old social and olitical divisions continued to stir uneasily under the surface, and when the Russian defeats took place the ngered public laid the blame on the well-known incomtence and corruption of the tsarist régime. In March, 917, an uprising took place in Petrograd which immediely gathered such momentum among both civilians d soldiers that the tsar, deserted by his people, was obliged to abcate. What next? The absolute system had crashed to the ground: ould a moderate middle class or a radical socialist régime succeed ? The first result was a compromise, certain middle class groups öperating with a moderate wing of the socialists and conducting government pledged to the allies and resolved to keep Russia in the ar against Germany. Through the summer of 1917 this government, coming ever more radical, struggled on only to meet defeat in the d at the hands of the extreme socialists, known as the Bolsheviki.

The Russian revolution of 1917 followed by peace with Germany

In November these extremists set up their uncompromising revolutionary rule. From the point of view of the war, which alone concerns us here, the enormous significance of the triumph of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik leaders, was that they resolved to take Russia out of the struggle by making peace with Germany. This peace Germany, a victorious, militarist power, ruthlessly imposed on the beaten enemy at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. By virtue of this treaty Russia renounced title to her vast western borderland, including Finland, the Baltic provinces (Esthonia, Livonia, Courland), Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine, all conquered by her since the days of Peter the Great and inhabited by a great variety of nationalities but in no case by Russians.

An obvious drawback of the method here adopted of treating each battle-front in turn is that it fails to bring out the intimate coherence of events in the east and west. The campaigns on these two fronts and on all fronts whatever should, especially if military enlightenment is sought, be studied as a unit. Fighting in the east constantly affected the situation in the west and vice versa, as will appear by glancing back once more, for the purpose of illustration, to 1914. The Franco-British forces won the decisive battle of the Marne, but their victory was largely due to the unexpected invasion by Russia of East Prussia and to the consequent diversion by Germany of troops, destined for the west front, to her eastern marches.

Interdependence of all the fighting fronts

This intimate concatenation of occurrences in all quarters should be borne in mind as we turn next to trace the course of events on the Balkan front. The war, though beginning in the Balkans as a conflict between Austria and Serbia, assumed at once so overshadowing an importance on the west and east fronts, where millions of men were under arms, that the Balkan front where Austria, because of having her hands full with Russia, made but a feeble effort, sank into relative insignificance. But not for long. Early in November, 1914, the central powers were greatly strengthened in their struggle by being joined by Turkey. Turkey's entrance into the war, due to the friendship existing between the Young Turks, the political masters of the Ottoman Empire, and Germany, profoundly affected the situation in the Balkans and for that matter in large areas of the Mediterranean sea and the whole Near East. Russia, in particular, was hard hit, for the Bosporus

The Balkan front greatly affected by the entrance into the war of the Ottoman Empire

nd Dardanelles were immediately closed to the ships of the entente, ith the result that Russia was unable to receive the military supplies which she stood in need. Her defeat in the campaign of 1915 as partly due to this circumstance, once more exhibiting the close terdependence of events on every fighting front. It was to break ie intolerable barrier at the straits and establish the sorely needed ntact with Russia that the western powers undertook their first alkan campaign.

In February, 1915, a Franco-British squadron suddenly attacked ie Dardanelles with the purpose of silencing the Turkish forts and rcing a passage to Constantinople. On losing in this hazardous nterprise several large battleships, the allies changed their plans and began to land troops, British for the most art, on the Gallipoli peninsula, with the object of taking ie forts from the rear. All summer this campaign continued at ruinous cost, only to be acknowledged a failure nd to be given up at the coming of winter. What gave the enterrise the finishing blow was a new and important development in erbia. A recognized minor area of conflict, the little Slav kingdom as not seriously threatened by the Austrians till December, 1914, hen an Austrian invasion was victoriously repulsed. Almost a ear later, in October, 1915, Serbia was obliged to face a second and ore ominous crisis. An Austro-German force under the German eneral, Mackensen, gathered on the Danube opposite Belgrad, while ie Bulgars, elated by the prospect of revenge upon the Serbs for ie loss of Macedonia in the second Balkan war of 1913, resolved give up their neutrality and join the central powers. While the ustro-Germans pushed southward from the Danube, the Bulgarian my attacked Serbia from the east, that is, in the Vardar valley. The ntrance of Bulgaria into the war was a commanding event, because planted the central powers firmly in the heart of the Balkan eninsula; and when Serbia was now overrun, together with Montegro and most of Macedonia and Albania, the longed-for, unimeded connection between Berlin and Constantinople was at last ade perfect.

The Gallipoli and Serbian campaigns of 1915

Thus the year 1915 proved a very prosperous one for Germany, nce it brought the realization of the dream of a Middle Europe nder German direction extending from the North sea to the Darnelles. The only offset for the Franco-British forces was the cupation of the Greek city of Saloniki at the head of the Ægean

and the successful establishment there of a military base strong enough to save southern Macedonia from the central allies, to threaten Bulgaria with a future offensive, and to force Greece, although only after the use of military power, into the ranks of the allies. The definite accession of Greece to the entente came about in 1917 and not till after the remaining Balkan power, Rumania, had passed through a disastrous experience to be presently related. The whole history of the war goes to show that the small powers of the Balkans, so deeply involved in some of the main issues of the struggle, could not remain neutral. But to choose sides was a very delicate matter because it was far from clear which side would prove victorious. And yet life itself hung for them on picking the winner, for these small governments were but helpless pawns in the game of the great powers and were sure to be ruined if they crossed the path of an irresistible moving force. For their part, the two opposed European groups recognized the value of the accession to their respective sides of a Balkan combatant and hotly bid against each other for favor at all the Balkan capitals. Under the play of these difficult counter-currents the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria at a relatively early period joined the central powers, while Rumania somewhat hesitantly and Greece only under military duress ranged themselves on the side of the entente allies.

The Balkan states obliged to choose sides

It was in August, 1916, that Rumania threw in her lot with the allies with the result that she was straightway invaded, crushingly defeated, and almost entirely occupied by the central powers. In the winter, 1916–1917, Germany was apparently more securely entrenched in the Balkans than ever. The only cloud on the horizon was the allied front firmly maintained at Saloniki.

Defeat and conquest of Rumania, 1916

A last European front remains to be listed, the southern or Alpine front created when Italy, terminating the neutrality proclaimed by her at the outbreak of the war, threw in her lot with the entente. This decision was taken in May, 1915, and was immediately followed by an attack in force on Austria along the whole of the Italo-Austrian mountain border. Slow Italian advances culminated in the capture of the city and fortress of Gorizia in the summer of 1916. In the autumn of 1917, however, the gains made were lost and much else besides when the Austrians, aided by German troops, broke through the Italian lines

The Italian front

Caporetto, captured many men and much equipment, and were ot brought to a halt till they reached the line of the Piave River, ortheast of Venice. In the spring of 1918 Italy was a source of ave anxiety to the entente which, however, the events of the mmer and autumn of that year scattered to the winds by revealg the recovered morale and resistance of the Italian troops.

At this point, though chiefly concerned with Europe, we must at ast indicate the leading conflict-areas outside the little continent. he diminished Ottoman Empire of the twentieth century was rgely Asiatic, embracing Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopo- **The campaigns in Asiatic Turkey**
mia, and Arabia. In all these provinces the vast strug- e raged with the main feature of an attack by Russia nd Great Britain upon the shaking Ottoman house. ussia made her forward thrust from the Caucasus into Asia Minor nd conducted it, on the whole, victoriously until her collapse at me in 1917. Great Britain followed two separate and converging nes of penetration, the first leading from the Persian gulf into Iesopotamia, the second from the isthmus of Suez into Palestine nd Syria. In spite of difficulties and setbacks these British offenves proceeded steadily, culminating in the year 1918 in a series victories which resulted in the total collapse of the Ottoman state.

Inevitably, too, every German colony was at least a potential ghting area. But owing to the small German forces abroad and eir inability to receive reinforcements on account of the British ntrol of the seas, most of the colonies fell with little **The war in the German colonies**
sistance into the lap of the allies. Thus the German ronghold in China, Kiau-chau, was taken by the Japnese after a few weeks' siege, and the scattered German forces in outhwest Africa and in German East Africa were gradually picked p, largely in guerrilla fighting, by the British or rather by the British lonial forces of South Africa.

Having enumerated, however briefly, the main fighting areas on nd, we must now turn to take account of the sea. Perhaps, when l is said, the sea-front was the greatest of all the fighting fronts, or, speak more accurately, the most decisive. The domi- **The decisive influence of sea power**
ating factor in the situation was Great Britain's control the world's seaways by means of her overwhelming aval forces. Her fleet at once drove the German fleet nd merchant shipping from the ocean, gradually captured the merantmen which failed to reach a safe port, and pursued and finally

destroyed such German raiders as undertook to prey upon the enemy commerce. At the same time the British established a long-distance blockade of the German coasts in order to deprive Germany of needed supplies and, to make the measure thoroughly effective, began the regulation and control of neutral commerce, above all, of that of Holland and the Scandinavian countries adjacent to Germany, and of that of the United States, the greatest producer of raw products in the world. To break this British strangle-hold Germany had a gambler's chance in the mysterious and as yet untried weapon of the submarine. She declared in her turn the British coast in a state of blockade and attempted to make good her threat against vessels seeking British ports with a fleet of submarine vessels. But while the British blockade of Germany was wholly effective because no merchant vessel, neutral or otherwise, could pass into the North sea without being detected by the British guard-ships, the German blockade of the extensive British coasts was at best casual and would necessitate, to be even partially effective, the submarine's sinking its prize since it was out of the question to bring it safely some hundreds of miles to a German port. However, to sink a ship with its cargo had the very evil feature of imperiling the lives of passengers and crew since the submarine, hardly more than a toy, though a toy with a sting, was unable to take the victims on board and had no better alternative to offer them than the uncertain chance of getting to shore in life-boats.

Over this situation the United States was drawn into the struggle. When the war broke out the great American republic at once declared its neutrality and with this aloofness the citizen body was for a long time satisfied, although public sentiment from the first overwhelmingly favored the entente. Many factors contributed to this state of mind, most conspicuously the humanitarian indignation aroused by the outrage done by Germany to Belgium in seizing and holding the little land in an iron military vise. But the war came close, was woven into the texture of daily American experience chiefly through the interests of American commerce. It was plain that Great Britain was determined to make the United States sell goods exclusively to her and her allies, and it was just as plain that Germany was minded to have her share of American articles, failing which, she was resolved to interrupt the supply of Great Britain with her submarine weapon. Purposing with deadly intensity to

The neutral rights of the United States injured by Great Britain and Germany

urt each other, they instituted their respective blockades, besides nforcing measures regulative of sea-borne trade which unquestion-bly signified a serious encroachment on the rights of neutrals and nerefore of the United States.

Protesting against the illegal ordinances of both combatants, resident Wilson began a lively exchange of diplomatic notes with ondon and Berlin. From the first, however, the notes exchanged ith Germany had a special edge, absent in the case of reat Britain, because Germany's breaches of the sea law, nvolving the use of the novel weapon, the submarine, nperiled American lives and thereby deeply stirred the ntiment of humanity, already aroused over the invasion f Belgium. The diplomatic argument was still being conducted in ather general terms when there occurred an event which sharply efined the issue between the two countries. On May 7, 1915, a erman submarine torpedoed and sank without warning the British ner *Lusitania*, pitilessly drowning over a thousand men, women, nd children, several hundred of them of American nationality. The ndignation in the United States was so intense that the American overnment passed immediately from discussion to command and sisted that the submarine conform to the laws of the sea and the les of humanity, in a word, that its unrestricted use cease forth-ith. The German government yielded, and though there were ccasional transgressions of the conditions laid down by the United tates, a precarious peace was maintained till January 31, 1917, hen the German government published a declaration notifying the eutral world of its determination to resort without more ado to the nrestricted use of its tool. Plainly the British octopus grip, con-nued for over two years, had begun to tell in the starvation and educed production of Germany. The German leaders themselves dmitted it and justified the ruthless employment of the submarine n the ground of its being the sole means in their power of striking ack at Great Britain with her own program of hunger and commer-al isolation. President Wilson promptly broke off diplomatic rela-ons and on April 6, 1917, the Congress of the United States declared ar on Germany. The die was cast.

The United States enters the war over the submarine issue

At this juncture it becomes necessary to analyze the motives and rogram with which the United States entered the war two and a alf years after the struggle had begun. Owing to the small attention aid in the United States to affairs in Europe, the bewilderment over

the sudden conflagration of 1914 was extreme and the neutrality proclaimed by President Wilson not only met the wishes of the American people but expressed the undeniable fact that the explosion resulted from the rivalry of Triple alliance and Triple entente and was no concern of the Washington government. But during the ensuing months and years that alert section of the public which took pains to inform itself as to the causes of the outbreak — a section which was undoubtedly a minority but which, if it possesses resolution, always achieves leadership in a democratic community — slowly came to the conclusion that the war was due to a chain of rivalries and rancors reaching back for generations and involving every sort of bitter contention over markets, raw products, colonies, military and naval establishments, in sum, involving all the issues of imperialism. At the same time this enlightened minority was plied by the propagandists of both sides in the hope of winning its sympathy and support as a step preliminary to drawing the United States into the struggle. And here the Franco-British propaganda exhibited from the first a vast superiority over that of Germany. Not only did it enjoy because of the British command of the sea, which brought with it the control of the cables, a practical monopoly of information, but Franco-British opinion sensed, as the German did not, that America could not be won except on the basis of an idealist program which sweepingly condemned the existing order of things. Nor was it other than natural for the small but compact liberal groups of France and Great Britain actually to feel the horror they expressed for the monstrous developments of the European system. Aligning themselves therefore with the liberal intelligentsia of the United States, they poured the vials of a justified wrath on the evils most immediately in view, such as militarism, secret diplomacy, autocratic government, and hostile balanced alliances. What the world needed, they argued, was to get rid of these hoary anachronisms in order to make room for a universal league pledged to preserve peace and expressive of the brotherhood of the human race, and as they were able to exhibit Germany on account of her rape of Belgium and her narrow militarist code of conduct as particularly identified with the evils which afflicted the world, they persuaded themselves and in increasing measure the American masses that the defeat of Germany was the necessary preliminary to the dawn of a new era. If now to this expanding idealist conviction be added the sense of injured dignity and violated interests aroused by

The motives animating the American public

submarine issue, the main influences will be realized which pushed United States into the war.

n measure as American opinion about the war clarified it found ookesman in the country's president, capable and ready to translate at stirred the general mind into eloquent and moving words. signalized the entrance of the United States into the r with a ringing indictment of the autocratic and mili- ist government of Germany, while voicing at the same ie his continued good-will toward the German people l pledging his country to the pursuit of unselfish ends.

President Wilson's idealist peace program

om time to time, in further illustration of his position, he made ditional declarations culminating, on January 8, 1918, in a peace ogram of Fourteen Points, which demanded, among other things, abolition of secret diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, the re- ction of armaments, the redrawing of the map of Europe along ional lines, and the creation of a League of Nations as a guarantee peace and good-will. President Wilson's ringing pronouncements pealed to European as well as to American idealism and unified eral opinion the world over as it had not been unified before. wly a Wilsonian peace began to outline itself which not only s directed against Germany but which purposed to go to the ttom of things by bringing the greedy imperialism of the great wers and the ruinous nationalist rivalries of great and small alike der the control of the unified peoples of the world.

With refreshed spirits the allies resumed the war on the entrance o it of the United States. In 1917 the American participation rdly caused a ripple for the reason that America had first to get dy. Besides, the defection of Russia from the allied ks broke the iron ring around Germany and greatly axed the pressure exercised upon her. The next cam- gn, however, the campaign of 1918, proved decisive. began in March with a supreme effort by the German mmand to break down French and British resistance the west front before American reënforcements in ficient number were at hand. For three months the rmans battered the allied lines, achieving considerable success failing in the main purpose of breaking through. In their hour of atest need the allies unified their command more completely than r before, put the French leader, Marshal Foch, in supreme control, l presently, in July, assumed the offensive in their turn. The

The decisive campaign of 1918. Germany's offensive followed by the offensive of the allies

next months brought the most ferocious fighting which the war, from first to last unexampled in ferocity, had witnessed. Irresistibly the French, British, and Americans drove forward, pushing the Germans back until it was clear that they could no longer maintain themselves in the invaded districts of Belgium and France.

The outlook for Germany was already somber when through occurrences on the other fronts it settled into the blackness of night. In the late summer the British began to apply their final pressure upon the Turks in Syria, resulting in the rout of the Turks and the utter breakdown of Turk resistance. Simultaneously the allies, moving north from Saloniki, broke through the Bulgarian lines (September, 1918) and obliged Bulgaria, unable to get sufficient support from Austria and Germany to steady its panicky forces, abjectly to sue for peace. Thus Turkey and Bulgaria were broken to bits and eliminated from the struggle. Inevitably the Austrian morale was badly shaken by these disasters in the immediate Austrian rear, and when, in October, the Italians undertook an offensive along the Piave, they easily crumpled the Austrian lines, captured division after division, and proceeded to strike for Vienna. Following defeat in the field, the whole Austro-Hungarian political fabric collapsed without delay: the house of Hapsburg was deposed, the various nationalities merged in the composite state declared their independence, and the war ended on this front with an armistice, signed November 4, that left the Italian army in complete control of the situation.

The allies victorious on the Syrian, Macedonian, and Italian fronts

These events, taken in connection with their own losing struggle on the west front, positively obliged the Germans to treat for peace. In those autumn weeks, while blow after blow was being delivered by the allies on every front, the shaken government of the kaiser slowly crumbled to destruction. The opposition groups of the Reichstag, seizing control, opened negotiations with President Wilson, but presently had to retire before a rising of the angered masses who drove the Reichstag, together with the imperial family, from power in order to set up a republic. A moderate group of socialists took over the government. Recognizing the hopelessness of stemming the revolutionary tide, Emperor William II left the army and fled to neutral Holland (November 10). Meanwhile President Wilson, acting as the spokesman of the allies, offered the German people his

The German government sues for peace

ogram of the Fourteen Points as the basis of a general peace. This ,ving been accepted, on the day following William II's flight, on ovember 11, 1918, an armistice was signed which required the ermans to retire beyond the Rhine and effectually to disarm themlves. By an enormous coördinated effort the resistance of the iemy had been broken and the victory won. What would the ace bring?

The peace! Plainly it was as important as the war; in fact the war ould have been fought in vain if the peace did not undertake hontly to grapple with the evils which afflicted the world before the war gan and which were the real causes of the war. In con- **The peace congress certain to be wholly dominated by the five victorious powers**
quence of the immensity of the victory the arrangements r peace would be exclusively in the hands of the victors, r of the four enemy states Austria-Hungary had disap- eared from the map, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria ere crushed and all but annihilated, and Germany, sarmed and passing through the throes of a revolution, ight plead the protection of the Fourteen Points, but was absolutely potent to enforce consideration of her views. At the time when e long and terrible struggle came to an end, over a score of states, eat and small, were joined together as allies or associates against ermany, and as soon as Paris had been agreed on as the place of eeting, representatives of the victorious states wended their way the French capital to take part in the great congress which was to ttle the disturbed affairs of the world. Of course the final decisions ould be taken by the great powers, Great Britain, France, Italy, pan, and the United States. They might listen to suggestions om the smaller states, but in accordance with immemorial usage ey would always reserve the last word to themselves. When, January, 1919, the peace conference was called to order, everying therefore depended on the temper and program of the five preme representatives of the five victor powers, but also, we ould not fail to note, on the temper of the respective publics which ey served, since, no matter what an individual leader might think, could not afford to put himself out of touch with his people. The ople, however, of all the victor countries, persisting in the stern d exultant frame of mind produced by the war and its triumphant ding, were sure to make their influence felt in favor of a severe tribution to be visited on the vanquished.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to present the work of the peace

conference of Paris in an objective, historical light because we are still too close to see its problems and decisions in their true perspective. Suffice it to call attention to some of the more outstanding clashes and conclusions and, to begin with, to the issue which leaped to life the moment the congress opened its doors. During the war an idealist program had sprung into being which, under the name of the Fourteen Points, had, as already noted, generally won the adherence of the liberal elements the world over. What is more, to this platform, formulated by President Wilson, the governments themselves had become committed when, in connection with the armistice negotiations, they offered it to Germany as a basis of discussion. Inevitably, however, the victory, immense in its scope and won after a terrific, nerve-racking struggle, reinvigorated the nationalist and imperialist designs which had never ceased to prompt the diplomacy of Europe and which were admittedly a leading factor in the war. These designs had been discussed by the respective foreign offices in the course of the struggle and had finally led to secret agreements among the allies which enumerated in more or less definite terms the territories and economic advantages each power might expect as its reward in the event of victory. All the powers, with the single exception of the United States, were involved in these elaborate transactions, and it was a serious question how, if at all, the old-fashioned realist diplomacy which they represented was to be brought into harmony with the idealist program represented by President Wilson and his Fourteen Points.

Conflict of the old and new diplomacy, of realism and idealism

For the better understanding of the nature and the gravity of the issue at Paris it is necessary to take a closer view of the secret treaties. Signed, sometimes between two, sometimes between three and more powers, these treaties were very numerous, although their exact number was not known and their contents, nay, their very existence had been sedulously kept from the general public. Gradually, however, in one way or another, enough information leaked out to permit the curious to get a reasonably secure picture of the territorial distributions to which the victors had become mutually committed. Thus the Ottoman Empire, long a chief bone of European imperialist contention, was partitioned among Great Britain, Russia, France, and Italy in such a manner that each power received that portion to which it particularly aspired. Further, the German colonial possessions of the Far East were

The secret treaties of the allies

vided between Great Britain and Japan, Japan getting the lion's
are as heir to Germany in China. Again, not only was France to
cover Alsace-Lorraine, lost in 1871, but she was also given definite
surances involving the control, if not the possession, of the whole
erman territory on the left bank of the Rhine. And finally, Italy
as promised, in addition to the coveted and genuinely Italian dis-
icts of the Trentino and Trieste, a portion of the Austro-German
yrol and such Adriatic areas as Istria and northern Dalmatia,
here the Italian element was numerically inferior to the Slovenes
nd Croats, two South Slav peoples, closely related to the Serbs.

ie rective fluence ercised by e secret eaties

When the sessions at Paris opened, the three great European victors
ere represented by their prime ministers, Lloyd George acting
r Great Britain, Clemenceau for France, and Orlando for Italy.
From outside Europe they were joined by the Marquis Saionji representing the government of Japan and by President Wilson who, pursuing a course without precedent in his country's history, crossed the ocean to conduct the case of the United States in person. Russia, it should
e observed, was not represented. Its Bolshevist government, com-
itted to a vast revolutionary experiment aiming at nothing less
an a new communist order of society, had broken off relations
ith the allies; or, it would be just as correct to say in view of the
compatibility manifested by both sides, the allies had broken off
lations with the Bolshevists. Alarmed at the propaganda issuing
om Moscow and Petrograd and appealing to the workers of the
orld to rise everywhere in revolution, the western nations had
osed to Russia all the routes of trade and intercourse which they
mmanded and had gradually drifted into a relation with the
olshevist government hardly distinguishable from war. Russia,
erefore, was ignored when the distributions to be effected under
e secret treaties were brought up for discussion. The other
terested powers, however, that is, Great Britain, France, Italy,
nd Japan, resolved vigorously to insist on their bond, although in
ew of the power and prestige accumulated by the United States
ey were unable to exclude from consideration the program of the
ourteen Points.

Under these difficult circumstances President Wilson had not
en long in Paris before he saw that he would be obliged to make
ncessions to the fierce egotism which dominated the counsels of his
sociates and which was consecrated by their secret treaties.

Undoubtedly these arrangements greatly disconcerted him; but since they represented the solemn mutual pledges of his fellow combatants, he considered it advisable, while trying to mitigate some of their worst provisions, to accept them and in exchange for this concession to insist on a League of Nations, pledged thenceforward to substitute the processes of peace and conciliation for the practices of a rapacious imperialism. The conflict among opposed opinions at Paris was sharp, but the President carried his plan. Without exaggeration it may be said that the League of Nations is the child of Wilson's loins.

President Wilson secures the acceptance of the League of Nations

In April, 1919, the Covenant of the League was completed and published to the world. Of course it was violently criticized by the conservatives of every country, who thought it went too far in the experiment of internationalism, no less than by the liberal opinion of the world, which contended that it did not go far enough. Its two chief features are an Assembly and a Council. The Assembly is a general body in which all the states, members of the League, are represented and in which each state is equal to every other by reason of its casting, regardless of size and might, a single vote. The Council, a smaller and far more important body, is composed of representatives of the five victor powers (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) together with four representatives of four other members of the League chosen by the Assembly, that is, nine in all.[1] The Council is, among other matters, empowered to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments, to abate the evils which have arisen from the private manufacture of munitions, to act as a body of conciliators in case of a dispute which threatens war, and to formulate the terms under which a backward area is to be committed to the control and rule of a member-state acting as the agent or mandatory of the League. Since the chief purpose of the League is to settle contests among nations without recourse to war, the Covenant establishes as one of its most important creations a permanent court of international justice. Subject to a new decision of the Council, the seat of the League is established at Geneva in Switzerland. The court of international justice is located at The Hague.

The Covenant of the League

[1] Since the United States refused to join the League there are now (1925) only four permanent members of the Council. On the other hand the rotating members have been increased from four to six.

With the Covenant of the League of Nations accepted by all the legates, the path was cleared for the treaty of peace with Germany. esides five great powers, over a score of smaller states had either gaged in war against the Teuton empire or had broken f diplomatic relations with it, and the harmonizing of e often conflicting claims of this mass of victors was easy matter. However, on May 7, 1919, the completed eaty was presented to a German delegation called for that urpose to Versailles. They were told peremptorily that no round- ble discussion was to be allowed but that they might communi- te in writing their objections to the terms submitted. This they cordingly did, passing at last from piece-meal criticism to an elabo- te set of counter-proposals. On these having been answered and jected the Germans were told to sign without delay on pain of a sumption of the war. To this curt ultimatum the government of erlin yielded and on June 28, in a formal session held in the famous lace of Louis XIV, where the German Empire had been proclaimed 1871, the document which registered its demise received the signa- re of vanquished and victors. By a no less remarkable coincidence e day marked the fifth anniversary of the historic pistol-shot which lled the Austrian archduke and which had ever since been going und the world in deafening echoes.

Germany signs the Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919

The Treaty of Versailles was a drastic document of 80,000 words nich humbled Germany utterly. By means of its territorial pro- sions she was curtailed both east and west, losing Alsace-Lorraine France and the bulk of the two provinces of Posen d West Prussia to the resuscitated state of Poland. In dition, certain districts in northern Schleswig and far ore extensive ones along the eastern confines of Prussia, particularly per Silesia with its invaluable coal-fields, were designated as ebiscite areas, where it was left to the population to decide by vote nether they wished to remain in the German communion. In other important German coal region, that of the Saar, a Prussian strict adjoining Lorraine, the coal mines were given to France out- ght but politically the region was put under a commission re- onsible to the League of Nations with the understanding that the nabitants would, after fifteen years, have the privilege of determin- g their ultimate fate by a popular vote. Finally, the German colon- s in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific ocean were distributed among the ctors, in some cases not as owners in full sovereignty but under

The territorial losses of Germany

the mandatory system which reserved a right of supervision to the League of Nations. Without doubt it was an intelligent proceeding to give the League of Nations this power of review since only by means of an active participation in the affairs of the world could the League prove its vitality and acquire a needed prestige. In pursuance of this aim, particularly dear to President Wilson, chief sponsor of the Covenant, the execution of the whole Treaty of Versailles was put more or less in the hands of the League.

The disarmament and reparation clauses

In the important matter of disarmament Germany agreed to surrender to the allies practically the whole of her war equipment — her fleet, her submarines, her cannon, her machine guns, her munitions, her military and naval aircraft. She further agreed to maintain henceforward a navy so small as to be negligible and to support an army which shall not exceed 100,000 men. Universal military service, with which her history was peculiarly interwoven, was to be abolished and the army was to be recruited solely by voluntary enlistment. In sum, Germany was disarmed in the present and made powerless in the future. But even more crushing were the reparations imposed on Germany together with the economic consequences which they entailed. The beaten nation had in the armistice agreement accepted full responsibility "for all damage done to the civilian population of the allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." Under this comprehensive, if somewhat indefinite, obligation Germany was saddled with a vast burden of payments. She agreed to replace, ton for ton, all shipping destroyed by the submarine terror or from other causes; she pledged her resources to the rebuilding of the devastated areas of France and Belgium; she promised to assemble and hand over without delay large quantities of live stock such as milch cows, heifers, stallions, mares, and sheep, and annually, for years to come, to deliver many million tons of coal. But the weightiest of all reparation items was the money indemnity. Because the victors could not agree on the total amount to be paid by Germany, they patched up a provisional arrangement calling for the immediate payment of some billions of gold marks but putting off the fixing of the definitive sum to May 1, 1921. Finally a permanent committee, called the reparation commission, was established to hold Germany to the exact fulfilment of the financial and economic terms imposed on her. In effect the reparation commission undertook to manage Germany as a bankrupt estate in the interest of the creditors.

Resolved to get their full rights under the treaty, the allies did ot overlook military coercion. They occupied with their armed orces the whole area west of the river Rhine together with the three mportant bridge-heads on the east bank at Mainz, Co- lenz, and Cologne. The occupation was fixed for a term f fifteen years and was to be at the expense of the Ger- nans. Moreover, the treaty reserved to the victors the ght to seize additional German territory whenever Germany was djudged to be in voluntary default in its obligations. Although here were many other articles in the treaty, each of which canceled ome property or treaty right of Germany within or without her polit- al boundaries, enough has been said to make clear that she was tricken from the list of the powers and, as far as lay with the victors, educed to beggary and impotence.

The military coercion clauses

With the Treaty of Versailles out of the way, President Wilson nd the leading dignitaries went home, but their delegates remained ehind at Paris to draw up the documents which, besides establish- ng peace with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, should regulate the boundaries and impose certain ob- gations on the many new nations established on the ruins f the ancient empires of the Hapsburgs and Romanovs. The labors of the peace conference continued therefore through 1919 nd much of 1920.

Additional labors of the peace conference

The treaty with Austria, now a small German republic of about x million inhabitants, of whom two million lived in the single city f Vienna, was ready first and was duly signed at St. Germain in eptember, 1919. By its terms Austria obligated herself o meet a bill for reparations so greatly in excess of her ssets that she, too, had to be taken over as a bankrupt concern by he same reparation commission appointed as receiver for Germany nder the Treaty of Versailles. Although she had, as was natural hough in view of the triumph throughout the world of the nationalist rinciple, expressed a wish to join Germany, the conference, still lled with the fear of its late enemy and unwilling to see Germany rengthened by the addition of new territory, ruled otherwise. For he present at least Austria was to be a minor German republic dwell- g in the shadow of its greater brother. Finally, after recognizing he sovereignty and independence, within the boundaries drawn by he conference, of the states formed wholly or in part from the Haps- urg wreck, to wit, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Poland, Aus-

The treaty with Austria

tria submitted to all cessions of territory required of her in favor of these states as well as of Rumania and Italy, which, as active members of the victor group, had not failed to claim a share in the Hapsburg heritage.

The treaty with Bulgaria and the Balkan outlook

Next came the treaty with Bulgaria, which, signed at Neuilly, another Paris suburb, in November, 1919, imposed on the defeated state a large but definite indemnity of something over two billion gold francs and limited the Bulgarian army henceforth to 20,000 men. In addition Bulgaria was obliged to accede to various losses of territory, the most grievous being the province of Thrace together with the Ægean seaboard. Macedonia, to which Bulgaria could put forth, on purely nationalist grounds, as good a claim or better than any of her neighbors, had been lost for the first time in the war of 1913 and, though regained in 1915, was in 1919 redivided between Greece and Serbia. In the light of the Bulgar treaty the Balkan peninsula, which had been a leading, though by no means the only storm center of Europe throughout the nineteenth century, and which had set the match to an inflammable continent in 1914, will doubtless persist as a zone of danger. Its pacification is highly desirable, and perhaps by means of a loose federation of all its states, if it were feasible, the way might be cleared for a relaxation of the violent tension and the triumph of a more placable spirit. But with Bulgaria nursing a grudge on national and economic grounds and with no one of the Balkan states particularly well-disposed to any other, the creation of a federative commonwealth is hardly to be expected, at least not until much water has run down the Danube.

The treaty with Hungary

The treaty with Hungary was greatly delayed, owing to the peculiarly violent domestic disturbances in that mid-Danubian land which followed its defeat in war. No sooner had the Hapsburg dynasty been deposed than, as in the case of Russia and Germany, a republic was proclaimed. However, in March, 1919, the communists or "Reds," who drew their inspiration from the Russia of Lenin, overthrew the middle class, excluded them from power, and set up a purely proletarian régime. Not till the month of August were the communists overthrown by an invasion from Rumania, whereupon a strongly conservative group of politicians succeeded in seizing the reins at Budapest. Thus, in the year following the armistice, control fluctuated violently to and fro. When in January, 1920, the allies laid the Treaty of Tria-

on before the Hungarian delegates summoned to this end to Paris, was found to be modeled closely on the Treaties of Versailles and . Germain. The amount of reparations to be paid was left unttled; the army was reduced to 35,000 men; and very large slices territory, preponderantly inhabited by Rumanians, Slovaks, and erbs were handed over respectively to Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, nd Jugo-Slavia. By these decisions the new republic of Hungary as reduced in territory to one-third of the former kingdom and in opulation to about nine million inhabitants.

Owing to the disturbed condition of the disrupted Ottoman Emre and of the whole Near East, as well as because of differences of pinion among the victors, the treaty with Turkey, called the reaty of Sèvres, was not ready till the summer of 1920. **The treaty with Turkey**

he chief stone of stumbling among the conferees proved to be the age-old problem of Constantinople and the straits. By a cret treaty drawn up in 1915 France and Great Britain had promed this area to tsarist Russia, which therewith came into sight of goal obstinately pursued for generations. By going Bolshevist, owever, and deserting the allies, Russia was accounted to have rfeited the prize. After prolonged discussion Great Britain, rance, and Italy, the powers alone concerned with drawing up the reaty of Sèvres, agreed to declare the shores of the straits an ternational area to be governed by an international commission. Iost of the remaining territory of the conquered empire was disibuted among the victors, though often with important qualificaons. Mesopotamia went to Great Britain and Syria to France ıt in either case the country given control agreed to regard itself a trustee for the League of Nations. In southern Syria an inresting experiment was inaugurated with the ancient land of alestine, for it was proclaimed a Jewish homeland under the proction of Great Britain, acting in this case also as a mandatory of e League. In Arabia was set up the independent Arab state of e Hedjaz under the rule of the sherif of Mecca. Although this ler was awarded the sounding title king, it remained of course to seen how far he could command the obedience of his subjects ıd give them protection against the wild tribesmen of the desert. far as the Treaty of Sèvres went the only territory left to the ltan was Asia Minor and even this was to come to him in a sadly duced form. Smyrna and its hinterland were assigned to Greece, nile extensive spheres of interest were reserved to France, Italy,

and Great Britain. Finally, the treaty declared for an independent Armenia in eastern Asia Minor with boundaries to be determined later. A strict execution of all these provisions would probably render nugatory the sultan's hold on even the single province nominally left in his hands. The backward Ottoman Empire had been, as we have seen, the chief apple of discord among the rival imperialist powers. By the Treaty of Sèvres the apple was claimed and divided among Great Britain, France, and Italy, with a not inconsiderable slice promised to the appetite of Greece in order to induce that state to serve as the victors' carving-knife.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

POST-WAR EUROPE

It was an amazingly altered appearance that Europe presented to ew as a result of the war and the peace which concluded it. To ave to one side for the present the radical mental and moral anges among the many peoples whom we have in mind hen we pronounce the word Europe and to concentrate so relatively simple a matter as the new boundaries, is certain that neither the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) nor that Utrecht (1713) nor the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna 815) authorized even remotely such incisive alterations of the map the treaties signed in the various suburbs of Paris. The whole ast middle of Europe took on a new shape. Let us first look at ermany. Besides losing Alsace-Lorraine to France, certain small ctions (Eupen, Malmedy) to Belgium, a tiny Silesian district to zecho-Slovakia, and most of Posen and West Prussia to Poland, e new government was obliged to hand over the Saar basin to the eague of Nations, to resign the title to the district of Memel to the lies, to agree to the constituting of the city of Danzig as a Free ate, and to acknowledge certain sections of Schleswig, East Prus- a, and Upper Silesia as plebiscite areas, whose final allegiance ould be determined by a popular vote.

The new map of Europe

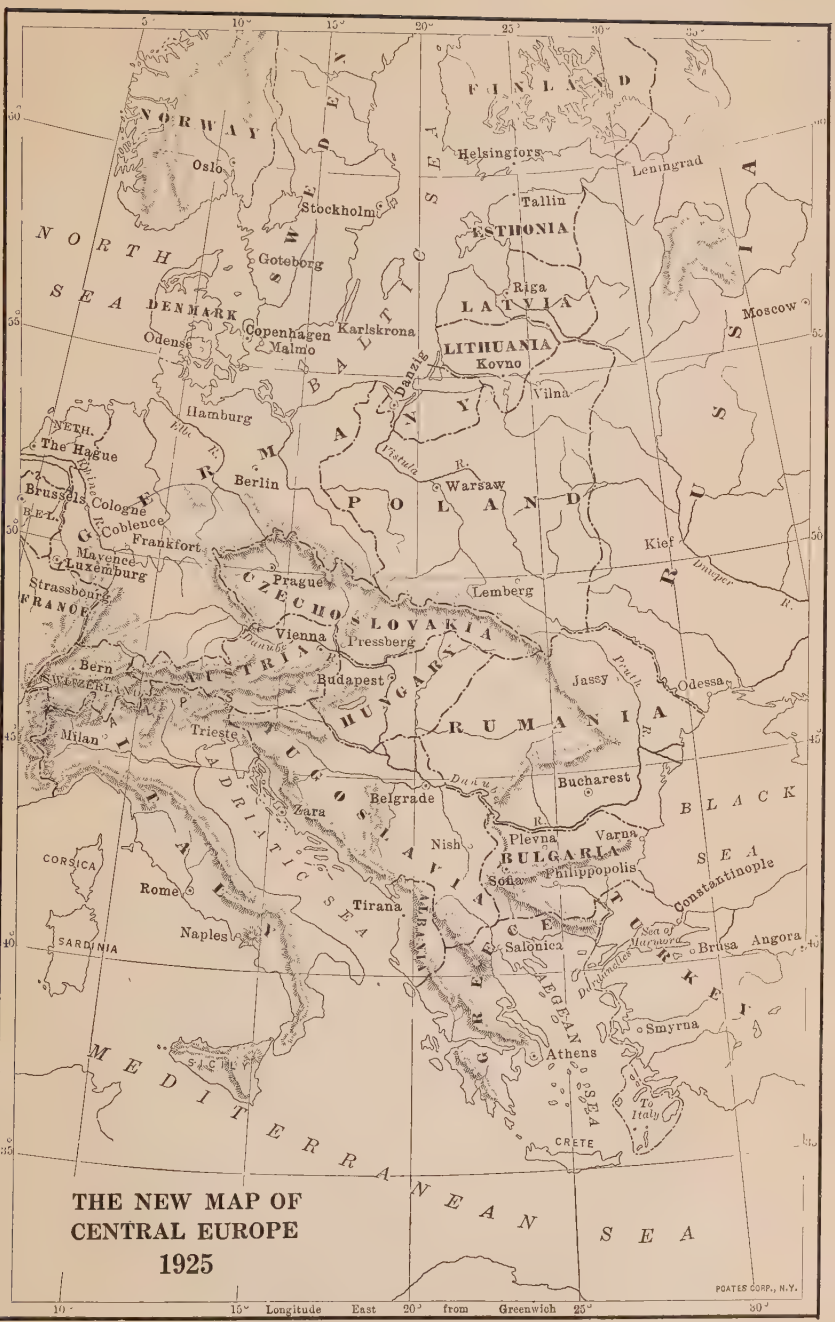
Serious as was the immediate reduction of Germany, it would worse if the plebiscites went against her. The Schleswig issue as the first to be settled, the first (northern) zone voting over- helmingly for Denmark, the second as decisively for ermany. The two Prussian zones, called to choose tween Germany and Poland, voted almost unanimously r Germany. There remained Upper Silesia, a peculiarly ntentious area because of its invaluable deposits of al, lead, and zinc. Although the vote was a German ctory, three-fifths of the population declaring for the d allegiance, so determined were the allies that these natural sources should not fall to Germany that Upper Silesia was divided tween Germany and Poland in such a way that its natural

Settlement of the German boundaries and the remaining uncertainties

wealth fell preponderantly to Poland. It was not till the close of 1921 that the Silesian controversy was adjusted and the German boundary given a certain definiteness. Even so the Saar area will be alienated until a vote in 1935 shall determine the preference of the inhabitants, while the whole left bank of the Rhine, remaining in occupation by the armies of France, Belgium, and Great Britain, is, though administratively German, hardly an assured German territory so long as it is held by the forces of the victors. The Treaty of Versailles provided that, in case Germany fulfilled her obligations, the Cologne area should be evacuated in January, 1925, the Coblenz area in 1930, and the Mainz sector in 1935. In January, 1925, the allies refused to give up Cologne on the ground that Germany's disarmament was not complete according to the letter of the treaty. While this may be true, it is clear that the allies and more particularly France will never find it difficult to allege an infraction of the treaty if they consider it advantageous to exercise a continued threat against their defeated foe.

The succession states of the Hapsburg monarchy

Even before the allies at Paris decreed the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire it had gone to pieces through the revolt of its component nationalities. Its place has therefore been taken by the so-called succession states — Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, and Hungary. Besides, Italy acquired certain sections of Austrian territory (Trentino, the southern Tyrol, Trieste, Gorizia, Istria, Zara), while Rumania received the Bukovina from Austria and Transylvania and the eastern section of the Hungarian plain from Hungary. The historical significance of the passing of the Hapsburg monarchy lies in the sweeping victory of the nationalist idea. In the main the distribution of the Hapsburg territories authorized at Paris accorded with the principle of nationality; but certain important modifications should be noted which we may explain as concessions to the hard facts of victory and its attendant passions. Also the circumstance that the various peoples were often so closely intermingled as to defy a clean mutual extrication must be in fairness taken into account in judging the new boundaries. Of the outstanding breaches of the nationality principle the most important instances deserve enumeration. Of the territories ceded to Italy the southern Tyrol, that is, the territory immediately south of the Brenner pass, is German and most of Istria is Slav; on the territories constituted as Czecho-Slovakia reside over 3,000,000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THE NEW MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE 1925
POATES CORP., N.Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich

ermans and about three quarters of a million of Magyars, while zecho-Slovakia's easternmost province, Carpathian Russia, is holly inhabited by Little Russians (Ukrainians); of the former ustrian territory incorporated with the republic of Poland the east- n section of Galicia is populated not by Poles but by Ukrainians. midst the jubilations over what looked like the universal victory nationalism the new Austrian Republic, the German core of the rmer empire, was with resolute inconsistency put under an anti- ationalist ban. On the morrow of the revolution an Austrian sembly voted the inclusion of Austria in the German family as presented by the German Republic; but the peace conference, oved by fear of a strengthened Germany, forbade this consum- ation. Only in case the Council of the League of Nations gives its nanimous consent can Austria in the future be merged in the erman national state.

Passing from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire to south- stern Europe, we note that the principle of nationality, having orked its wonders there during the nineteenth century by rousing om their Rip Van Winkle sleep the Greeks, Serbs, umanians, Bulgars, and Albanians, found nothing left r it to do but to effect a possible readjustment of e boundaries. Perhaps Albania, which had not been nstituted as a separate state till 1913 and which had oved so weak that it disappeared in the whirling maelstrom of the orld War, may be looked on as a creation or at least a re-creation the Paris conference. In any case the Paris conference undertook draw for Albania, Serbia (in its enlarged form commonly called go-Slavia), Rumania, Greece, and Bulgaria their new and authen- boundaries. While taking its cue in the main from considerations nationality, the conference agreed to set the seal of its approval the excessive demands of the victors, more particularly on those Jugo-Slavia and Greece. In this way Macedonia, certainly more lgar than it is Serb or Greek, was divided between lgrad and Athens. Again, another mixed area, Thrace, th probably as many Bulgars or Turks as it has Greeks s attributed to Greece.

The new boundaries of south-eastern Europe

Nowhere in Europe did the principle of nationality umph more completely than in Russia. The Russian re of the vast empire might obediently yield to lshevist rule, but along the western border as well as

The revolt of the various peoples subjected to the former Russian Empire

in the Caucasus the non-Russian peoples vigorously asserted their right of self-determination. True, the three Caucasus republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan were in 1921, only two years after they were founded, obliged to forego complete independence and to associate themselves with Soviet Russia. It may be doubted that they are today (1925) enjoying even a measurable remnant of independence.

The inflated state of Poland

But the states of the Russian western fringe, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland were and are in a different case, partly because they possessed greater means of resistance than the tiny would-be republics of the Caucasus, partly because they were strengthened by the proximity of the western victors, who, as sworn enemies of the Soviet régime, are almost certain to give the new states aid in case they are attacked by Moscow. The republic of Poland, partitioned in the eighteenth century among its three neighbors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, represents one of the remarkable resurrections of history. Resolved as the Paris conferees were to restore it along national lines, they found themselves confronted by the perhaps unsolvable problem of drawing correct racial frontiers in the vast east-European plain, where natural barriers do not exist and where peoples of different strains have been freely intermingling for centuries. However, favoring Poland against Germany, the victorious allies conceded to it the so-called Vistula or Danzig corridor which opened to Poland an immediate access to the Baltic sea; favoring Poland against Lithuania, they only protested feebly when Poland seized by military might the Vilna district attributed to Lithuania; favoring Poland against the Little Russian (Ukrainian) people, they permitted the new republic to take over eastern Galicia; and finally, favoring Poland against Russia, under pressure particularly from France they encouraged Poland to make war (1920) on the Bolsheviki. This struggle, concluded by a treaty between Poland and exhausted and defeated Russia, gave Poland an eastern frontier including a broad belt of non-Polish peoples, chiefly White and Little Russians. In sum, Poland is, though perhaps not in the same degree as Czecho-Slovakia, an inflated state containing numerous non-Polish nationalities.

Lithuania, which in the Vilna matter proved to be at the mercy of Poland, would seem from every angle to be a rather feeble creation. However, in 1923 it imitated the Polish action against Vilna by

uddenly seizing the city and district of Memel, once the possession f Germany but held since 1919 by the allied powers. These, taken back by the predatory act, finally agreed to abandon Memel to ithuania. Latvia (the country of the Letts) and Esthonia (the country of the Esths) have, although small, xhibited considerable energy in setting their governments going. Even more vigor has been shown by Finland, long autonomous under the tsars of Russia and well prepared y history and the cool temper of its people to assume the responsibilities of self-government.

Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland

It will summarize the extraordinarily novel political situation we take note that in place of the three great empires of Germany, ustria-Hungary, and Russia we now have, on what was once their erritory, an aggregate of seventeen states. Two of ne seventeen, Russia and Germany, remain, in spite f the reductions suffered, sufficiently large and populous o aspire to play the part of great powers. The rest re patently small powers, though Poland and Czechoslovakia more particularly enjoy considerable resources nd have already proved themselves by no means negligible factors in the post-war game of diplomacy. As astern neighbors of Germany they enjoy the interested atronage of France, which by reorganizing their armed forces and y the loan of large sums for equipment has brought them definitely ithin her political orbit.

Seventeen states established on the territory of the former empires of Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary

In the light of the situation here set forth the most significant eature of the new map of Europe is the sweeping triumph of nationalsm. We have followed the nationalist movement through the ineteenth century, beginning with the unification of taly and Germany. Penetrating the Balkan peninsula, ne new and revolutionary sentiment slowly dissolved ne Ottoman Empire by calling back to life the submerged Christian peoples. Even on Europe's western inge its clangorous tongue made itself heard by effecting ne resurrection of Belgium, Norway, and Ireland. Its crowning chievement, however, was reserved to the World War, in the hot res of which the great multi-national empires of Austria-Hungary nd Russia were substantially melted down to their component ements. Without pretending to be able to give a certain answer, e yet may, nay, we must at this juncture raise the question of the

Does the nationalist organization of Europe make for security and peace?

outlook for the security and peace of Europe under the new system. And undoubtedly it is proper to begin the argument by recognizing that since nationalism had penetrated to the remotest corner of Europe and since it had received everywhere an almost ecstatic welcome as the modern way of salvation, it was a distinct gain that the fond hopes entertained of it had been realized and that Europe had with almost religious fervor during and after the World War affirmed its adherence to nationalism as the fundamental principle of its political organization. Might one not now reasonably expect some weakening of tension, some decline of the red-hot passions which had dangerously charged with electricity the whole public atmosphere of Europe? Perhaps; yet nothing of the sort has thus far taken place. Undeniably nationalism burns over Europe with a fiercer flame than ever. Is this because, as some pessimists would have it, it is by its nature a destructive force destined to rage until it has leveled European civilization with the ground? Or is the optimist view admissible that the nationalist passions continue to blaze because nationalism has after all not yet effected its final liberations nor realized its visioned, even-handed justice?

To whatever opinion we may incline let us pass the present situation in review and uncover the leading causes of the continued friction and exasperation. In the first place the new boundaries were drawn by a group of victors with the conscious purpose of doing the vanquished as much injury as possible. We have noted many instances of this biased procedure at Paris, the chief victim being the leading central European people. Many millions of Germans were by the express action of the conference excluded from the communion of their kin. But if many boundaries, drawn under the prompting of passion, may be expected to be some day rectified when a better feeling comes to prevail, how about the boundaries of those areas where different peoples have become inextricably intermingled through the accidents of history? The Serb-Bulgar, Bulgar-Greek, German-Czech, German-Polish, and Polish-Lithuanian contact areas are a few of the regions where the clean disentanglement which is the nationalist ideal is simply out of the question. Inevitably the group momentarily dominant will do its best to diminish and even to get rid of its rival or rivals. To prevent the worst oppression the Paris conferees imposed on all the national states of their creation, harboring within their borders

Reasons why the nationalist settlement is attended by continued unrest

nsiderable minorities of one or more peoples, the obligation to ant to these minorities a number of fundamental rights such as curity of person, property, religion, and education. But is it not ssible for governments, filled with ill-will, to achieve underhandedly iat they agree not to do in the sight of the world? And since by the eaties signed at Paris the only legal protector of the minorities is e League of Nations and the League is far away and none too werful, need offending governments fear retribution for tyrannizing er the groups in their midst whom they passionately desire to have sappear? And as for these minority groups, what is to hinder em, if their case becomes desperate, from entering into treasonable ots with their co-nationals across the boundary?

Here are real difficulties which will not yield to either sentimental neralities or frenzied exhortation and which have been made worse the wanton creation of tariff and other impediments to free intercurse across the frequent territorial boundaries. It was rhaps natural that the new states in the pride of their esh statehood and in their injudicious animosity against eir neighbors, always rivals and often hereditary enemies, should rround themselves with walls and barbed wire entanglements. But w can such a policy be brought into harmony with the modern stem of world markets and world communications? In practically ery instance each new state, practicing an exaggerated exclusiveess, has made a business not only of irritating its neighbors but indentally also of injuring itself by — as the saying is — cutting off nose to spite its face. Let us hope that the hermit policy characterng the economic legislation of the new Europe will incontinently abandoned, for unless it is, even the qualified prosperity of the e-war period will never again be reached.

The folly of economic isolation

The outlook for Europe offered by these considerations would be rk to the point of blackness were it not for the League of Nations. anting the imperfections of its origin and its manifest lack of esent authority, we can not fail to see that it sketches European commonwealth which under favorable cirmstances may become strong enough to bring the many nflicts agitating the ancient continent to some sort of tlement. Even today we may declare with assurance at were it not for the League of Nations, not only would the prerious peace maintained since 1919 be much more precarious but a eat many border quarrels that have at least been temporarily

The League of Nations considered as a league of Europe

patched up would have terminated in open war. From the angle of nationalistically organized post-war Europe, the League of Nations is not so much a world league as a league of the peoples of the troubled little continent, which is culturally as well as geographically a single unit. Indeed from this same angle the League is pan-Europe, the logical and unescapable supernational façade of the loosely constructed national house of many chambers.

The six leading issues which have agitated Europe since 1919

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the main issues around which the history of Europe has turned during the six years which have elapsed since the drawing up of the peace treaties. They are (*a*) the policy of the United States; (*b*) the rejection by the Turks of the Treaty of Sèvres and the resumption of the war in Asia Minor; (*c*) the policy and vicissitudes of Soviet Russia; (*d*) German reparations; (*e*) inter-allied debts; (*f*) the League of Nations.

(a) The United States rejects the League of Nations

When by its entry into the war the United States of America decided the issue, it was universally assumed that the powerful western republic would thenceforth have a large part in the affairs of Europe. The vigorous leadership of liberal opinion throughout the world taken over by President Wilson fortified the impression; and when the president successfully imposed the League of Nations on the Paris conference, the expectation became general that his country would eagerly serve as the mainstay of the novel venture. But it befell otherwise. Within the senate of the United States, which body would under the constitution have to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, a partisan opposition developed to those sections of the treaty dealing with the League of Nations; and on the newspapers taking the matter up it quickly appeared that the country was unwilling to range itself behind its official chief. The profound American emotion over President Wilson's policy is not difficult to explain. It was felt that the League was primarily an European affair and that it was folly for the United States, which had been providentially spared the alarms and antagonisms of Europe, to identify itself with the older continent without necessity and in child-like ignorance of the merits of the innumerable European quarrels. More important still was the consideration of national sovereignty. It had become a fetish and even a ruling divinity in the course of recent centuries and no people showed the least willingness to give up its worship. If the European

ations had yielded so far from the extreme assertion of sovereignty
s to consent to the creation of the League of Nations, they did so,
the first place, on the understanding that the League was to re-
ain a feeble infant and, in the second place, because they were as-
ured by their leaders that the new institution would infringe barely
at all upon their precious self-sufficiency. Undeniably the League
as accepted reluctantly even in Europe and for the pressing reason
hat the alternative was almost certainly renewed war and ultimate
haos. But as these considerations did not weigh with the United
tates, its people at once sniffed the air suspiciously and ended by
eacting violently against what they persuaded themselves was a
lot to drag them into the European bog. In the presidential election
f November, 1920, President Wilson's party was overwhelmingly
efeated. As a result, so far as the western republic was concerned,
he League of Nations issue quietly expired and with it the Treaty
f Versailles of which it was an integral part. On March 4, 1921,
resident Wilson vanished, a man broken in health if not in spirit,
om the public scene, and his Republican successor, President Hard-
g, hastened to conclude a separate peace with Germany.

The League of Nations has since remained a dead issue in the
nited States and is not likely to be brought back into politics at an
rly date. For that it fills, as the American people instinctively
lt, first and foremost an European want is undeniable. **The League of Nations analyzed from the American point of view** nto the embittered local contentions of Europe the United tates is properly extremely loath to be drawn. But in far as the League may succeed in serving, besides an uropean, a world function it may well be that the United ates will at some future time discover that a regularly stituted session of the powers interested in world questions will ove a convenience for the American people, perhaps even a neces-ty. Without assuming the robe of the prophet it would seem to be ossible to declare that the favorable development of the relations the United States to the League will depend on the latter body's illingness and power to regulate outstanding imperialist interests nd ambitions. For once more let us recall that the World War grew ut of both nationalist and imperialist antagonisms and that the eague of Nations has therefore naturally and inevitably a double set functions. Certainly it is only on the side of its projected regula-on of imperialist issues that it touches or may hope to touch any mediate concerns of the United States.

Even before the Treaty of Sèvres had been completed by the allies and as soon as it became apparent not only that the Ottoman Empire was to be thoroughly dispersed but that the Turks themselves were to be brought under the permanent tutelage of the victors, an energetic leader who had distinguished himself in the war, Mustafa Kemal by name, organized his people in Asia Minor for resistance. Mustafa's movement had a distinctly nationalist cast. It will be remembered that as early as 1908 a section of the Turks showed that they had been Europeanized sufficiently to institute a revolution which had both a liberal and a nationalist character. It was this same Europeanizing group, the so-called Young Turks, who six years later plunged the Ottoman Empire into the World War on the side of Germany. While the defeat discredited the political leaders of the war period and obliged them to flee precipitately from Constantinople, it did not alter the attachment of the Turks to nationalism, especially as all the neighboring peoples of the Near East had been seized with the same consuming emotion. Certainly the Arabs of Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia made it quite clear that if they renounced Ottoman rule, it was not because they desired to bend their neck to the yoke of a victor power, no matter how beneficent that yoke purported to be. If the Arab leaders expressed the true opinion of their people, the Arabs intended to have an Arab state all of their own, preferably a pan-Arab state. This was also the idea of Mustafa Kemal and his Turks. Adopting nationalism with naïve literalness, they declared that they were willing to give up the non-Turkish provinces of their former empire of conquest, but that Asia Minor (Anatolia) together with Constantinople and eastern Thrace constituted a genuine nationalist Turkey and that for this Turkish nucleus the Turks would fight to the death. As early as 1920 it became clear that if the articles of the Treaty of Sèvres referring to the areas claimed as Turkish by Mustafa Kemal were to be executed, the allies would have to impose their will by armed force.

(b) The Turks reject the Treaty of Sèvres

Unprepared for various reasons to levy war on the determined Mustafa, the allies commissioned Greece to act in their behalf. The result was a passionate Turco-Greek war which throughout 1921 and 1922 swayed to and fro between Smyrna, the Greek military base on the Asia Minor coast, and Angora, Mustafa's inland capital. At last the Greek forces were disastrously routed and Smyrna itself taken and burned (Oct., 1922). To save their self-respect the allies were

liged to intervene in behalf of their discomfited agent and, after otracted negotiations at Lausanne (Switzerland), in July, 1923, gned with the Anatolian Turks a new treaty. This, as emphatilly registering a Turkish victory as the Treaty of vres had registered a Turkish defeat, marks the acceptce of the main Turkish demands. While the Ottoman npire was happily not recalled from the shades, its residm, nationalist Turkey, was recognized within the undaries demanded by the Kemalists. The chief loser by the eaty of Lausanne was Greece, which had followed the lure of an erweaning ambition and which now sat physically and spiritually oken amidst the wreckage of its hopes. The International Zone the Straits, which represented the Sèvres solution of the ancient oblem of the Dardanelles and Bosporus, was completely scrapped der the new arrangements. The most the victorious Turks would ree to was the demilitarization of the straits and that they were be open in both peace and war to merchant vessels and warships all nations. What this means, if it means anything at all, only e future can determine. The suspicion can not be avoided that e Turks have again clinched the control of the straits. Further, the ea of an independent Armenia was abandoned at Lausanne and the menians themselves, in so far as they reside on Turkish soil, were livered to the mercy of the Turks. An interesting, novel proion fraught with countless personal tragedies was the wholesale nsplantation of Greeks from Turkish to Greek soil and vice versa the hope of effecting as clean as possible a disentanglement of ese two hostile peoples. Finally, the extraterritoriality enjoyed centuries by the European powers on Ottoman soil and familiar der the name of the Capitulations has been canceled. Freed of reparation claims, Turkey has been accepted into the full comity nations on the somewhat hazardous theory that it is an ordered, ilized state.

The Turks impose the Treaty of Lausanne on the allies

The new Turkey, due largely to the bold initiative of a single man, s declared itself a republic under a constitution which vests both e legislative and executive power in a National Assembly elected two years. The sultanate and califate have both been olished. The ancient house of Osman has been driven o exile. The only possible interpretation of these startling meases is that under Mustafa Kemal's leadership Turkey is resolved to ake a complete break with its past and to establish a state which

The new Turkey

shall be as close a realization as possible of what presents itself to the imagination of the Near East as western progress. That this will be a difficult program to carry through goes without saying. In view of the character and mental outlook of the Turks and with due regard to the difficulties of their situation in the midst of so many old and new enemies it may prove beyond their strength.

(c) The Bolshevik triumph in Russia

It was in November, 1917, that the Bolsheviks, whose program was an extreme radical socialism, more properly defined as communism, seized the power in Russia. Their program, so flattering to the workers and peasants, ranged these oppressed classes in sufficient numbers behind the Bolshevik leaders to put them in secure possession of the country. None the less, undoubtedly encouraged in some instances by Great Britain and France, groups of monarchical and bourgeois opponents, usually lumped together under the designation of Whites, undertook to overthrow the Bolsheviks, commonly called Reds. We need not go into these attempts, which continued for three years after the Bolshevik triumph, further than to note that they all failed. Because the Whites, by accepting foreign support, aroused nationalist resentment, because the masses continued to rally enthusiastically behind their revolutionary leaders, and finally, because the Bolsheviks boasted in Lenin an impressive political leader and in Trotzky a capable and magnetic military organizer the Reds trampled in the dust all armed opposition and with a sort of elemental fury set about the realization of their politico-economic program.

The communist system

The outstanding feature of that program was to destroy the capitalist system and to effect a complete economic equality among men not by persuasion and by gradual measures, but by a single sweeping act based on the exercise of an irresistible force. The land of the nobles and well-to-do was seized and distributed among the peasants; the factories, banks, mines, and other private businesses of every kind were appropriated with a view to operating them as public concerns for the benefit of the common people. Resistance on the part of the individual owners was punished by imprisonment and in numerous cases by death. The attempted realization of the communist theory breathed force at every turn, force without stint or limit. The transformation effected by these measures and the failure and success of the whole communist program can not yet be discussed with anything resembling assurance. Judgment on the Bolshevik experiment must wisely remain in suspense.

wever, there is one thing which the student of European history always do well never to lose from mind in weighing the phenomn called the Russian revolution: it is that that revolution did take place in an old and typical European state but among a ple which had only recently been brought under the influence of west and which in organization and mentality was utterly differ- from the peoples of the Atlantic seaboard. It is therefore quite sible that what happened in Russia in the way either of the deuction of the older economic order or of the creation of a new soy of equals may not be particularly relevant for Europe. In e of the prophetic gestures of Lenin and Trotzky as well as of nucleus of followers they command in every country of the world, Russian revolution, even if ultimately successful, may prove to suited only to Russia, to be in effect a social reorganization of ely Russian import.

et the reader entertain no doubt however that the above does not resent the view of the promoters of the Red revolution in Russia l elsewhere. Holding the Marxian view of history, they declared l for some decades before 1917 had been declaring that capitalist system was approaching an inevitable transmation to be marked by the seizure on the part of the kers of the means of production. As under the strict ory the transformation was to be inaugurated in the st highly industrialized centers, such as England and Belgium, vas something of a disappointment that industrially backward ssia should have rung in the new era. But the Russian leaders themves lost no sleep over this historical vagary. Frankly recognizing t an isolated Russian communism was foredoomed to failure, y rejoiced in the possession of political power which they could ize to bring about a communist revolution in other countries. ey consequently called into being the Third International, repretative of international communism, with a permanent organiza- at Moscow; and providing this huge propaganda organization h a blank check on the Russian treasury, they bade it go ahead l produce at the earliest possible date a world-wide communist eaval.

The aim of the Russian revolution is world revolution

t is in this propagandist form that the western governments entered Russia after 1917 and it is not surprising that they should e interpreted the Russian activity as latent war. They went refore the length not only of giving support to the various

civil risings in Russia associated with the Whites but also of more or less ruthlessly suppressing all the sympathetic radical manifestations in their own midst. Finally, they sternly broke off diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet régime and surrounded their all but avowed enemies with a sanitary cordon as though they considered them to be in the grip of a contagious disease. This last group of measures amounted to a policy of complete non-intercourse. But such a policy was difficult to keep up in our modern world of mutually interdependent parts. Wonderful economic opportunities beckoned within the vast Russian dominion; and if these attracted the foreign exploiters by the prospect of gain, they signified to the Russians themselves industrial goods of which they stood in clear need and which they could never hope to produce by themselves because of their lack of capital and technical skill. Hesitatingly negotiations were initiated between the bitter opponents, between Moscow and the various capitals of Europe. Of course the western statesmen put at the head of their demands the cessation of all propaganda aiming at the overthrow of the existent politico-economic system of their respective countries. In the end the Russians always granted the request, moved by the hope of generating that moral confidence among their neighbors without which capital would not embark on the perilous journey to Muscovy. It may well be — and the charge has been repeatedly voiced — that the Bolshevik promise to desist from agitation is given with the tongue in the cheek, for, as we have seen, the issue for Russia is and must be: world revolution or failure. None the less the Bolsheviks have in many instances pledged their word to desist from propaganda in response to the pressing need of their country for goods and conveniences destroyed by the war and incapable of being replaced by Russian effort. They have a deep distrust of one another, the semi-oriental Russians and the wholly occidental English, French, Italians, and Germans; but slowly, driven by the unescapable necessities of economic exchange, they have drawn together and between 1922 and 1924 have signed treaties patching up a precarious *modus vivendi*. As late as 1925 the United States of America voiced a firm refusal to follow the European lead. For reasons satisfactory to itself the Washington government prefers to play a lone hand. Whether the timorous resumption of diplomatic relations between communist Russia and capitalist Europe will bring in its wake a profitable economic exchange it is yet too early to say.

Russia and the western governments lay the foundations of a frail peace

ite likely it will not, unless the experimental communist system is dually abandoned in favor of a return to the older capitalist thod of production. It is doubtless the hope of such a consumma- n as this which inspires the governments of London, Paris, Rome, d Berlin. The game of Moscow, on the other hand, seems to be hold out resolutely for communism and yet to offer opportunities culated to draw private capital and engineering skill of foreign gin to Russia. Arrangements based on such contradictory consid- tions would hardly appear to offer a fair assurance of success. sides, there remains the troublesome matter of propaganda. Is it an irritating ambiguity that, although the Russian government ees to discontinue its own radical agitation, it permits its *alter ego*, Third International, to function exactly as before?

t was pointed out in our discussion of the Treaty of Versailles t, as the reparations to be assessed on Germany could not be once agreed on, the matter was put in the hands of a reparation mission with the understanding that the total sum (d) German s to be fixed on the basis of its recommendations reparations May 1, 1921. When this day came, the sum to be paid by Ger- ny was set at 136,000,000,000 gold marks with annual payments ginning at once amounting to 3,000,000,000 gold marks. Since ler other articles of the treaty considerable payments had already n made by Germany and since, owing to the revolutionary crisis ding Germany in its grip, the country was at a sorry pass politi- y and totally without credit, the Germans protested their inability pay this huge sum until a military threat from the allies forced m, exactly as in June, 1919, to sign on the dotted line. However, s renewed violence settled nothing. In spite of frenzied effort meet the required payments divided between remittances in cie and deliveries in kind the German government fell behind l was obliged to ask for a moratorium. Again and again the ed governments met in conference to consider the request. Of two leading creditors Great Britain was inclined to concede ay as well as a reduction of the total debt; but France was stern l on January 11, 1923, under the guidance of its prime minister, ncaré, took the momentous step of occupying with military might rich industrial basin of the Ruhr.

The French thesis was that Germany was well able to pay the ns she was assessed and that she was merely a recalcitrant debtor o needed to be brought to terms at the point of the bayonet.

The French therefore set up an economic control in the Ruhr, the object of which was to divert the profits of this great coal and iron area into their national treasury. So far as lay in them in their disarmed state the Germans opposed the French plans by a policy of passive resistance throughout both the Ruhr and the Rhineland. A grave tension manifested itself everywhere in Europe. However, before the autumn arrived the French had won, at least technically, for the German government was obliged to bring the passive resistance to an end and humbly to accept the French occupation. It was the total collapse of the German currency that had precipitated the German surrender. Like all other European countries Germany had, during the war, abandoned the gold basis and taken to paper currency. With the country's defeat and the issuance of ever new masses of greenbacks, their value steadily dropped. When, in May, 1921, the reparations bill was presented, the decline was accelerated. For henceforth when a cash payment fell due, the government, having no cash to transfer, printed and sold paper marks for what they would bring in London or Amsterdam. Presently they brought less and less and by the end of the Ruhr fight nothing at all. The German currrency had been wiped out. It was useless for even domestic transactions and Germany was threatened with complete economic chaos.

The occupation of the Ruhr and the collapse of the German currency

It was not till 1924 that a first ray of common sense burst upon these insane perturbations. In April, 1924, a non-political committee of economic experts was permitted to take up the problem of Germany's future payments in connection with Germany's economic rehabilitation and worked out a series of recommendations known from the American chairman of the committee as the Dawes report. The scheme called for an elaborate series of payments by Germany after a foreign loan had been floated and put at the disposal of Germany for the restoration of its currency and economic life in general. There was also to be a short respite from the full burden of reparations in order to enable Germany to recover its breath. In August the interested governments, including Germany, accepted the program and France formally promised to retire from the Ruhr in the course of the ensuing year. With a degree of general good-will not experienced in Europe since 1914 the conference, held at London, came to an end. As we peer into the future we can not tell whether the Dawes plan will work, whether

The Dawes plan of 1924

schedule of annual payments is or is not excessive. But we can
y that if the creditor nations will listen to economic reasoning
ther than to political rancor and that if, instead of threatening
rmany with military execution, they will invite her to join them
friendly, round-table discussions, the vexatious reparations prob-
n, the supreme nightmare of Europe since 1919, may be found to
at last approaching a settlement.

Glooming in the European background like a cloud capable at
y moment of discharging a storm has been the question of the
er-allied debts. These were contracted during the war by the
tension of credits to one another on the part of the gov-
nments of the victor group. Of course the strongest
d richest governments were most profuse in extending
edits, the United States of America in particular literally showering
associates in the war with gold. As no interest payments were
thcoming even after the war had ceased, the total debt of Great
itain to the United States amounted in 1924 to four and one half
lion dollars, that of France to four billion dollars, and that of
aly to about two billion dollars. In addition there were smaller
t still tidy sums owing to Washington from Russia, Belgium,
land and the smaller states of Europe. These facts make it clear
at in respect of these inter-allied obligations the United States
s wholly a creditor nation. Great Britain and France, on the
ner hand, were creditor and debtor at the same time. Having
rrowed from the United States, Great Britain had turned over as
ch and more than she had borrowed to France, Italy, Russia, and
ners, while France for her part had given smaller but still ex-
sive credits chiefly to her continental neighbors. On the basis
a general, all-around settlement the United States might claim a
al of eleven billion dollars and Great Britain a total of perhaps
f that sum. All the other countries would show appalling deficits,
se of France and Italy amounting in each instance to approxi-
tely five billion dollars.

(e) **The inter-allied debts**

These facts and figures can leave no reasonable doubt in any one's
nd that the two creditor nations, the United States and Great
itain, have the issue of the inter-allied debts securely in their
nds. Immediately after the war there was much loose talk of a
neral forgiving of debts. It received a sharp rebuff when the
ited States firmly insisted on being reimbursed. In January,
23, the British treasury took the lead in opening negotiations for

a settlement and signed an agreement at Washington for the extinction of its debt by installment payments spread over a long period of time. However, no major country has thus far (1925) followed the British example. Declaring that their budget will not support a heavy annual interest charge, they have evaded the pressure the Washington government has brought to bear upon them. But ever since the British government has undertaken to repay the United States, it not unnaturally has become increasingly insistent about being squared by its own numerous debtors. The resulting situation is delicate in the extreme. Having come to terms with each other, the United States and Great Britain are natural financial partners and are sure henceforth to make more or less of a common cause against the body of continental debtors. So far they have been content with the veiled allusions with which polite creditors remind their victims of their obligations. From such courteous warnings to the more brutal methods of political pressure it is only a step. If the governments of London and Washington should at some future day make up their minds that France, Italy, and their many petty continental satellites are spending money for armament which they might better apply to the settlement of their debts, what is to hinder them from saying so, though perhaps at first only in the circumlocutory language of diplomacy? In this way the issue of the inter-allied debts may quite possibly become tied up with the vaster issue of disarmament and peace. That it is and has from the first been linked also with German reparations goes without saying, since such ability as France may develop to settle with Great Britain and America will depend entirely on the regular flow of reparation payments from across the Rhine. In sum, the inter-allied debts constitute a world problem of today and tomorrow; and not the least interesting feature about the complicated issue is that it confers an extraordinary degree of control on the two outstanding money powers, the United States and Great Britain.

The issue in the hands of the United States and Great Britain

That between 1919 and 1925 the League of Nations has been much in the public eye results both from its being a novel institution and from the strong and conflicting feelings which it has aroused. While a handful of champions have exalted it to the sky and certain uncompromising enemies have loaded it with curses, numerous intermediate opinions have been voiced, ranging all the way from lukewarm approval to kindly, ironical rejection. As is alone suited

he candor of historical study we must see the League as ctively as possible, viewing it less in the light of fleeting opinion, rable or unfavorable, than under the aspect of its purposes, that f the principles which underlie it. In this connection us recall that its chief sponsor, President Wilson, ght of it as an association of all the states of the world, t and little, for the maintenance of peace. Here is a preliminary erion for measuring its present usefulness. But it is general and er vague. We may refine upon it by recalling the conditions European peace, and more particularly that in recent generations e has been chiefly threatened from two sources, nationalism and erialism. It therefore follows that we can improve upon our criterion by giving it a more specific character something in fashion: can the League placate the nationalist, can it placate imperialist rivalries of Europe?

(f) The League of Nations

ny fair-minded attempt to answer this sweeping question must n by recognizing that the League is incomplete, that it is a torso. ng to the circumstances of its origin already recounted it came to as a league of victors; and even as a league of victors as destined to remain imperfect because of the prompt ction of the United States of America. Well-wishers e not failed to point out that it must change its inal character and achieve the universality at which it aims by rbing Germany and Russia. But that is by no means easy, as many and Russia have been systematically taught to see in the gue an institution organized against themselves. Nor may the evan association, if it craves effectiveness, give up the hope of iving the United States within the fold, although an early and plete realization of such a purpose is apparently out of the tion. In short, considered purely in the light of a world insti- on the League is rather frail and without much likelihood of oming stronger in the immediate future.

The institutional weakness of the League

y setting forth these flaws in its mechanism we have already given asonably definite answer to the central question of the control by League of European peace. The organization looks back upon years of existence. It has by no means been inactive at time. It has exercised a surveillance over the man- d areas; it has kept an eye on Danzig and the Saar basin; it decided some important disputes involving boundaries and the ts of minorities; it has superintended the economic rehabilitation

Its manifold activities

of Austria and Hungary; it has set up an International Labor O ganization at Geneva; and it has created, also at Geneva, a perm nent secretariat charged with preparing the work and executing th decisions of the Council and Assembly. Instinctively feeling that can justify itself only by finding something to do, it has made itse useful in the hope of becoming ultimately indispensable. Especiall in the matter of toning down somewhat the hot passions which bla across the European frontiers it has enjoyed a slight measure of su cess. After all the League is first of all an European organization; is or must aspire to be pan-Europe.

However, when it comes to the great world issues included in th concept of imperialism the record of the League is approximate zero. Imperialist issues affect the great powers and the great powe have not yet acquired the habit of carrying their problen and disputes to the bar of the League. This was we illustrated by the Washington Conference of 1921–192 When President Harding arrived at the conclusion th a new race of armaments was creating a situation akin to th which had precipitated the war of 1914, he summoned the gre powers to the American capital to consider ways and means alleviating the situation. Nor was the session futile, although was found impossible to adopt a sweeping program of armame limitation. The agreement finally made applied solely to nav armament and among the various factors of naval strength on to so-called capital ships. Such modern weapons as submarin and airplanes were expressly excluded from limitation. With rega to capital, that is, battle-ships it was agreed that Great Britain, t United States, and Japan, the three leading naval powers, we authorized to maintain battle-fleets in the proportion of 5–5–3, a that for a period of ten years they should abandon further batt ship construction. Moreover, by a four-power pact concluded amo the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France, these stat substantially guaranteed the *status quo* in the Far East by promisi to respect each other's insular possessions in the Pacific ocean. Th these were useful arrangements lessening the tension among the nav powers and giving a valuable assurance of continued peace in a c cumscribed oceanic area is undeniable. But they were made Washington among the naval powers treating directly among the selves in scornful disregard of the pretensions of the League of N tions.

The Washington Conference, 1921–1922

With the caution imposed by a very fluid situation we may say at the great powers are not minded to accept the control of the ague in matters touching their vital interests. Jealously de-ding their traditional sovereignty, which they desire to eserve intact, they refuse to regard the League as a per-state to which they owe allegiance; and indeed there nothing in its present constitution to warrant such a im. The most that can be said for the Genevan body at this time hat it provides new means of coöperation among states and that a score of not always minor instances it has already facilitated the ulation of the world's business. What makes most vigorously its perpetuation is that the post-war world is more of a unit than er before and that some sort of world organization, far from being vacuous dream of sentimentalists, corresponds to the unescapable lities of modern commerce, finance, communication, thought, and ence. Prophecy is not the function of the historian. The League Nations may dwindle and disappear or it may grow until it effects nodification of the existing notions of sovereignty and acquires a sition at the side of and even over the existing states. Let Time pply the answer. All that the historian may point out with some asure of assurance is that great social forces have been astir during ent generations to bring the ends of the earth together on the basis a common human effort. Throughout this book treating of Europe ce the Middle Ages there runs like a red thread a single theme: unfolding of occidental civilization. Undeniably our story of the cessive phases of that civilization has been marked by the almost nterrupted conflict among larger and smaller social groups. It is erefore not impossible that struggle is a necessary condition of the essant movement which we vaguely call progress and hail as the ence of our age. In sharp opposition to this view the supporters the League of Nations hold, either consciously or unconsciously, at our civilization has arrived at a new phase, a phase of unity, and at at least in the hideous and lawless form of organized warfare nflict not only can but must be overcome if we would realize the hest possibilities of our human situation.

Will the League survive or perish?

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